

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

THE MALOH OF WEST KALIMANTAN: SOCIAL

INEQUALITY AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN AN INDONESIAN BORNEO SOCIETY

by

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

a. Background to the Research

Originally I intended to examine Iban religion and classification in Borneo, utilizing the structuralist perspectives of Leach, Lévi-Strauss and Needham. Professor Jaspán, my supervisor in 1971-72, suggested that the relatively unknown Iban in Indonesian Kalimantan might be suitable for such a study, since previous anthropological work on them had been heavily concentrated in Sarawak.

During my general reading of the literature on the Dayak¹ peoples of West Kalimantan I became acutely aware of how little information was available which had been collected by ethnographers and social anthropologists.² From the first quarter of the nineteenth century onwards there is an appreciable amount of data on West Borneo; but it is of variable quality, largely written by Dutch and German travellers, explorers, scientists, missionaries and colonial administrators. There are very few specifically ethnographic writings on Dayaks. The most important descriptive accounts are the series of studies by Schadee, a Dutch district officer, on the religion and customary law of the Tayan and Landak peoples inland of Pontianak (1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1913a, 1913b, 1914), and Father Donatus Dunselman's work, both on the language and customary law of the Kendayan, who, in part, overlap with Schadee's Tayan and Landak category (1949a, 1950a, 1952a, 1952b, 1952c) (see Map I), and on the religion, oral literature and customs of the Mualang, an Iban-related people of the Middle Kapuas (1950c, 1955, 1958, 1959a, 1959b, 1961) (see Map IV).³ Dunselman has also written a

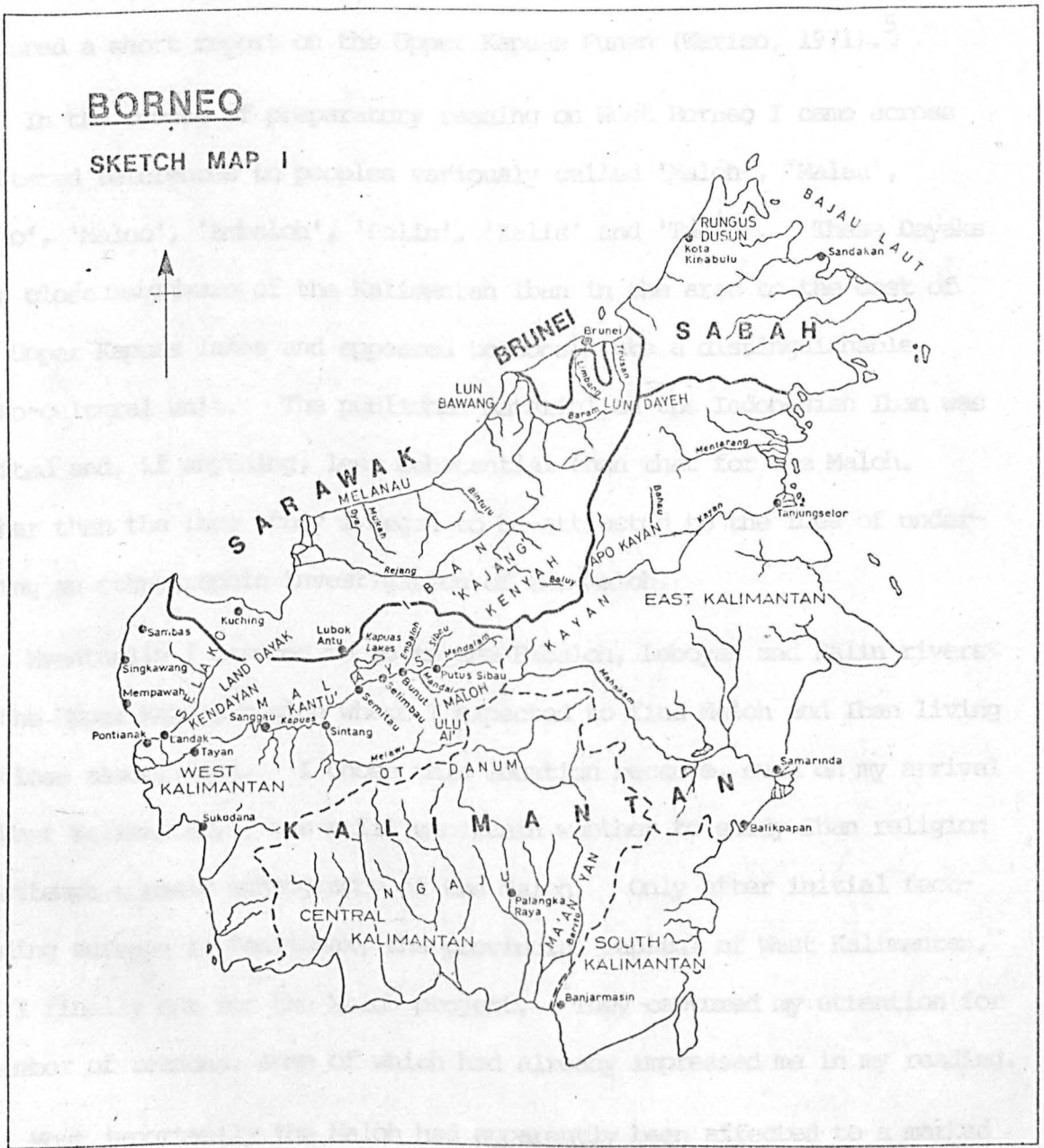
1. 'Dayak' is a general term given to the indigenous non-Muslim (non-Malay) peoples of Borneo.
2. See King (1974a:31-8) for a discussion of the enormous possibilities for anthropological research in West Kalimantan.
3. See King (1978a:57-73) for a summary and appreciation of Dunselman's work on the Mualang.

collection of general studies on the 'religious mentality' of the Dayaks, using illustrative material from West Borneo (1949b, 1949c, 1949d, 1950b). Finally, Nieuwenhuis wrote an ethnography of the Kayan of the Mendalam river in the Upper Kapuas region (1900, 1904-7) (see Map I). More general works on West Kalimantan in which there is useful but relatively superficial data on Dayak social life, economy, history and religion are by Bouman (1924a, 1924b, 1952), Enthoven (1903), Helbig (1955, 1957), von Kessel (1850), van Lijnden and Groll (1851), Mallinckrodt (1928), Maxandrea (1924), Molengraaff (1900), van Naerssen (1951-2) and Veth (1854-6). There is additional information on Dayak customary law in various volumes of the Dutch Adatrechtbundels ('Collections of Customary Law').⁴

Since the 1950s and particularly after the end of President Sukarno's policy of 'Confrontation' with Malaysia in 1965, very few fieldworkers have entered West Kalimantan. Those that did showed little interest in either the Iban or the Maloh. A Swiss ethnographer, Alois Bücher, worked among the formerly nomadic Punan and Bukat in the extreme headwaters of the Kapuas river in the late 1960s (see Map III). In the early 1970s, Stephanie Morgan, a Cornell anthropology graduate, collected information on the shifts from dry rice to wet rice cultivation and from long-house to single dwelling domicile among a range of Upper Kapuas peoples, including Kantu' and Ulu Ai'. To my knowledge neither Bücher nor Morgan have yet written up any of their field material. Finally, Hudson, the linguist-anthropologist who formerly worked among the Ma'anyan of South-Eastern Kalimantan, carried out a linguistic survey of a large number of West Borneo languages during a brief visit to Pontianak in the

4. Cf. Leach's statement that he could 'trace no ethnographic literature on the populations of the Sintang and Upper Kapuas districts of Dutch Borneo' (1950:48).

MAP I



late 1960s (1970:301-18). Besides work undertaken by non-Indonesian scholars, there is a body of largely unpublished ethnographic data (1960-4) gathered by Avé, an Indonesian anthropologist, on the Ot Danum of the Melawi river (1972:192-4). An Indonesian sociologist has also produced a short report on the Upper Kapuas Punan (Wariso, 1971).⁵

In the course of preparatory reading on West Borneo I came across scattered references to peoples variously called 'Maloh', 'Malau', 'Malo', 'Maloo', 'Embaloh', 'Palin', 'Kalis' and 'Taman'. These Dayaks were close neighbours of the Kalimantan Iban in the area to the east of the Upper Kapuas lakes and appeared to constitute a distinguishable socio-cultural unit. The published material on the Indonesian Iban was limited and, if anything, less substantial than that for the Maloh. Rather than the Iban study I began to be attracted to the idea of undertaking an ethnographic investigation of the Maloh.

Eventually I decided to go to the Embaloh, Leboyan and Palin rivers in the Upper Kapuas region where I expected to find Maloh and Iban living in close association. I chose this location because, even on my arrival in West Kalimantan, I was still uncertain whether to study Iban religion or attempt a basic ethnography of the Maloh. Only after initial fact-finding surveys in Pontianak, the provincial capital of West Kalimantan, did I finally opt for the Maloh project. They captured my attention for a number of reasons, some of which had already impressed me in my reading.

Most importantly the Maloh had apparently been affected to a marked degree by outside influences. They had been subject to the spread of Islamic-Malay culture in the Upper Kapuas; Roman Catholic missionaries

5. Since I completed fieldwork among the Maloh only two other anthropologists have entered West Kalimantan; Michael Dove recently studied the Kantu', an Iban-related people, in the area to the west of the Upper Kapuas lakes, and Frank McKeown is presently engaged in fieldwork among Upper Kapuas Iban. These studies will enhance the dominant position of research on Iban in Borneo.

had been working with some Maloh communities for a considerable time, and the Maloh had been a focus of Dutch government interest (Bouman, 1924a:178, 182; and see Chapter 3). Eventually I decided it was vital to salvage what I could of their fast-disappearing traditions, and to examine in what ways their culture, and more especially their social organization, had changed as a result of these exogenous forces. On the other hand, I learned that Indonesian Iban had been rather more remote from these sources of change and had in large measure resisted them. I also formed the opinion that Iban in Kalimantan did not differ significantly in culture and social organization from their Sarawak cousins. In consequence, I felt the Iban project could be postponed, and I was increasingly drawn to the prospect of studying the Maloh, a little known and changing Dayak population.

Probably it was Harrisson's two papers on Maloh ethnography (1965, 1966) which most served to whet my appetite prior to fieldwork. I was impressed by his sense of urgency that fieldwork needed to be carried out among the Maloh. Both Harrisson and his assistant, Benedict Sandin, interviewed three 'upper class' Maloh visitors to the Sarawak Museum in Kuching in 1962-3. Before Harrisson had sufficient data the three Maloh men had to return prematurely to their home in Kalimantan as a result of increasing border troubles stemming from Sukarno's Konfrontasi. Harrisson felt compelled to publish his patchy interview material because he was pessimistic about the chance of fieldworkers entering the Upper Kapuas 'for some years to come', by which time 'even more of the traditional [Maloh] culture will have been forgotten' (1965:237).

While the two articles proved useful to me they contained a number of errors of fact and interpretation. Based on interviews, Harrisson's notes provided a formal, ideal description of Maloh beliefs and practices. Harrisson also assumed a greater degree of Maloh socio-cultural homogeneity

than in fact exists. Furthermore, there was a tendency to overemphasize Maloh cultural similarities with Iban, perhaps because of Harrison's and Sandin's abiding interest in Iban studies. In particular, certain ostensibly Maloh terms in the text turned out not to be Maloh words at all, but the equivalent Iban words. These linguistic errors are understandable because the majority of Maloh speak fluent Iban, and it is likely that Sandin, himself an Iban, interviewed the three Maloh in his own language.

Despite these mistakes, Harrison's work and brief references to Maloh in the Dutch literature led me to isolate key problems which might be pursued in field research. An immediate concern was to solve the confusion in ethnic classification and terminology in the Upper Kapuas. It was unclear from the published literature which peoples belonged to the category 'Maloh'. A further problem was that the term 'Maloh' competed with other labels such as 'Taman', 'Palin' and 'Embaloh'. It would therefore be necessary to determine the main ethnic groupings in the Upper Kapuas, how they were defined, how they related one with another, and what names were externally and internally applied to them. During fieldwork these interests, in turn, led me to seek information on conflict, co-operation, trade and cultural exchange between the Maloh and their close neighbours. Thus my original uncertainty about whether to study Iban or Maloh proved ultimately of benefit. Rather than undertake a narrowly focussed study, I examined Maloh, in part, in relation to surrounding peoples. This broader view was also a vital consideration in the analysis of social organization, because I came to see that social inequality and change among Maloh cannot be understood except by reference to their relations with their neighbours and with local and national government. Problems of ethnic categorization are considered in Chapter 2 of the thesis, along with the essential features of the Maloh environment,

settlement, economy, demography, and health and disease. This serves as background for subsequent chapters. In Chapter 3 inter-ethnic relations are analysed historically.⁶

In the published literature on Maloh a number of observers referred to a system of ranks among them, corresponding broadly to aristocrats, a middle rank, freemen and slaves (Bouman, 1924a:179-80; Enthoven, 1903: 60, 64-5; Harrisson, 1965:256-9; Helbig, 1939:72; Huijbers, 1931:204-9, 237-43 and 1934:93-104; Scheuer, 1932:3; Werkman, n.d.:11). A major fieldwork focus would be an investigation of this system of inequality - the relationships between observed conditions of inequality and the ideology of superiority and inferiority; the ways in which domination is generated, maintained and lost, particularly in relation to rights in and/or control over key resources such as land, labour and surplus produce; the extent to which the ranks referred to above are still recognizable and viable, given the fact that changes had occurred in the Upper Kapuas which may have had profound effects on Maloh social organization; the degree to which the Maloh ranking system exhibits similarities with other stratified Borneo societies such as the Coastal Melanau of Sarawak (Morris, 1953) and the Kenyah-Kayan-Kajang complex of peoples in Sarawak and Kalimantan (Leach, 1950); and, finally, the utility of concepts such as 'class', 'status' and 'power' in the analysis of Borneo ranked societies. Morris, for example, in his Melanau study, noted that in the past 'political power, and control of economic assets were largely the prerogative of the upper class.....' (1953:56). Then following such changes as the abolition of slavery by the British, and the growth of an international market for Melanau sago, the aristocratic

6. I attempted to solve some classificatory problems and briefly examine inter-ethnic relations in an article published prior to fieldwork and based on secondary sources (1972:83-115).

monopoly of economic and political resources declined, though in 1950 Melanau aristocrats still retained status (ibid.:70).

My interest in the Maloh ranking system has largely determined the form of this thesis. It is a fundamental element of Maloh social organization. Therefore, Chapter 3, as well as dealing historically with inter-ethnic relations and with the ways in which these relations were relevant to the Maloh ranking system, also traces the changes set in train by the Dutch and Indonesian governments which had a dramatic effect on the 'traditional' Maloh stratification system. Chapter 4 attempts to reconstruct and analyse this 'traditional' system on the basis of published literature, unpublished archival material,⁷ and verbal information collected during fieldwork. By 'traditional' I mean that social system which existed prior to and during the early stages of Dutch colonial intervention in the Maloh area (i.e. before about 1920). Although this task of reconstruction is hazardous, it is essential to the understanding of contemporary Maloh society. Without it we cannot fully appreciate the form, content and direction of changes in Maloh ranks in the period from about 1920 to the early 1970s.

The remaining Chapters 5, 6 and 7 describe and analyse Maloh society, particularly the ranking system, as I observed it in 1972-3. For convenience I have examined separately the relations between rank, household and kinship/descent (Chapter 5), rank and economics (Chapter 6) and rank and politico-religious organization (Chapter 7). Within these chapters three important topics are covered which caught my attention in reading

7. Particularly important is an unpublished four-volume Dutch missionary journal housed in the Catholic mission at Benua Martinus, on the Embaloh river. It was compiled mainly by Father Flavianus Huijbers and gives accounts of missionary activities and details of Maloh everyday life from 1912 to the early 1940s.

prior to fieldwork. These are: the relationships between rank, economy and settlement patterns; rank and the politico-religious position of aristocrats; and rank and cognatic kinship and descent.

First, published material suggested that there might be a close link between Maloh rank and their settlement. Harrison talked about 'the importance Maloh attach to "permanent", well-made, well-ordered longhouse set-ups' (1965:344), and the fact that 'Such solid houses are alien to Iban and much other "Dayak" thinking, where the idea of mobility is strong' (ibid.:343). Brief descriptions of Maloh villages in Dutch writings supported Harrison's statements (Enthoven, 1903:58-9, 61, 67-8; Gonzalvus, 1911:380-1; Molengraaff, 1900:153-4; Werkman, n.d.:11). I suspected that this relatively fixed settlement pattern might be one result of the control which aristocrats could exert over their followers' movements. However, comparative residential stability and the capacity to support 'non-productive' aristocrats might also be predicated on a particular ecology, specific agricultural methods, and the frequency of food surpluses. Interestingly I found data which seemed to confirm these suspicions. Enthoven noted that the Maloh of the Leboyan and Embaloh rivers were, in general, successful and industrious agriculturalists seldom suffering from food shortage. They farmed fertile lands which they were reluctant to leave, and they were, as a result, 'wealthy' (1903:60, 63). Wealth was stored in the form of large gongs, Chinese jars and salvers, gold and silver jewellery and richly decorated clothing (Bouman, 1952:60; Helbig, 1939:71-2).⁸ Maloh realized substantial surpluses which presumably partly supported an

8. Enthoven observed that some Maloh communities designated as 'Taman' (see Chapter 2) were not agriculturally successful. This may have been so in the 1890s, but it does not square with my findings some 80 years later.

aristocracy and permitted relatively permanent settlement.⁹

My initial interest in the Iban literature served to bring into sharp relief the contrasts between Maloh and Iban agriculture and society. Freeman's work on the Iban of the Baleh region in Sarawak (1955a, 1955b [1970]) has provided us with detailed data of an eco-system centred on the shifting cultivation of dry rice in hilly, pioneer areas. In much of the writing on the Iban, both within the Baleh and elsewhere, there is an emphasis on physical mobility and prodigal agricultural practices (Freeman, 1970; Morgan, 1968; Pringle, 1970; Richards, 1949; Sandin, 1967; Wagner, 1972). Associated with frequent migration in search of new farm lands is a generally scattered settlement pattern comprising relatively temporary, fragile Iban long-houses and a comparatively egalitarian social order.¹⁰ Specific comparisons between Iban and Maloh agriculture are presented in Chapter 6, and information on the nature and consequences of Iban migration into Maloh country is provided in Chapters 3 and 6.

The second important issue arising from the literature concerned the politico-religious position of Maloh aristocrats. Enthoven referred to the fact that 'paternal chiefs' claimed 'ownership' of the land within the village territory (1903:60, 63-4), and Bouman stated that each chief 'possessed his own village and subjects, as well as the land and fishing-waters of the village' (1924a:179). Huijbers indicated that aristocrats were 'sacred' (1931:204); they possessed certain religious symbols of rank (*ibid.*:206) and maintained elaborate genealogies connected to

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9. Bouman noted that the Kalis, a constituent element of the Maloh, did not possess ranks (1924a:179). My fieldwork data cast doubt on this assertion, but certainly among all Maloh the traditional ranking system has been progressively undermined.
10. There are exceptions to this Iban pattern among, for example, more permanently established Sarawak communities (Pringle, 1970:26-7, 36-7).

illustrious ancestors remembered in sagas and chants (ibid.:171-81 and 1932:151-62). These scattered remarks led me to formulate questions about the political and religious prerogatives of the aristocrats and whether non-aristocrats could acquire or share in political power, as well as play important roles in village religious life. These considerations are examined in detail in Chapters 4 and 7.

Finally, I speculated on the possible relations between rank, kinship and descent. With virtually no information on Maloh kinship and descent in the literature, I assumed that, like all other Borneo societies known to me, Maloh would have a non-unilineal or cognatic descent system.¹¹ In my reading of a large number of monographs on cognatic systems certain conceptual and analytical problems emerged. I had ill-formed worries about the debate which surrounded the concept of the kindred. In Borneo studies, this concept was used to a limited extent by Morris in his study of the stratified Melanau (1953:54, 65, 98, 105). Freeman, in his analysis of the non-stratified Iban (1960, 1961, 1970), defined the kindred as an ego-based, cognatic (i.e. consanguineal) kin category, and gave it a high degree of conceptual precision. I considered their work in the light of Godelier's dictum that 'the appearance of real social classes implies precisely the disappearance not of kinship relations but of their capacity to be the general form of social relations' (1973:116). I suspected that in cognatic societies, the kindred concept might differ in its analytical utility between non-stratified societies like the Iban and stratified societies such as the Melanau and Maloh.

11. See Murdock for the main characteristics of cognatic systems (1960: 1-14) and see King for a discussion of cognatic societies in Borneo (1978b:1-36).

The emphasis on consanguineal kin in the formulation of the concept of the kindred also tended, in some studies of cognatic societies, to divert attention away from marital and affinal ties. In this regard Smart's analysis of the social organization of the Karagawan Isneg of Northern Luzon suggested particular conceptual problems inherent in Freeman's perception of the kindred (1971). Smart introduced an alternative orientation, that of the conjugal pair. He considered the conjugal tie between husband and wife, and the functional and ideological equivalence of consanguines and affines to be pivotal analytical foci in his study. While not being totally convinced of the utility of the conjugal pair as a key concept in the examination of cognatic systems, I wanted to investigate the relationship between marriage, affinal ties and rank among the Maloh. On the basis of Morris' Melanau study marriage seemed to be an important mechanism in both the maintenance and loss of rank position. Furthermore, among the Iban, Leach claimed that 'kindred endogamy coupled with the absence of bride-price probably accounts for the marked lack of class stratification' (1950:70). Thus, the institution of marriage can be closely linked to the operation of relations of social equality and inequality.

These then were the principal areas of concern which crystallized out of the preparatory reading on Borneo. They informed and directed the subsequent fieldwork and, in large part, influenced the form and content of this thesis. Having outlined the interests which underpinned the study, I propose in the next section to sketch out the course of the fieldwork, the methods and techniques used and some practical problems experienced. The final section discusses the main concepts and orientations employed in analysing the empirical data, and reviews other relevant anthropological studies on Borneo in the light of my analytical perspectives.

b. Fieldwork: its Course, Techniques and Problems

There were various difficulties involved in undertaking fieldwork in West Kalimantan. A sense of intellectual isolation was exacerbated by the sheer physical distance one had to travel into interior Kalimantan, the lack of adequate transport facilities and medical services, and the irregularity of our mail.

Beginning in August 1972 my wife and I carried out a two-week reconnaissance in the Lubok Antu border area of Sarawak. We lived in the Iban long-house of Nanga San attempting to find out what we could about the environment and people on the Kalimantan side, and hoping in vain to meet Maloh traders in the bazaar. From Nanga San it proved impossible to obtain permission from the Indonesian and Malaysian authorities to cross the border, due particularly to security problems arising from Communist guerrilla activity. So after initiating ourselves into long-house life there, we eventually returned to Kuching.

In early September we flew from Kuching to Pontianak. It took ten days to obtain letters and clearance from the military, police and government authorities, both in Jakarta and in the province. Brigadier-General Sumardi, the provincial military commander, indicated that 'insurgents' might be operating in the Embaloh district, and that, although he would allow us into the Upper Kapuas, we would have to seek local military permission to travel in the Embaloh area itself.

In Pontianak I collected general statistical, cartographic and ethnographic data on West Kalimantan from various government offices. Up to that time I had no reliable maps of the area and no up-to-date information on the Maloh and Iban. I was fortunate in meeting some Maloh university students and government officials. From them I heard that Maloh along the Embaloh river no longer lived in long-houses. They said most had been abandoned in the 1960s, in favour of single-family dwellings,

although in the nearby Leboyan and Palin there were still many traditional Maloh long-houses. My earlier suspicions that there were significant socio-cultural variations between Maloh in different river-systems was also confirmed. I decided to concentrate on the Maloh of the Embaloh, but to visit other rivers as well, or at least find informants from other areas to gain some view of Maloh as a whole.

After many disappointments we managed to find a government boat bound for Sintang, a town roughly halfway by river between Pontianak and Putus Sibau, the administrative centre of the Upper Kapuas region. We arrived at Sintang after a tedious five-day journey along the sluggish and wildly meandering Kapuas. From there we travelled another five days by Chinese trading boat (bandung) to Putus Sibau. There the bupati gave us permission to proceed with fieldwork. Luckily the acting district officer (camat), who was returning to his station at Benua Martinus, was able to take us with him in his long-boat up the Embaloh river. We arrived at Martinus two days later after having travelled overall about 1,100 kilometres from Pontianak.

For the next six months (October 1972 to March 1973), the main farming period, we stayed in the Embaloh. Initially we established contact with the Dutch Catholic missionaries in Martinus and secured authorization from the local military and police to travel between villages in the Embaloh. Martinus was the administrative, commercial, educational and religious centre of the district (kecamatan) of the Upper Embaloh. It was the residence of two Dutch Catholic fathers and two sisters. There were dwellings for teachers and former and present employees of the mission. Martinus had two schools with boarding houses for pupils, a small out-patients' clinic, a church, three small locally-owned shops, a military and police post and the local district office.

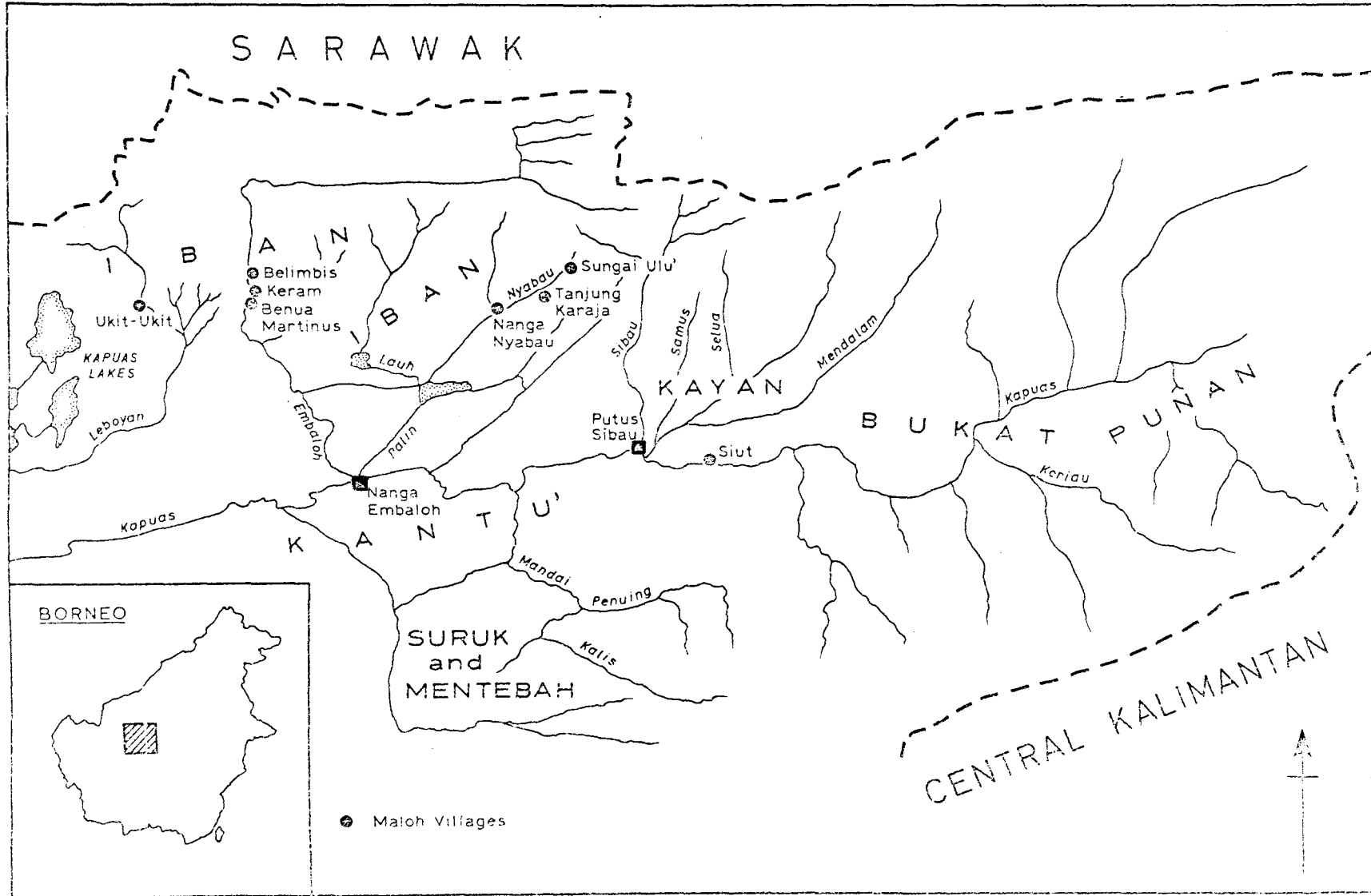
We moved almost immediately into the village of Belimbis, about six

kilometres from the mission (see Map II). During this six-month period most of the time was spent there but we made use of the well-worn and sometimes waterlogged footpaths, to visit most of the nearby Maloh villages, particularly Keram, and a few neighbouring Iban long-houses. We also undertook a gruelling eight-hour hike westwards to the Leboyan river, where we stayed for two weeks at the long-house of Ukit-Ukit. The travelling enabled us to gather a large amount of comparative data, especially three village household surveys, and to talk to experts on such matters as oral tradition, religion, customary law and social organization.

Catholic missionaries had been in the Embaloh, and to a lesser extent the Leboyan, for almost 60 years. About 90 per cent of the Embaloh population claimed to be Catholic, though we subsequently discovered that a number were only nominally so. Nevertheless, some people were sensitive to questions about their pagan traditions. On the whole the Embaloh data on traditional religion was unsatisfactory, not only because of the resistance of informants, but also because most of the impressive pagan ceremonies had either been abandoned or changed radically in form and content.

Up to Christmas 1972 I concentrated on learning the local language and compiling a vocabulary and grammar. I was assisted by the teachers at the Catholic primary school, although I never resorted to the use of interpreters. Prior to fieldwork I was reasonably fluent in Malay/Indonesian and a large percentage of Maloh, with the exception of a few older women, had some knowledge of the national language, while all adults could speak the local Malay dialect. In learning to speak Maloh I collected data using Malay/Indonesian. After about three months I could converse in Maloh, which is structurally akin to Malay, with a measure of ease (see Appendix I).

IMPORTANT MALOH VILLAGES



Our social acceptance in the Embaloh was helped enormously by the enthusiasm for my project of Kasso and Rajang, two aristocrats living in Martinus. Rajang was the temenggung or adat head of the Embaloh; Kasso had been the previous temenggung. They were acutely aware that their people's traditions were disappearing, and they wished these to be preserved before they were lost forever.

We next moved to the Palin river to obtain comparative material from the Maloh there. We stayed for five months (April 1973-August 1973), most of that time being spent in the large and impressive long-house of Nanga Nyabau. We also visited Bakupak, the temenggung of the Palin, who at that time was living in a field-house (pambutan) near the rice-fields, upstream of his village of Sungai Ulu'. I spent many hours talking to him about Maloh customary law. Before leaving Nyabau we participated in a four-day 'feast of the departed spirits' (mulambu) at the nearby village of Tanjung Karaja.

Our rapport with the Palin people was established much faster than with those in the Embaloh, apparently for three main reasons. First, the Palin had had very little contact with missionaries, and, in consequence, villagers were much less suspicious of our motives. We were accepted as teachers interested in recording 'the old ways' (adat jolón), and not labelled as a curious breed of religious proselytizer. We could also establish confidence with our elementary knowledge of first aid and the distribution of medicines, which, in contrast to the Embaloh, were not freely available. Secondly, my command of the language was much more satisfactory by the time we reached the Palin. Thirdly, we were living in a long-house where we found it easy to mix daily with villagers. In the Embaloh where villages comprised separate dwellings, it was more difficult to provide situations in which we could observe and talk with

people casually. I was pleased with the overall quality of the Palin data, though in retrospect my Embaloh field materials on economic and social organization and history were satisfactory for my purposes.

In late August I suffered bad bouts of dysentery and malaria. We decided to leave the Palin and return to Putus Sibau. Once there we made a short trip to the nearby Taman people. They are an important segment of the Maloh, but differ in a number of cultural particulars from their Embaloh and Palin cousins. We spent 18 days in the Taman village of Siut where I contacted the same men Harrisson had interviewed ten years before in Kuching. During my stay in the Upper Kapuas I also talked with Maloh from the Kalis river to the south of the Embaloh, but I never managed to visit their homeland.

Perhaps my travelling sacrificed a certain amount of descriptive detail, but because of it I became aware of the rich cultural variation within the Maloh complex of peoples - and even more wary of making broad generalizations which are not strictly relevant to Maloh as a whole. It should be constantly borne in mind that my main information was derived from the Embaloh and Palin and in specific details may be inappropriate for all Maloh communities. Even so, I will maintain that certain principles of social organization, particularly rank, have general applicability to all Maloh.

I would have liked a longer period among the Maloh, but my wife and I found fieldwork in the Upper Kapuas an extremely taxing, though enjoyable occupation. My health suffered and this began to put a physical and mental strain on me. In our isolated field situation we also found it difficult to obtain a visa extension, and research funds were rapidly diminishing. We left the Upper Kapuas at the end of September 1973.

A few comments should be made on fieldwork techniques. My data can be placed under headings instantly recognizable to social anthropologists.

These include a vocabulary-grammar file, general census and statistical data, household surveys, individual case histories, genealogies, relationship terminologies, verbatim records of myths, sagas, folk-stories, chants and 'historical' events, and statements and observations on domestic, economic, political and religious activities. The data were supplemented by tape-recordings, line-drawings, photographs and slides. I preferred to use field notebooks rather than catalogue cards as I found them easier to carry and handle for quick note-taking. A constant reference book was Notes and Queries on Anthropology (1971, 6th edition). I also kept a copy of Freeman's Report on the Iban (1970) with me. His data and exposition are excellent, and I attempted to cover the same social and economic topics as he, although without adopting his particular descriptive framework.

Apart from the usual fieldwork hazards such as culture shock, which the anthropologist has to meet and try to overcome, I faced one main problem which arose from studying a stratified society. It would have been easy to arrive at a one-sided view of Maloh society by too heavy reliance on data from one rank. This was even more likely given the fact that aristocrats, despite a decline in their economic and political position, were still often forceful and prestigious personalities in the village, and the foreign guest tended to be entertained and monopolized by them. Therefore, I made a point of residing with non-aristocratic households as well, and seeking information from them. Leach faced the same difficulty in his survey of Sarawak ranked societies. He stated that his data on commoners among the Kenyah-Kayan-Kajang were 'based upon information supplied by members of the aristocracy', and amusingly 'On one occasion when I managed to get some commoner Punan Bah [a Kajang group] involved in the discussion Penghulu Puso who accompanied me, pointedly contradicted everything they said!' (1950:77).

There were also problems in acquiring material on the slave rank. Although slavery had been officially abolished by the Dutch in the late nineteenth century, it was slow to die, and apparently was still viable among the Maloh in the 1920s. Over time the former slaves became categorized as commoners and increasingly merged with them. Yet even in the 1970s a stigma attached to slave descent, and it remained a fine-able offence to refer to someone as a slave in public or cast aspersions on his ancestry. It was from chance remarks and careful observation of social interaction and marriage alignments, that I arrived at a reasonable idea of those who were of slave descent. Formerly slaves had been vital in maintaining the economic and political superiority of the aristocracy, but it was difficult to discover the past characteristics and functions of slaves. I was given ideal views of the 'traditional' ranking system, though some information on ranks in practice was culled from the unpublished missionary records.

c. Conceptual and Analytical Considerations

This thesis is essentially an ethnographic and historical account of the Maloh, since there is virtually no detailed information on them apart from my own publications (King, 1973a, 1974b, 1975a, 1975b, 1975c, 1975d, 1975e, 1975h, 1976a, 1976b, 1976c, 1976d, 1976e, 1976f, 1976g, 1976h, 1978c, 1978d, n.d. (a)). I did not approach this study with a particular theory or hypothesis to test, nor did I want to concentrate on one sphere of Maloh life, be it economics, politics, religion or kinship. I tended to pay close attention to topics which had emerged from my preparatory reading, but published information on the Maloh was too sparse to allow me to formulate precise problems for analysis. Therefore, I have not presented an introductory theoretical chapter which integrates the thesis into a grand scheme. Nevertheless, specific concepts have

enabled me to make sense of some of my data and render it less intractable. The most important relate to rank and kinship, and in subsequent sections these concepts are discussed in the light of the relevant anthropological literature on Borneo societies.

(i) Social Inequality and Rank

By social inequality I mean the process of unequal distribution of and/or unequal command over key resources such as material goods, labour, ritual objects, knowledge and skills. The terms 'social stratification', 'rank' and 'ranking system' refer to the static placement of collections of individuals in vertically ranked strata based on such criteria as wealth, prestige and political power (cf. B eteille, 1969:13). My general term 'rank' then denotes a wholly or partially distinct stratum of society. The interrelationship of ranks gives rise to a 'ranking system' or a 'system of social stratification'.

The concepts of 'class', 'status' and 'power' are employed in a dynamic way to analyse different dimensions of rank and changes in analytically separable kinds of inequality. This tripartite division, first formally established by Weber (e.g. 1947:424-9; 1971:250-64) is susceptible to a variety of interpretations, but my approach basically follows that of Runciman, a disciple of Weber (1968:25-61; 1969:45-63) (see below). The three dimensions of rank are interrelated, but do not necessarily coincide to produce isomorphic strata. Nor is it entailed that individuals in a society explicitly identify these dimensions and classify ranked social categories in these terms.

The existence of hereditary ranks marks off certain societies in Central Borneo such as the Maloh, Kayan, Kenyah, Kajang, Ot Danum and

Melanau,¹² from surrounding more 'egalitarian' societies such as the Iban, Bidayuh, Selako, Lun Dayeh, Rungus Dusun and Ma'anyan (cf. Morris, 1980:295). Though an important division, there is a danger of distinguishing the two categories too sharply. Both Leach (1950:27) and Pringle (1970:28, 36-7) noted that some Iban communities have a noticeable 'class structure' or exhibit a 'greater sense of class'. Appell has also argued that Rungus Dusun society is basically egalitarian, yet a 'permeable class system' exists comprising three 'grades' - a wealthy, middle and poor class (1978:144). Furthermore, if we examine some of the 'egalitarian' societies historically they present a rather different picture. Crain indicated that the Lun Dayeh had a 'class system' about 60 years ago consisting of aristocrats, commoners and slaves, though these ranks have all but disappeared (1978:136-7).¹³ It would appear that, in general, analyses of the 'egalitarian' societies have employed the concept of class - frequently without definition - ignoring the broader problems of social inequality and without using distinctions of status and differential distribution of power. The conceptual distinction between the three dimensions of inequality would have revealed that while today clearly defined economic classes may not be discernible in these societies, structured inequalities still exist. What is more historical analysis might indicate that these societies were class stratified in the past when slavery thrived in Borneo.

12. For comparative material on stratified societies I have relied heavily on studies of the Kayan (Rousseau, 1974, 1978, 1979, n.d.), Kenyah (Whittier, 1973, 1978) and Melanau (Morris, 1953, 1976, 1978) in this thesis. There is little useful data on the social organization of the Kajang (who comprise several named groups viz. the Kejaman, Lahanan, Punan Bah and Sekapan), although see de Martinoir's paper on the Kajang as a whole (1974:267-73), Nicolaisen on the Punan Bah (1976:63-95) and Leach on the Kenyah-Kayan-Kajang complex (1950:54-5, 63-6, 76-8). See also Metcalf on the Berawan, a non-Kajang, ranked Borneo society (1974, 1975, 1976a, 1976b, 1976c, 1976d).

13. See similarly the Ma'anyan (the Hudsons, 1978:222-3).

Turning to the ranked societies, historical analysis can reveal that their traditional ranking systems are breaking down in such a way that they increasingly resemble the present-day 'egalitarian' societies. These changes can be more readily understood when we distinguish the different dimensions of inequality.

Class

Classes are taken to be essentially economic phenomena generated by the economic processes of production, distribution and exchange and expressed in the differential possession and/or control of productive resources such as land, labour, agricultural equipment and other property. This concept of class partly coincides with that of Marx, but I do not rely on a Marxist analysis here. Among Maloh one can identify exploitative relationships, especially within the traditional ranking system, in that certain individuals appropriate the surplus labour of others. However, during fieldwork I did not identify the process of class struggle nor the formation and consolidation of conflict groups and class consciousness. Furthermore, by using the additional Weberian concept of status one can examine other kinds of inequality which do not necessarily coincide with the division of labour and which might be glossed over in class analysis. For example, one meets with cases of Maloh aristocrats losing their economic superiority, but managing to retain a position of status. It is precisely in a situation of rapid social change that the different dimensions of inequality might get markedly out of step.

Sahlins (1958) has drawn attention to another vital issue in assessing the utility of class analysis. He decided not to employ the concept of class in his Polynesian study because

... in contrast to the social classes of market-dominated societies, status differences in kinship societies do not, as a rule, depend on differences

in private wealth. Status inequalities in primitive societies are not accompanied by entrepreneurial enterprise, and the complete separation of producers from the factors of production. Social relations of mastery and subordination are here not correlates of economic relations of owner and labourer ... To maintain a distinction, therefore, between what are really different phenomena, categories of rank in kin societies will be designated 'status levels'; the term 'social classes' will be reserved for the social strata of market-dominated societies (ibid.:2-3).¹⁴

I agree that in non-Western societies such as the Maloh, entrepreneurial enterprise, private wealth and the separation of producers from the means of production may not figure in relations of domination and subordination, but, to my mind Sahlins' statement relegates economic relations to a secondary position. In an analysis of Maloh rank the traditional system of inequality must be understood, at least in part, in economic terms. Different ranks occupied different positions in the processes of production, distribution and exchange. The aristocratic rank commanded labour resources (slaves and corvées from commoners); aristocrats had rights in more and better quality land than commoners; they did not work their own fields; they accumulated agricultural surplus and trading profits, and translated part of these benefits into heirlooms and ritual objects; they also financed impressive religious feasts. Commoners were free agriculturalists, exercising control over their production, productive factors and the product of their labour, although periodically they had to work for aristocrats and deliver tribute to them. Slaves were owned by aristocrats. Captive-slaves worked entirely for their masters and lived in aristocratic households. They could be exchanged for goods or used as sacrificial victims in rituals. Bond- or debt-slaves could farm and live independently of their masters,

14. Weber's concept of class was itself developed in the context of an industrial market economy and, for him, was only applicable to societies governed by market exchanges (cf. Rousseau, 1979:215-16). See also Frankenberg for a critique of Sahlins' position (1967:78-81).

but they had no land rights and no freedom of movement; they were at the beck-and-call of their masters; they could not marry without their masters' permission, and theoretically all the products of their labour belonged to aristocrats. Changes in traditional ranks have considerably complicated this three-class system, and it is now problematical whether one can isolate these clearly defined economic classes among present-day Maloh (see Chapter 6). But for the former system of ranks the concept of class has analytical utility.

Similarly Rousseau, in his study of the Kayan, discerned three 'politico-economic classes'. He argued that Sahlins' twin concepts of 'social class' and 'status level' should not be used independently to analyse different types of social inequality in two different kinds of society. Rather they should be employed to examine 'two facets of social inequality in the same society' (n.d.:1). This fits my position that Sahlins has taken the Weberian distinction to an extreme by implying that non-Western societies have 'status' (a social phenomenon involving subjective evaluation of superiority and inferiority) but not 'class' (an economic phenomenon).

Interestingly Rousseau found the concept of class useful because in the early 1970s the Kayan of the Baluy area of Sarawak were still relatively isolated from outside influences. Aristocrats had retained a number of traditional prerogatives, and Rousseau could delimit three classes of aristocrats, commoners and slaves. However, his analysis raises one problem, for he went on to argue that it is political factors (i.e. Weber's concept of power) rather than economic criteria which define Kayan classes. He claimed that the Kayan 'dominant group does not control the factors of production, nor does it play a redistributive role' (n.d.:2). Thus, for him social inequality 'depends on the chief's [and aristocrats'] position in the regional political network' (ibid.:2).



The assertion that aristocrats do not control productive factors appears to depend largely on the fact that Kayan do not establish permanent rights in land; land is plentiful and a 'free good' (ibid.:11-12; 1974:118-19, 374-6; 1979:223).¹⁵ Rousseau emphasized only one factor of production - land. Yet it is clear from his own data that Kayan aristocrats control other economic resources because 'they, and they only, can own slaves' (1978:87). If slaves live in an aristocrat's household then 'all their work and its product' are under his control. Even if slaves live independently of their master, they have to work for him when required and deliver up 'small prestations of meat or other goods' (ibid.:87).¹⁶ Commoners must also regularly work and provide goods for aristocrats 'to the point where they [aristocrats] have little or no agricultural work to do' (ibid.:86; 1974:137-8). Kayan aristocrats are wealthy (n.d.:17) and possess large fields (1974:375). Formerly they could sell slaves (n.d.:15) and take tribute from Melanau-Kajang groups (1974:76) and from local Chinese entrepreneurs (ibid.:376). They could demand work from nearby nomadic Punan (ibid.:385) and they benefited from profitable trade with them (ibid.:63; 1978:86). This evidence leads me to doubt Rousseau's opinion that aristocrats do not acquire a surplus nor play a redistributive role at present, and certainly suggests that they commanded a substantial surplus in the past. I conclude that while political power is an important dimension of Kayan class structure, economic criteria are at least of equal significance, and at one point Rousseau himself tentatively admitted this (n.d.:26-7).

In Leach's work on Sarawak the economic basis of class among Kenyah-Kayan-Kajang was clearly recognized (1950:61, 64, 71-3, 76, 78-9). He

15. Contrast Maloh who do establish permanent rights in land.

16. Weber noted that ownership of slaves is a 'class attribute' (1947:425), and more recently Rousseau has placed more emphasis on aristocratic control of 'surplus labour' in his class analysis (1979:215, 227, 229). See also Whittier (1973:70; 1978:121).

pointed to a 'class structure based on wealth' (ibid.:75) maintaining that an aristocrat's political influence and the size of his long-house was related to 'economics' rather than 'military might' (ibid.:64). Leach suggested that if villages were small in size and population, and not particularly wealthy, then a particular section of the community found it difficult to attain 'a permanently privileged position' (ibid.:75), presumably because aristocrats had to be supported by surplus production.

Leach also noted that Kenyah-Kayan-Kajang had 'a rigid class structure', 'strongly autocratic chiefs' and that marriage rules of 'class endogamy' were 'extremely strong' (ibid.:54, 76).¹⁷ While in indigenous ideology ranks are sharply distinguished, endogamous, hereditary and immutable, Leach neglected to mention that, in practice, there is mobility between ranks and, at any one time, certain individuals occupy transitional or ambiguous positions between ranks (c.f. Brown, 1976:161; Morris, 1980:302 seq.; Rousseau, 1974:355-8). In the published literature on Borneo stratified societies there is ample evidence of aristocrats becoming commoners and vice versa. Therefore, when I talk about traditional Maloh classes as if they were clearly and statically defined, I am isolating them on the basis of certain objective economic criteria. This exercise must be distinguished from what happened in practice and from Maloh ideology which supported and legitimized the class structure by presenting a model of Maloh social stratification consisting not of three classes but of four status levels.

17. Leach also talked somewhat confusingly about 'classes' among the Iban yet maintained that Iban lacked 'formal class stratification' (ibid.:71).

Status

Status is taken as being concerned with social estimation, with the subjective evaluation of hierarchical positions relative to one another. Investigations of status attempt to isolate the criteria which figure importantly in those evaluations. Individuals occupying a particular class position do not necessarily have the same status, although economic criteria may be ingredients of prestige. Weber's concept of 'status honour' relates most directly to consumption patterns and manners (1971:257), and Runciman similarly remarked that status inequality 'covers those differences in social attributes and styles of life which are accorded higher or lower prestige' (1969:49). What is more since status is primarily concerned with the realm of indigenous evaluation, in contrast to the analysis of economic classes, we should not be surprised to find that members of a society might disagree about what constitutes high or low prestige. This is particularly so among contemporary Maloh where the traditional ranking system has been undermined. Certain traditional values supporting aristocratic superiority are now questioned and new criteria of status evaluation such as education, white collar employment, and Western religion and modes of dress are coming to the fore. In the analysis of contemporary Maloh society, I am more concerned with these conflicting evaluations of status than with the delimitation of classes.

Power must also be a consideration in the analysis of status because a dominant section of society may be able to impose its values on subordinates. This was the case in traditional Maloh society when aristocrats clearly had political power. There was an overall consensus in status ranking with four named status levels - samagat (aristocrats); pabiring (middle rank) and banua (ordinary villagers) together comprising economically a class of commoners (see below); and pangkam (slaves).

Status criteria among Maloh traditionally included social origins (birth), names and genealogical connexions, symbols of rank (heirlooms, ritual paraphernalia, bridewealth, legal distinctions, clothing, bodily adornments, ceremonial pictorial designs), position in indigenous classification systems, and differences in work-situation.¹⁸ Some of these elements of status are still found among Maloh, particularly among the relatively isolated Palin people, but increasingly non-aristocrats tend to ignore or deny them. Formerly commoners, successful economically or politically, rather than denying the above status values attempted to translate their success into 'refined' status by marrying into aristocratic families and assuming the trappings of the aristocracy.

Other analyses of stratified Borneo societies have used the concept of status. Rousseau, having differentiated three Kayan classes, noted that 'Kayan ideology differentiates between four strata' (n.d.:1). He called these hereditary, named strata 'estates' which are '... in decreasing order of status, the maren, hipuy, panyin and dipen' (1978:86). Estates 'are distinguished from each other not by their wealth or access to goods, or by their role in relations of production, but by the differential esteem given to the estates' (n.d.:4).¹⁹ These strata to which 'definite sets of rules' are attached are in turn arranged into two ritual categories - the maren and hipuy form the kelunan jia ('superior people') and the panyin and dipen make up the kelunan ji'ek

18. Cf. Brown's study of Brunei social stratification which was based largely on the concept of status, involving such criteria as descent, life-style, occupation, titles, seating position, insignia of office, and the Brunei conception of social hierarchy (1970, 1976, n.d.). See also Morris (1980:299 seq.).
19. Rousseau did not make the distinction between 'class' and 'status' clear in earlier work (1972:6). The Kayan system above corresponds very closely to the traditional Maloh ranking system (see Chapter 4). Like Rousseau, I too sometimes referred to 'classes' when I should have meant 'status levels' in some of my early work (e.g. 1974b:221; 1975d:155-7; 1976c:191; 1976g:127). However, in general, I preferred the broad term 'rank' to cover both class and status.

('inferior people') (1978:86). The first category is 'spiritually more powerful' (n.d.:5) and entitled to 'some tattoo designs and ritual elements forbidden to the others' (1978:86). Rousseau maintained that these two 'super-estates' (1974:396-7) and the four social estates hide and therefore indirectly serve to support the basic three-class system (n.d.:5, 6, 14, 19-20, 24, 34). Status levels are related to economic classes but are not completely isomorphic with them.²⁰

Rousseau also devoted some attention to bases of status outside those expressed in the formal system of estates. For example, Kayan have priests and priestesses (dayong) who are accorded prestige (1974: 417-29), and 'big men' who are prestigious commoners involved in village politics (n.d.:12, 23-4). Maloh too had equivalent status positions. Maloh 'big men', in particular, accumulated wealth, had knowledge of customary law, and gained reputations as wise men and just mediators. Some intermarried with aristocrats and the possibility of becoming an aristocrat served to defuse opposition to the prevailing hierarchy, and along with the formal ideology of status levels, maintained that hierarchy.

Both Whittier and Morris primarily examined status in their analyses of Kenyah and Melanau society respectively, although they sometimes failed to differentiate the concept of status from that of class.²¹ For example, Whittier claimed that he was investigating 'class stratification', 'social class symbols' and 'class markers' (1973:3, 6, 7, 5, 143, 150, 159-60), but his main preoccupation was status symbols which were 'bound into the religious system of the Kenyah peoples' (ibid.:3; cf. Leach, 1950:71,

20. Leach too distinguished class from status when he noted that absence of 'class stratification' among Iban did not imply 'lack of interest in personal status' (1950:71).

21. I would expect them to focus on status because like the Maloh, and in contrast to the Kayan, both Kenyah and Melanau have been subject to dramatic change. The former class system is no longer clearly discernible, though some symbols of status are.

80-2). As a result of the confusion between class and status (e.g. *ibid.*:70, 92, 140, 141, 190, 192-3, 241, 245, 246, 247, 248) Whittier isolated different class models in different parts of his study. Often he employed a two-class division between aristocrats (paran) and commoners (panyin) (*ibid.*:53, 55, 60, 70, 71-2, 77, 85-6), when what he appears to have been referring to was a ritual distinction between 'people of the right hand' or 'people of the sun' (aristocrats) and 'children' (commoners) (*ibid.*:69), a distinction also found among Kayan and Maloh (see Chapter 4). In Whittier's discussion of the symbolic ornamentations found on the Kenyah baby-carrier (ba'), three classes emerged - paran (comprising high paran [paran bio] and middle paran), paran iot (low paran) and panyin (*ibid.*:201-2).²² Again these are distinctions of status and not class because when Whittier did use primarily economic criteria in categorization he isolated three classes, viz. aristocrats, commoners and slaves (panyin lamin) (*ibid.*:69).²³

Whittier's confusions lead to uncertainty as to which strata particular 'symbols of social differentiation' apply. For example, his discussion of status differences in bridewealth, adat fines (*ibid.*:70-1), styles of life (*ibid.*:71-2), genealogical connexions (*ibid.*:71, 77), pictorial designs (*ibid.*:167-9, 172-3), use of tattoos (*ibid.*:141, 176-8) and seating positions at ceremonies (*ibid.*:141-2) was generally based on the broad distinction between the paran and panyin 'classes'. From other evidence he supplied I suspect that these status differences above allow

22. In contrast his examination of Kenyah funerary practices revealed four classes - aristocrats, paran iot, panyin and slaves (*ibid.*:178-86). Here again Whittier was referring to status based on ritual criteria and not class. More recently he has isolated five classes 'distinguished by differences in adat' (1978:109-10).

23. See similarly Nicolaisen for the Punan Bah (1976:64) and de Martinoir for the Kajang, as a whole (1974:271). I disagree with Metcalf that only the Kayan have 'clearly demarcated classes' (1974:33).

one to discriminate between two ritual divisions (paran and panyin), and four status levels (paran, paran iot, panyin and panyin lamin). In other words, I suggest that in the past the Kenyah had three classes, four status levels and two ritual categories like the Kayan and Maloh. The main difficulty concerns the Kenyah paran or 'low aristocrats'. These appear to be structurally equivalent to the Kayan hipuy and the Maloh pabiring - a status level on occasion symbolically associated with aristocrats proper (although also at times symbolically differentiated from high and middle paran), and economically defined as commoners.

The problems posed by Whittier's imprecise analysis of Kenyah social inequality are compounded by his failure to analyse processes of social change. The concept of class was also used indiscriminately in referring to both past and present situations among Kenyah, when I would argue that it has most relevance to traditional Kenyah society. As with Maloh various politico-religious and to some extent economic forces have undermined traditional Kenyah classes and aristocratic prerogatives. Furthermore, some of the status symbols which Whittier described no longer have much relevance to contemporary Kenyah, but we are not told clearly which symbols remain and in what ways new ingredients of prestige relate to the traditional status system. Have Kenyah teachers and government officials acquired prestige as well as economic position and power? Do they intermarry with aristocrats or deny aristocratic status? Have aristocrats tried to move into these new positions to maintain some of their former prestige? Whittier only mentioned in passing that certain officials do gain in status (ibid.:206) and that some lowly paran have risen in the social scale (ibid.:157, 174, 203, 204-5), while admitting that historical problems need investigation (ibid.:231).

Like Whittier, Morris, in his Melanau study, analysed a changing

system of stratification and focussed on status symbols rather than class.²⁴ Similarly there is some confusion in the use of the concepts class and status. Morris primarily concentrated on Melanau 'rank status' (1953:51, 55 seq.) defined as 'a graded system of social honours' and 'a hierarchy of values' (ibid.:64). Membership of a status level was ascribed by birth through the male line (ibid.:54; 1976:114; 1978:40) and was expressed in prestige symbols, particularly items of bridewealth displayed and exchanged during marriage ceremonies, and to a lesser extent symbols used in birth and death rites (1953:53, 61-4, 120, 146-7; 1978:46, 49; 1980:299 seq.). Ideally ranks were strictly endogamous and 'theoretically caste-like' (1953:59). They were articulated by 'an elaborate set of customary rules' (adet) (1976:113) ultimately controlled by the aristocrats (1980:302).

Morris discerned three main status levels (basa) (1953:55; 1980:298). Each was subdivided, forming six named strata, also called basa. The aristocratic 'rank status' (menteri, mantri) was divided into basa pengiren/pangeran, who were 'individuals descended from the Muslim Brunei aristocratic families that had settled at the mouths of the rivers' (1978:49) and who were not represented in Morris' fieldwork area of Oya and Mukah, and basa menteri or Melanau aristocrats. The second status level of freemen (bumi) comprised basa bumi ateng or 'true' bumi who would work for aristocrats by invitation only, and basa bumi giga who had to perform labour services for aristocrats (1953:54-5, 56, 59). Finally, there were slaves (dipen, dipan) made up of 'house-slaves' (dipen dagen lebu) and 'field-slaves' (dipen ga' luer) who lived independently of their masters (1978:49-50; 1980:304 seq.).

24. Metcalf too indicated that Berawan did not have classes but 'flexible ranks and fluid status' instead (1976b:33; 1976c:79).

Formerly, the three main status levels of aristocrats, freemen and slaves would also appear to have been economic classes (1976:113; 1978: 49-50; cf. Kayan, Kenyah, Maloh). Traditionally aristocrats were entitled to *corvées*; they were wealthy with much sago land; they owned most, if not all the slaves, and they were released from sago cultivation to participate in profitable trading expeditions (1978:52-3; 1980:295-6, 301). Freemen were independent cultivators. Slaves were mainly owned by aristocrats (1976:113; 1980:296). This picture is complicated when Morris elsewhere referred to a four class system 'that is superficially not unlike the ranks of aristocracy, middle classes, workers and slaves of other societies' (1978:46). The 'middle classes' are problematical. From Morris' earlier work they seem to cover the superior sub-category of freemen (bumi ateng) (1953:54-5, 56, 59). The inferior bumi are therefore 'workers'. In Morris' alternative three class system I can only assume that the two bumi categories are lumped together as freemen (ibid.: 159; 1978:41; 1980:303).

There is a further confusion when Morris also put forward another three class model which differs slightly from that of aristocrats, freemen and slaves, and in which the labels 'upper', 'middle' and 'lower classes' are used. As with the four class scheme the bumi ateng are the 'middle class', but the bumi giga' are categorized with slaves in the 'lower class'. The two sub-categories of bumi present classificatory problems for Morris because both are 'transitional' groupings (see Chapter 4) and because Morris confuses class and status. In other words the bumi ateng are economically freemen yet constitute a middle rank or a separate status level from bumi giga', and intermarry with aristocrats, while bumi giga' are freemen in class terms (1953:59; 1978:49-50), but also comprise a separate status level and originate from 'freed slaves'.²⁵

25. At one point Morris appears to have equated bumi giga' with 'field slaves' (1953:57). More recently he has referred to them as 'tied' freemen (1980:303).

I maintain that Morris has clouded the issue by using the concept of class in three somewhat different contexts. Therefore, I suggest that Melanau, like Kayan, Kenyah and Maloh, had, at least in the past, a three class system of aristocrats (menteri), freemen (bumi ateng and giga') and slaves (dipen), and traditionally and in 1950, four main status levels - menteri, bumi ateng, bumi giga' and dipen.²⁶ I would dispense with the confusing four class categorization and the designations 'upper', 'middle' and 'lower classes'.

Power

The Weberian concept of power is particularly intractable, ambiguous and value-laden. Weber defined it as 'the chance of a man or of a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against resistance of others who are participating in the action' (1971: 250). He stressed the coercive aspect of power, but besides the capacity to apply direct sanctions (political, legal, economic, ritual), power also involves the ability to manipulate people's expectations and desires contrary to their best interests. Furthermore, while political leadership and decision-making are a vital aspect of power, the maintenance and exercise of power must also be understood in their social, economic and religious dimensions. In particular, there is a close relationship between 'class-situation' and 'power-situation' (Runciman, 1969:50).

Rousseau pitched his analysis of Kayan social inequality largely in power terms (1974:77-85, 399 seq.). Unlike the Kenyah, Maloh and Melanau, the Baluy Kayan have not been subject to dramatic change, and in the early 1970s Kayan aristocrats still clearly possessed power. They

26. Morris' data on the two categories of slaves are insufficient to enable me to decide whether they constitute two separate status levels.

monopolized village headmanship; they were the main decision-makers; they controlled inter-village politics, and commoners had to obtain their chief's permission before leaving a village and joining another. Rousseau argued that firstly, 'Kayan stratification exists because a section of the society has managed to monopolize intercommunal political relations' (n.d.:27), and secondly that 'power gives wealth ... and is clearly of a political and not an economic nature ...' (ibid.:27).

I cannot accept these two propositions unreservedly. Rousseau claimed that the *raison d'être* of the stratification system (and by implication its emergence and development) is based on the aristocratic monopoly of inter-village relations (1974:23-5, 30-1; 1978:78-80, 86-7). In the Baluy, long-houses were socially and physically isolated from each other and therefore Kayan 'needed' aristocrats to establish and maintain external contacts (n.d.:30-4). The problem is that Rousseau offers a general functionalist explanation for Kayan stratification in terms of a few communities in a particular ecological niche at a particular point of time. Not all Kayan villages were isolated. Furthermore, one could argue with equal justification that the production of surplus by particular Kayan groups in ecologically favourable locations generated and maintained a system of stratification (cf. King, 1978b:30-1). Rousseau's analysis understates the role of economic factors in Kayan social stratification, though I accept that control of inter-village politics is an important mechanism in maintaining aristocratic superiority.

Rousseau's assertion that 'power gives wealth' also requires qualification. I am not certain that economic success among Kayan was always predicated on the possession of power. For example, Rousseau himself noted that control over economic resources was itself a means to power because it allowed individuals to provide favours and hospitality and so gain a following (1974:426; n.d.:9, 13). I prefer to see political

power and control over economic resources going hand in hand, rather than arguing that one or the other is, in some sense, basic or determinant.

Finally, Rousseau identified 'class consciousness' and 'conflict groups' among Kayan since political power and economic control were still largely concentrated in aristocrats' hands. In contrast, both aristocratic power and control of material resources in contemporary Kenyah, Maloh and Melanau societies had declined substantially and class antagonisms were not noticeable.²⁷ Of course traditionally among all these peoples the three economic classes of aristocrats, freemen and slaves could be defined in political terms as well - aristocrats were the ruling group; the freemen were the ruled, with some capacity for independent action and opportunities for participating in decision-making; slaves were fully subordinate.

Unlike Rousseau, Morris paid little attention to the concept of power in his Melanau study.²⁸ Formerly political power was shared among 'aristocratic elders' (a-nyat) or 'great men' drawn from the aristocracy (1953:52, 82 seq.; 1978:41, 51). There was no Melanau institution of headman or chief (1976:113-14). There were, however, mechanisms for utilizing talented commoners, but, rather than remaining outside aristocratic circles, successful freemen appear to have been fully incorporated into the aristocracy (1978:51).

In 1950, in contrast to Kayan aristocrats, Melanau menteri did not meet together 'to forward their own interests' (1978:50). Their identity was expressed in the right to share 'certain specified symbolic property' (ibid.:46); their prestige was recognized, but 'their effective power

27. Even Rousseau noted that class conflict was rare among Kayan because 'the level of exploitation is limited' (1979:234-5).

28. Whittier too only briefly mentioned the power dimension among Kenyah (1973:70, 226, 227, 229).

had declined' (ibid.:53) so that 'the present day Melanau pays almost inordinate attention to the polite ceremonials that are proper to persons of rank while, at the same time showing a listless disinterest in the realities of political power' (1953:6). Their attitudes towards power may also have been partly due to the fact that historically Melanau were under the political domination of Malay rulers.

Even in Morris' analysis of the past Melanau ranking system there was no mention of aristocratic involvement in inter-village politics (1976:113; 1978:51,58). In contrast to Rousseau's analysis of the Kayan aristocracy, Morris preferred to emphasize the external economic role of aristocrats in trade (1978:51) and furthermore he stated that while '[i]n theory, high political status in the villages is the prerogative of high rank. In practice it is seen that high economic status rather than high rank tends to give political position.....' (1953:93). Only the rich men had the leisure to acquire knowledge to participate in politics (ibid.:61).

* * * * *

In this thesis I examine traditional Maloh rank in terms of the three concepts of class, status and power to demonstrate the fact that formerly the Maloh hierarchy, like that of the Kayan, and possibly the Kenyah and Melanau, comprised three politico-economic classes and four main status levels. I trace the historical factors which undermined the former ranking system. Finally, my description and analysis of Maloh rank in the early 1970s reveals that the economic classes of aristocrats, commoners and slaves are no longer discernible, nor do aristocrats constitute a ruling class. The economic situation has become more fluid through new economic opportunities and the elimination of aristocratic control of resources such as labour. Individuals have

also lost much interest in local politics with the removal of a number of political prerogatives from the village and its headman to higher levels of government. As in Morris' and Whittier's studies of ranked societies, status becomes a much more usable concept in a situation in which former politico-economic classes are breaking down and new strata have not yet formed.

(ii) Kinship and Descent

Social ties between consanguineal and affinal kinsmen play an organizational role in all societies. But in stratified social systems kinship relations can variously complement, support, conflict with or be subordinated to those of rank.

In common with all Borneo societies, Maloh kinship and descent can be classified as cognatic. In analyzing these societies from a kinship viewpoint the concept of the kindred has often been used.²⁹ Leach suggested that the 'personal kindred' defined as 'the whole body of an individual's [recognized] relatives', is characteristic of Sarawak, and probably all Borneo societies (1950:57, 61-2; cf. Murdock, 1960:2-7, 14). Freeman subsequently wrote an influential paper on the kindred based, in part, on his Baleh Iban study (1961). For him the kindred has the following properties: it is ego-centred; it comprises only ego's cognatic (consanguineal) kin, explicitly excluding affinal kin; its boundaries are theoretically indeterminate, and kindred members are obliged to help each other (1961:209; 1970:67). Freeman's emphasis

29. Borneo societies are sometimes labelled 'bilateral', a term used by Murdock to refer to a sub-type of cognatic societies which do not possess 'descent groups' (1960:1-14; cf. Peranio, 1961:93-113). For some Borneo societies the term 'bilateral' in the sense above is inappropriate (see below). Furthermore, the emphasis given to kinship in defining a particular type of Borneo society may be misplaced (Appell, 1976:vi-vii, 3; King, 1978b:5-12).

on consanguineal kinship as a principle for group formation may arise from the fact that he was working in the shadow of African descent theory. For him the cognatic kindred appears to be analogous in some respects to the lineage. Since his study several fieldworkers have experienced difficulties in using this ego-focussed, consanguineal-based construct.³⁰

Attempts have been made to reformulate Freeman's kindred concept, revealing marked variations in kindreds from different societies. Some societies apparently have ego-centred kindreds; others have kindreds focussed on a conjugal pair and/or nuclear family (e.g. Javanese [Koentjaraningrat, 1968:53] and Sagada Igorot [Eggan, 1960:30]); among the Lapps Goodenough suggested variable kindred foci - a father and sons, or close in-laws (1962:5). Even Freeman, in describing Iban social processes, seems to detect various kindred foci (cf. King, 1976e:126).

Kindreds also vary in range and composition. Some, such as the Bidayuh kindred, comprise a small circle of closely related kinsmen (Geddes, 1954a:14); others like those of the Iban (Freeman, 1970:67-8) and Eskimo (Pospisil and Laughlin, 1963:186-8), cover a large number of distant relatives as well; some kindreds are purely consanguineal (e.g. Bajau Laut [Sather, 1978:191] and Melanau [Morris, 1953:51, 54]); other societies recognize kindreds of consanguines plus their spouses (e.g. Americans [Murdock, 1964:130-1]; Kalinga [Dozier, 1966:65]); still other kindreds include these two categories of kinsmen plus an ego's spouse's kin (e.g. Bidayuh [Geddes, 1954a:14-15], Bwaya Kalinga [Deraedt, 1969:38-9], Ma'anyan [Hudson, 1967:287-90]). Kindreds perform a large number of functions in some societies, are much less important

30. For a full discussion of difficulties inherent in Freeman's kindred concept see Hudson (1967:270-4, 287-90), King (1976e), Mitchell (1963, 1965) and Smart (1971:70-107).

in others, and vary in terms of the stage of ego's life-cycle or in relation to the activity in question (Hudson, 1972:108-11). In certain cognatic social systems (e.g. Rungus Dusun) Freeman's kindred concept appears to have no indigenous equivalent in idea, terminology or action, and is therefore difficult to apply.

These differences demonstrate two problems in analyses of societies like those in Borneo. First, in the general absence of corporate descent groups the anthropologist tends to focus on an individual's kinship relations. This is a logical outcome of the need to ask informants about the kinsmen they recognize and the terms appropriate to them. But the examination of ego-focussed kinship categories does not necessarily mean that a kindred concept is useful in analysing social relations and interaction among kinsmen. Secondly, variations in types of kindreds described, or reports of their presence or absence in certain societies may sometimes result from differences in anthropologists' emphases and perceptions. They may differ in their stress on various orders of data, viz. indigenous statements about ideal relations between kinsmen (cf. Appell, 1967:204-5), and/or distinctions in kinship terminology (Pospisil and Laughlin, 1963); observation by the analyst of actual social activities (Murdock, 1964:130-1); and informants' interpretations of the phenomenal order (Keesing, 1966).

Analyses of Borneo kinship are further complicated by the fact that obligations attached to kinship are generally not supported by strong jural sanctions (Harrison, 1971:152-3; Miles, 1970:309; 1971:216-17; Needham, 1966:28-9); there is considerable choice in co-operating with kinsmen and in affiliation to social groupings (Crain, 1978:123-42; Sather, 1971; 1978:172-92), and other principles of organization such as rank and residence are important in group formation (Appell, 1967:196;

Hudson, 1972:104-6). Finally, diverse social relations are usually comprehended in a cognatic kinship idiom by indigenes (cf. King, 1976e: 129-30). In this situation the personal judgement of the anthropologist may intrude quite forcefully. For example, Appell noted that even if a range of cognates 'share a similar social characteristic' and are given a name, in his 'personal opinion' it would not constitute a kindred (1967:204; 1978:151-4), and he rejected the utility of the concept in his Rungus Dusun analysis. Furthermore, Freeman felt that Geddes' 'personal kindred group' among the Bidayuh 'would ... appear to be a special construct of his [i.e. Geddes'] own' (1961:201). For these reasons, the confusions and conflicting interpretations involved in kindred analysis diminish its analytical utility and weaken its value as a category in cross-cultural comparison.

Analyses of kinship in the ranked Borneo societies present their own problems. Rousseau argued that 'kinship plays only a residual role' among Baluy Kayan and that 'beyond the family it is not the basis of any grouping having an economic or political role' (1978:87).³¹ Instead 'Behaviour is determined on the basis of stratum ascription' (ibid.:88). Rousseau decided that the kindred concept was of no value for his analysis of Kayan social organization. The only term which might be translated as 'kindred' was panak, but it was used by Kayan to refer to both cognates and affines, and in Freeman's sense was not a consanguineal kindred (1974: 285-6).³² Rousseau also indicated for the Kayan 'a definite tendency in the kinship terminology towards the identification of cognates and

31. Rousseau distinguished 'kinship' from 'affinity' (1978:84-9), unlike my broad view above which sees kinship as comprising both consanguinity and affinity. Rousseau did note the role of marriage in Kayan society. See also Morris (1953) for a broad definition of kinship.

32. Even Freeman's translation of the Iban term kaban as 'kindred' meets with the same objections, because it can refer to affines and friends as well as cognates. See King on this point (1976e:123).

affines ...' (1974:283) (see below). Furthermore, for him kinship ideology played an unimportant role in Kayan social life, in contrast to the Iban described by Freeman (n.d.:29).³³

Whittier too did not utilize the kindred concept in his thesis on the Kenyah, and provided only a cursory eight-page survey of Kenyah kinship and relationship terms (1973:77-88). He has stated that the Kenyah 'do not have a special term for the grouping of kinsmen that anthropologists call "the kindred", although the term chenganak (sibling) may be extended to the sense of "relatives" (1978:113). Rank also exerts an influence on kinship because Kenyah aristocrats recognize a larger number of individuals as kinsmen than do commoners and have greater 'genealogical knowledge' (1973:77).

Only Morris appears to assign kinship a significant role in a Borneo ranked society. He argued that traditional Melanau society 'made use of three overlapping criteria in organizing social life' (1978:40-1), viz. locality, kinship and rank (1953:51 seq.; 1976:114; 1978:40-1). Two points are relevant here. First, Morris' analytical orientation may have been partly suggested by changes in Melanau society, because hereditary rank was being undermined and was increasingly being confined to the regulation of marriage and bridewealth. This circumstance might have enhanced the organizational role of kinship. Secondly, Morris made little use of the kindred concept (which he used in Freeman's sense) in his analysis of actual Melanau social action. Given my general comments above, this is not surprising because Morris has also stated that assistance given to cognatic kinsmen 'is regarded as a favour and not a "right"'

33. Even in some non-stratified Borneo societies anthropologists have tended to play down the role of kinship. Geddes argued for the importance of residence and friendship (together with kinship) among Bidayuh (1954a:43) and Appell stressed the principle of residence for the Rungus (1967:196; 1978:153-4). Crain, while acknowledging that the Lun Dayeh had a kindred, stated that there were no 'kindred-based action groups' and the kindred had no jural recognition (1978:134-5).

(1953:65, 114), and that 'the rights and duties in relation to these people [i.e. kindred members] are not onerous or rigidly defined' (ibid.: 105). In fact, they are 'mainly rights and duties connected with sexual relations and marriage' (ibid.:105). These statements lead me to question whether Melanau kinship is in practice very different from that of the Kayan. Indeed, in Appell's conceptualization of the kindred the Melanau category of cognates would not qualify as a kindred (1967:196, 204).

In Morris' discussion of the Melanau 'kinship system in practice' (1953:98 seq.) there is no recourse to Freeman's notion of 'kindred-based action groups' (i.e. temporary social groupings formed on the basis of kindred membership). Morris simply confined his attention to kinship terminology, the stages of the life cycle and a description of the dyadic relationships between categories of kinsmen. On the few occasions when he referred to 'action groups' he mentioned only that an individual can recruit kinsmen for particular tasks without providing information on the organization and membership of these groupings.

In my initial analysis of Maloh society I employed the kindred concept (King, 1974b:201-11; 1976e:139-42). I included both consanguines and affines in the kindred because my field data suggested that an analysis in terms of Freeman's construct was misleading and of limited utility. I now believe that my flexible use of the kindred concept tended to confuse rather than clarify the characteristics of Maloh kinship (cf. King, 1978c:204-6), and overemphasize the importance of kinship relations among Maloh. I have therefore abandoned the concept here.

I have a few preliminary remarks to make on Maloh kinship before examining it in detail in Chapter 5. In contrast to Rousseau's Kayan analysis I do not claim that kinship plays a 'residual role' in Maloh society. It is an important principle, even though I have chosen to

concentrate on hereditary rank as the main theme of this thesis. Clearly rank influences kinship and Maloh perceptions of it. In the past (and to some extent today) differences in the recognition of collateral kinsmen and in genealogical knowledge were, in part, determined by differences in rank position, as were levels of bridewealth, marriage regulations, choice of spouse and post-marital residence (cf. Whittier, 1973:85-6; 1978:113-16). The Maloh tendency not to draw sharp distinctions (ideally and in practice) between consanguines and affines is also a function of the ranking system.³⁴ As Bloch argued for the Merina of Madagascar, in a situation of rank endogamy and intermarriage between close consanguineal kinsmen, affinity, though present, 'is played down' (1975:210).

In a number of Maloh social units kinship does not play a determinant role. The village and long-house, as with Kayan, Kenyah and Melanau, is not a kinship unit (see Chapter 4); kinship is not the basis of membership in field-houses or agricultural work teams (see Chapter 5) (cf. Rousseau, 1978:87-9); nor, in the past, was it the basis for the formation of head-hunting and trading parties. Nevertheless, kinship may be one of a number of factors which are taken into account when people work or play together. Kinship rules also define sexual access between individuals, and certain relatives may depend on each other for the supply of goods and services, especially in life crises such as birth, marriage and death. Finally, Maloh frequently talk about a variety of relationships in kinship terms.

One last point needs to be stressed in an analysis of the relations between kinship and rank. Morris noted that in theory the boundaries

34. Cf. Whittier's statement that for the Kenyah he was 'unable to elicit specific kin terms for affines other than that for a "husband" and "wife"' (1973:79).

between Melanau ranks were rigidly defined but for the system of stratification to work at all '... every advantage must be taken of any flexibility or ambiguity in the system' (1953:68, 70). He argued that flexibility was partly supplied by the cognatic kinship system. Boundaries between near and distant relatives were arbitrary and fluid so that close relatives could be ignored and distant kinsmen affirmed as close (ibid.:68-9). An individual had a large number of cognatic descent lines at his disposal and therefore tended to recall or invent only useful connexions (ibid.:54). These mechanisms facilitated social mobility and intermarriage between ranks. On the basis of my data on the Maloh I agree with Morris that the kinship system provides a means by which economic, political and demographic exigencies can be brought into approximate line with the ideal conceptualization of graded prestige.

I have used the concept of kinship in a broad sense above to include both ties of consanguinity and affinity, as well as, on occasion, descent. It remains to distinguish analytically descent from kinship. Descent involves genealogical connexions with an ancestor or ancestors, while kinship comprises ties of consanguinity and marriage between two or more individuals focussed on a given ego. A particular relationship may be both one of kinship and descent depending on analytical orientation. The connexion between the two concepts can be illustrated in Radcliffe-Brown's notion of a 'cognatic stock' which comprises 'all the descendants of a man and wife counting descent through females as well as males' (1950:22; cf. Firth, 1963:23). Freeman indicated that a given ego's 'personal kindred' or circle of cognatic kinsmen is made up of all the stocks to which that individual belongs, traced from 'married pairs of truncal ancestors' (1961:204).

As we have seen, in stratified societies descent lines may be

manipulated or invented to facilitate mobility and legitimize claims to higher rank. Aristocrats tend to possess greater genealogical knowledge than commoners, tracing descent from illustrious ancestors. Rank is also theoretically ascribed by birth. One therefore has to pose the question - Are groups formed partly or wholly on the basis of descent in stratified (and for that matter in non-stratified) Borneo societies? Do 'cognatic stocks' give rise to 'cognatic descent groups'?

Leach noted the common principle of ambilineal or ambilateral descent in Borneo societies whereby property and office can pass to or through either a female or a male (1950:58). He did not really discuss whether this principle can generate corporate descent groups, and the issue is still in dispute. The debate largely revolves around differing conceptions of what constitutes the social unit in question. I prefer, in part, to follow Firth's definition of a corporate cognatic descent group and see it as a unit³⁵ which ideally exists in perpetuity and is formed, at least partly, on the basis of descent, comprising the descendants of a given ancestor (or ancestral couple) traced through both male and female lines (1963:35-6; cf. Peranio, 1961:93-113). But most anthropologists require that there be further conditions of corporateness, such as identity, usually indicated by a name or term; closure rules such as genealogical depth and residence which, with descent, differentiate members from non-members; operation in relation to specific resources such as land and/or specific activities such as ritual; a recognition of common aims and interests; a common authority and a degree of organizational autonomy.

35. My use of the term 'unit' or 'entity' refers to any social grouping whether corporate or otherwise. But see below for a discussion of the distinction between ideal and practice, and its relevance to the distinction between 'descent category' and 'corporate group'.

Despite the existence of named descent units in Borneo which share rights in resources, their members or representatives may not generally recognize common aims or identity, nor come together regularly, nor possess a common authority. In these cases I prefer to call the units, both in ideal and practical terms, 'descent categories', though the line between 'groups' and 'categories' may be difficult to draw precisely. Descent units have been reported for unstratified Borneo societies. Geddes' referred to Bidayuh 'descent groups' (turun) which transmitted rights in land. A person who cleared primary forest passed rights to the cleared land undivided to all his male and female descendants. However, Geddes noted that apart from sharing land rights the 'groups' of people so linked do not form 'social relationships of a more permanent order, for the particular set of persons with whom any man is associated differ according to the particular piece of land in which he is interested at any moment' (1954a:59). Similarly Morris stated that in cognatic societies a given ego may simultaneously belong to a number of 'cognatic descent groupings' (1978:46). This commonly results in conflicts of interest. Thus 'it is almost impossible for such groups to develop strong corporate characteristics' (ibid.:46) and Bidayuh descent groupings are 'very lightly corporate in nature' (ibid.:57). Geddes' term 'descent group', which implies corporateness, therefore seems inappropriate.³⁶

A problematical discussion of descent units is that of Deegan on the Lun Bawang of Sarawak (1973). He confused two different modes of regulating rights in property in Borneo by lumping together Geddes' Bidayuh data with those of Freeman on the Iban (ibid.:69). Both societies have rather different inheritance systems. Initially Deegan referred to

36. For the same conclusion see Allen who called the Bidayuh *turun* a 'collectivity' or 'category' (1970:193). Appell labelled it an 'ambilateral descent collectivity' (1971:41) and Peranio referred to these units as 'aggregates' or 'categories' (1961:97-9, 107; 1972: 165).

property rights passing to the child who marries and resides permanently in the parental household. Elsewhere we find that all children have an 'equally legitimate claim to land of the parental household' and that every individual has 'residual claims in the land of all his lineal ancestors and his cognatic kindred' (ibid.:70-2, 73, 77). Lun Bawang may have a descent unit like that of the Bidayuh turun,³⁷ but Deegan's analysis makes it exceedingly difficult to determine the precise nature of Lun Bawang property rights.

Similarly in a far from lucid exposition of inheritance and property among the Tambunan Dusun of Sabah, Williams reported 'ambilineal descent groups' which regulate rights in rice land, fruit trees, gongs, jars, weapons and ritual paraphernalia (1965:48-50). Appell, who studied the Rungus, a neighbouring Dusun people, questioned the accuracy of Williams' data because he found that Rungus established no permanent rights in land, nor did they pass on rights in other property undivided, with but one exception (1966:379-80). Appell noted that rights in cultivated and uncultivated trees were sometimes devolved undivided upon all male and female heirs (1978:166-70). But he called these descent units 'collectivities' rather than groups because they are not named; their boundaries are ill-defined in terms of actual co-activity; individual membership is multiple and can lapse; members do not enjoy the harvest equally, and even in the case of cultivated trees in which one person cares for the trees and acts as the representative of other right-holders he has 'no sanctions to control deviant behaviour' within the collectivity 'separate from those available to all in the larger jural system' (ibid.: 170).

37. Interestingly Crain mentioned that among the Lun Dayeh, people closely related to the Lun Bawang, pedigrees are used to establish rights to land (1978:130).

Descent units can sometimes form around property in unstratified Borneo societies, but their characteristics and the uncertainty of some of the data suggest that the label 'corporate descent group' is misplaced. However, in two other non-ranked societies the use of the term 'descent group' seems justifiable. The Hudsons reported 'bilineal descent groups' (bumuh) for the Paju Epat Ma'anyan of South-Eastern Kalimantan (1978:221-2). Membership in them involves the sharing of rights in land, fruit trees, heirlooms and houses³⁸ (Hudson, 1972:84-90). In every generation a custodian looks after the estate, resides in the parental household, and is in one of the lines of descent from the founding ancestor. A given individual is a member in a number of these units and theoretically can choose the links he (or she) wishes to emphasize. There is a continual sloughing off of members as individuals stress certain descent lines at the expense of others or move away and allow their rights to lapse or forget about them. Rights are graded so that members living in close proximity to the custodian have priority in use rights as against relatives who live elsewhere. In my terms the bumuh is more corporate than the Bidayuh turun and with some justification can be called a 'descent group'.

The Hudsons also draw attention to the Ma'anyan tambak group which they label a 'descent-based kin group' - a named, discrete, mutually exclusive group focussed on a 'carved ironwood box into which the ash residue of its members' remains is placed at the conclusion of the ijambe cremation ceremony' (1978:222). Appell hesitated to call this a 'descent-

38. Miles isolated a 'consanguineal descent unit' or 'ramage' (bubuhan) among the Mentaya (Ngaju) of Kalimantan, which managed 'joint' rights in a long-house (1971:223-7). The evidence suggests that the 'ramage' is a product of unique circumstances because Mentaya do not normally build long-houses and Miles' use of the term 'ramage' is an unusual one in anthropological literature.

based group' and preferred instead the term 'cognatic-structured kin group' because 'actual membership in them is dependent on choice of residence and includes affines as well' (1969:52). According to the Hudsons tambak were formerly associated with a system of social stratification and were differentiated into those of nobles, warriors and clients (1978:222-3). The ranking system has largely disappeared and for our purposes it is a pity that the Hudsons provided virtually no information on the relationship between descent and rank.

Finally, Schneider's study of the unstratified Selako of Sarawak revealed what Leach chose to call 'house owning groups', defined by the latter as 'a limited extended family having a common ancestor two to three generations back' (1950:61). Among the Selako the 'house owning group' is a small group of closely related households which monopolizes village politics and traces descent from the ancestral founders of the long-house or village. Schneider's discussion has relevance to stratified societies because among Kayan, Kenyah, Maloh and Melanau, the 'house owning group' is also the aristocratic group from which the headman, chief or elders are drawn.

Schneider called the Selako 'house owning groups' 'corporate ambilineages' or 'descent groups'. They are defined by descent and residence; they have a representative; they share common interests in political and economic affairs; and they maintain a joint estate which 'consists of a fund of prestige and rights in land inherited from their common ancestor' (1978:65). It seems justifiable to me to label them 'localized corporate descent groups', but not 'ambilineages'. Only a minority of Selako belong to them; not all potential members join; some Selako divide property on inheritance and there is no segmentary lineage structure embracing all Selako.

In ranked societies is it appropriate, at least for the grouping of

'house owning' aristocrats to use the term 'descent group'? For example, Whittier drew attention to shared rights in land among Kenyah. Individuals, who married out of their natal household, retained rights to land, trees and heirlooms presided over by a custodian (1973:61-2; 1978:105-6). In the past aristocrats had common aims and monopolized political office. However, Whittier did not refer to 'descent groups', nor did he give detailed consideration to the role of descent in Kenyah society.

In contrast to the Kenyah, Morris stated that 'The Melanau made little use of the principle of descent in managing or in transmitting property from one generation to the next ...' (1978:46). Members of the same rank shared rights to use certain ancestral 'symbolic property'. According to Morris, this is 'the only sense in which the members of the grouping could be said to be corporate' (ibid.:46), though the grouping is 'of the lightest degree of corporateness' (1976:114). People of the same rank never acted together to forward their interests; they had no representative and they soon forgot who else could claim the right to use certain rank symbols (1978:46). Thus, Morris saw no reason to employ the term 'descent group', but, of course, Melanau ranks were being undermined and perhaps former common aristocratic interests, in particular, were less obvious in 1950.

Finally, Rousseau's Kayan analysis failed to reveal descent groups. Permanent rights in land were not established and other property was divided on death. The household was the only corporate group within the community (1972:7; 1978:92).

With the possible exception of the Kenyah, rank and a hereditary 'house owning group' do not necessarily give rise to descent groups. However, the Maloh do recognize a unit theoretically comprising all the

descendants, both male and female, of an ancestor (kapulungan). Ideally members share rights in an undivided estate of land, fruit trees, heirlooms and long-house support posts (cf. Bouman, 1924a:180). A custodian of the estate acts as a representative of the unit. Nevertheless, I originally hesitated to call this unit, both in ideal and in practice, a 'descent group', and I used the term 'property-based descent category' (King, 1974b:209-10; 1978c:206-8). A given individual is a member of a number of these categories and conflicts of interest arise. Individuals are usually alone responsible for activating rights in kapulungan property, and deciding whether to join other members in a dispute with outsiders concerning the property. There is generally no recognition of common interests and a regular coming together of members or their representatives. Only where a plot of land is claimed by two members of the same kapulungan is the custodian called in to resolve the dispute. This may be partly the result of the fact that until recently there has been no great pressure on land, though this is now changing. The custodian is important in decisions affecting the use of heirloom property.

I would now argue that, in practice, though not in ideal terms, some Maloh kapulungan can be termed 'localized descent groups'. This is particularly so for groupings of aristocrats in the past who lived in the same village or adjacent villages, shared rights in a common estate, monopolized political office and met together fairly regularly. However, in practice kapulungan of some other villagers (both past and present), and now those of aristocrats who have declined in their economic, political and religious fortunes may not warrant the designation 'descent group' (see Chapter 5). In other words descent and its varying importance must be understood in terms of rank, and in relation to changes in the Maloh ranking system over the last 60 years or so.

* * * * *

There are a number of other conceptual issues which could have been raised in this chapter. Many of these have been discussed in my editorial introduction to a collection of essays on Borneo societies (1978b:1-36). Here I have confined myself to key points relating to the different dimensions of inequality in Borneo, the problems posed by analyses of cognatic kinship and descent, and the significance of a historical perspective both in comprehending Borneo social organization and understanding anthropologists' varying attempts to come to terms with Borneo societies. In particular, I have not dealt with the organizational principle of residence or locality because, in the context of Maloh society, it presents few analytical problems. It is an important principle in village and household formation and in determining participation in a variety of activities. I consider the village in Chapter 2 (and in more detail in Chapter 4) and the household in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 2 THE MALOH: THEIR IDENTITY AND THEIR COUNTRY

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first discusses the problems involved in delimiting the Maloh as a viable unit of analysis and in locating this ethnic grouping in wider classifications. The second section outlines the physical environment, local economy and demography of the Maloh people of the Upper Kapuas. The chapter provides background to the later discussion of Maloh society and changes in the ranking system by answering the questions - Who are the Maloh? Where do they live? What do they do?

a. The Maloh Defined

For students of South-East Asian societies, the classification of ethnic groupings was early recognized as a difficult analytical problem.¹ For the Maloh in particular, problems of definition are not as acute as for some other South-East Asian peoples. Even so the scattered literature on them and the data I collected on terminology and classification from informants in the Upper Kapuas revealed several confusions and conflicting opinions.

This exercise in categorization adopts a simple distinction between indigenous classification and schema constructed by outside observers, both Dayak and non-Dayak.² This approach follows a framework presented by Harrison in his attempt to classify the population of Sarawak and Brunei for census purposes (1950:271-80). He used the distinction between 'subjective' (self-imposed) and 'objective' (externally imposed) categorization.

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1. See Leach (1970:1-17, 29-61), Moerman (1965, 1968) and Naroll (1968). For problems of ethnic categorization in Borneo see Harrison (1950), Leach (1950:46-56) and Rousseau (1975:32-49).
 2. See my paper on ethnic classification and ethnic relations in Borneo. King (1978d).

First, I shall discuss the ways in which the Maloh distinguish themselves from other Upper Kapuas ethnic groupings and the significant divisions which they perceive within their own society. One cannot demarcate Maloh as an ethnic category without considering non-Maloh as well, because Maloh classify themselves in relation to and in opposition to their neighbours. It is also clear that through intermarriage, cultural exchange, and assimilation some Maloh over time have changed their ethnic affiliation, and certain individuals now classed as Maloh are from non-Maloh origins. Furthermore, any description of Maloh society is not fully comprehensible without reference to the peoples with whom Maloh have had, and continue to have social, economic and political relations.³ Secondly, I intend to examine the various 'objective' classifications of outside observers who have attempted to categorize the Maloh and neighbouring groupings. One of my conclusions is that it is analytically and comparatively profitable to define Maloh in sociological terms and group them with the Central Borneo stratified societies.

Looking specifically at the Upper Kapuas region, it is apparent from the available historical and oral materials that a situation of instability existed in the past with, on the one hand, a significant degree of fission and cultural differentiation of originally similar groupings and, on the other hand, the fusion and cultural interpenetration of different groupings. These processes resulted mainly from indigenous movements in the context of swidden agriculture, trading contacts, differential population growth and inter-group warfare. Another important factor was the spread of Islam and Malay culture in the Upper Kapuas from about the beginning of the nineteenth century, which has led to a large number of pagan peoples embracing the Muslim faith and, over time, 'becoming Malay' (masok Melayu).

3. I deal with inter-ethnic relations historically in Chapter 3.

Finally, establishment of law and order by the Dutch and the dissemination of Christian ideas over the last 60 years or so have resulted in increasing intermarriage and social intercourse between formerly hostile groupings, and a cultural levelling as animistic traditions disappear.

Given these historical processes, it is apparent that, in general, ethnic boundaries are in a state of flux (cf. King, 1976g:103). More to the point differences in language, custom and social order between groupings may not necessarily lead to sharp socio-cultural disjunctures. Boundaries can be maintained by various mechanisms, but individuals usually move across these with considerable ease and may, at a given time, embrace traits from two or more different ethnic categories (cf. Barth, 1969:9-38).

(i) Subjective Categorization

Maloh adopt different identifications, some more inclusive than others, depending on their situation, purposes and the level of contrast they wish to make. At the local level a Maloh today identifies himself with his village (banua), a residential-territorial unit. Village membership provides an individual with his closest social ties and is the focus for his strongest feelings of affection and loyalty. Even between adjacent villages there may be small differences in language and custom. If one asks a Maloh to which grouping he belongs or from whence he originates he may say, for example, 'I am a man from Pinjawan village' (aku tau banua Pinjawan). Where a village consists of more than one long-house or hamlet, a man may specify his identity with more precision. Long-houses within a village are distinguished by their position relative to one another or by the name of their headman. Therefore, an individual might say 'I am from the upriver house' (aku tau' ulu banua) or 'I am from Naitan's house' (aku tau sau Naitan). Local level distinctions are usually employed among the Maloh themselves and, in the first instance,

would not generally be given as a means of identification to outsiders. The significant feature of village identification, which can also apply to wider ethnic affiliation, is that despite the apparent trivial nature of certain differences in linguistic and customary usage between villages, Maloh emphasize them in their conceptualization of the division between 'us' and 'them'.

In conversation Maloh are careful to point out that they, in common with other riverine Borneo people, recognize a wider grouping than the village. This comprises those people living along the same river. Hence individuals refer to themselves as, for example, 'Palin people' (tau batang Apalin) or 'We, the Leboyan' (ikam tau batang Labian).⁴ These 'river-based groupings' are the most frequently invoked subjective units of classification among Maloh and between them and outsiders (cf. Harrison, 1965:244, 333). Perhaps partly for this reason Freeman was prompted to call this unit a 'tribe' among the Iban (1970:126; cf. King, 1973b:254-7). I have decided against using this term for the Maloh because it gives the misleading impression of a culturally homogeneous and politically unified whole.

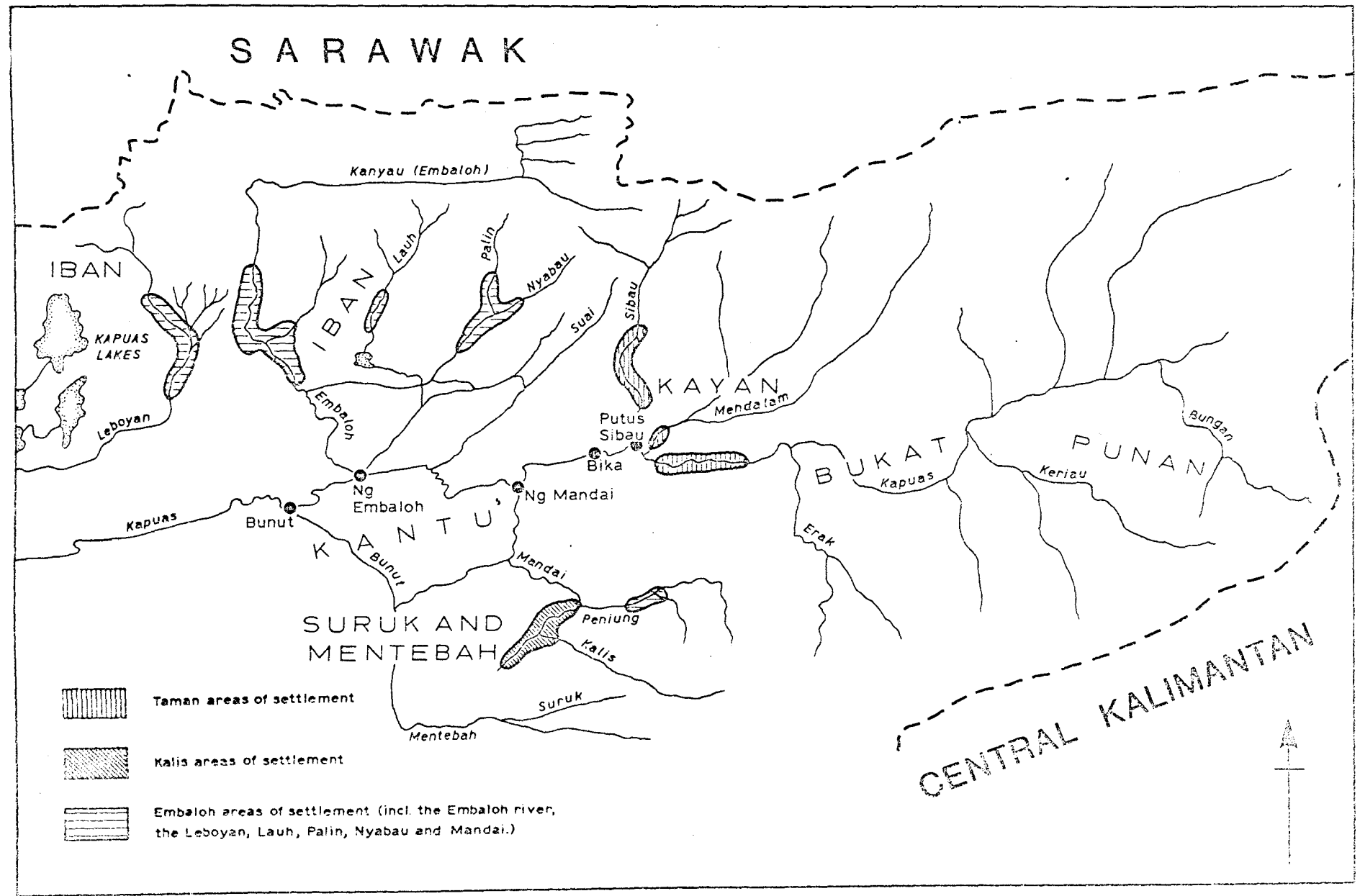
The main criterion for the definition of a Maloh 'river-based grouping' is that of residential location. The habitation of a single river is also associated with the sharing of certain cultural and linguistic traits and some common folklore, closer ties of kinship and friendship, and more intense social interaction. As a fairly general rule water unites and land divides. On the other hand, Maloh villages




4. In transcribing place names I have generally followed the versions found in recent government publications. Maloh have different pronunciations and many names have specific meanings in their language, e.g. batang Apalin ('the river always changing course'), batang Labian ('the river of plenty'). For further examples see King (1978d:37-8).

in the same river basin often differ among themselves in details of language and custom, and occasionally river-based identification may be subordinated to higher level allegiances. What is more the riverine unit rarely, if ever, came together politically. Ideally in the past, people of the same river combined to attack or defend themselves against outsiders, whether Maloh or non-Maloh, and formerly in theory there could be no head-hunting along the same river and only token wounding were permitted. However, there was no formally recognized political leader for the whole river system, though at times an aristocrat of extraordinary capabilities might extend his influence over a limited number of neighbouring villages. Furthermore, in practice head-hunting raids were usually a private matter between say certain members of a long-house on the Embaloh river and some individuals from a house on the Palin. Even within the same river system members of distant villages might raid one another despite the theoretical limitation of hostilities to token wounding (cf. King, 1975c:112).

Beyond these 'river-based groupings' there is a general acceptance among Maloh of three major subgroupings or 'divisions' (cf. King, 1974b: 203, 205, 221). These are named by the people themselves as 'Embaloh', 'Taman' and 'Kalis'. The divisions have some territorial foundation, being more or less localized in three easily demarcated regions (see Map III). They are also distinguished by differences, some quite marked, in custom (especially funeral and agricultural practices) and language. Indeed, on first meeting, Taman and Embaloh people may find it difficult to communicate with each other easily because of differences in certain words, pronunciation and turns of phrase.⁵

5. For details of language differences see King (1976f:137-64) and Appendix I, and for some distinctions in custom and belief between Maloh divisions see King (1975d:149-86; 1975e:139-48).



-  Taman areas of settlement
-  Kalis areas of settlement
-  Embaloh areas of settlement (incl. the Embaloh river, the Leboyen, Lauh, Palin, Nyabau and Mandai.)

Those people grouped together as Embaloh are found primarily along the Leboyan, Embaloh, Lauh and Palin rivers, that is, to the north of the Kapuas river and east of the Kapuas lakes. An offshoot of Embaloh is located to the south of the main Kapuas in the Mandai and Peniung areas. The ancestors of this branch fled from their original homeland in the Lauh river in the 1870s after Iban attacks against them (Enthoven, 1903:67). Sometimes villagers from the Leboyan or Palin refer to themselves as Embaloh-Leboyan or Embaloh-Palin. Within the Embaloh division, those people of the Embaloh and Leboyan rivers are much closer to one another culturally and in the frequency of social intercourse than with either the Lauh or Palin peoples. This is probably the result of their close historical connexions. In oral tradition it is said that the first settlers in the Leboyan originally migrated from the Embaloh river, whereas the Embaloh and Palin people went their separate ways much earlier. The distance between the Embaloh and Leboyan is also relatively slight and the flat terrain easier to cover, while eastwards to the Palin communications are made difficult by deeply cut and thickly forested hilly country. Veth, the Dutch historian, grouped the population of the Leboyan and Embaloh together as one 'tribe' (1854:55), and Enthoven noted the tendency of Leboyan people to marry into Embaloh communities (1903:58).

The second division, called locally Taman, comprises those villages in the vicinity of Putus Sibau, more especially along the Sibau, Mendalam and Kapuas rivers. Usually the Taman prefix this term to the river name, thus Taman-Sibau, Taman-Mendalam and Taman-Kapuas. An early observer, van Lijnden, used 'Mantuari' as a synonym for Taman (1851:571; cf. Blume, 1843:160). This term was not used as an ethnic label by Maloh whom I met. In everyday discourse it means quite simply 'human being' or 'mankind'. Borneo peoples commonly provide an outsider with the indigenous

equivalent of 'man' or 'person' when asked to identify themselves.

The third division, called Kalis, is found principally along the Kalis river. In this sense it is also a 'river-based grouping', but formerly Kalis were more widespread in the Mandai basin and they are conceptualized by all Maloh as equivalent to Embaloh and Taman at the division level.

The three divisions, despite their differences, see themselves together as a distinct socio-cultural unit (bansa), in opposition to neighbouring peoples such as the Iban and Kayan. In fact the identification 'Maloh' and those at the division, river and village levels are conceptualized by Maloh in opposition to other units at the same level. For example, someone of the Embaloh division sees himself as a member of it by virtue of his non-membership in the Taman and Kalis subgroupings. Similarly a person of the Leboyan 'river-based grouping' is a member of this unit in opposition to the Palin, Lauh and Embaloh groupings.⁶

Maloh distinguish themselves from other ethnic groupings on the basis of a broadly similar language, certain details of belief and practice associated with such ceremonies as birth, marriage, death and agriculture, particular oral traditions, some common items of material culture, and perhaps most importantly a particular craft specialization (see below and cf. King, 1974b:203-7). This common cultural identity has a sociological dimension. While Maloh have never united politically against others, all Maloh communities are linked directly or indirectly by a web of aristocratic marriages. As a result of the presence of only a few upper rank households in each village, and the expressed ideal of rank endogamy, aristocrats normally have to seek partners outside their village and some-

6. See for a similar explanation of ethnic identification Leach (1970: 29-61) and Lehman (1967:93-124).

times beyond their own river and/or division. The relatively small number of Maloh, their concentration in the Upper Kapuas, and the relative ease of communication by river also encourage some contact and marriage between distant villages. Aristocratic extra-village marriage, in turn, reinforces the Maloh belief that they share a common ancestry, since all villages trace their origins back ultimately to a few pairs of related aristocrats. Therefore, the existence of an aristocracy is an essential element in Maloh ethnic identity.

Despite this overarching sense of 'Malohness' the importance of lower level identification continually reasserts itself. This is demonstrated particularly in Maloh origin stories. All Maloh say that they are of a common stock. What they disagree about are the details of the origin stories, and this disagreement continually serves to maintain and reinforce the distinctions between the three divisions (cf. King, 1975d:169-70). It also explains why, despite the recognition of the Maloh as a socio-cultural unit, there is no generally accepted, internally derived name appropriate for them as a whole. The term 'Maloh' is externally imposed (see below).

The argument among Maloh centres on the location of their origin and the details of their differentiation in the context of migration into the three divisions. People of the Embaloh division generally claim an origin either from an 'eastern island' outside Borneo⁷ or from the coasts of Western Borneo. Their ancestors are then said to have migrated along the main river as far as the point where the Embaloh river flows into the main Kapuas. There they divided, the Taman and

7. Van Lijnden (1851:589) suggested that the Maloh language shows evidence that Maloh took words from the Buginese of the 'eastern island' of Sulawesi and that they were therefore probably in close association with them. This fits with one version of Maloh origins.

Kalis splitting off from the Embaloh parent branch. This version lends support to the Embaloh claim that they are the culturally and historically superior division and that, in consequence, all Maloh should be called 'Embaloh'. In contrast, Taman argue that the name 'Taman' should be extended to include all Maloh and, in defence of this claim, state that the Upper Kapuas is their place of origin, and that Embaloh and Kalis are offshoots of Taman. Finally, Kalis informants hold to an origin near the Madi Plateau, between the Kapuas and Melawi rivers, stating that Embaloh and Taman are branches of them and are called Kalis. Interestingly Harrisson gave a Maloh origin story which pointed to the Kalis as a source of migration, and, although his informants were Taman, their grandparents were Kalis (1965:333).

Genealogical data do not help to clarify these conflicting origin stories since the pedigrees which I recorded, some of them extending back 15 to 20 generations, refer to a period when Maloh settlement and the three divisions had already been established. In fact following Leach (1970:264-78), we have here an example of different versions of a myth being used by different groupings to maintain and legitimize particular divisions and the relations between them. Maloh do not quarrel about the existence of their divisions. What they disagree about is the way these divisions are related to one another in terms of superiority and inferiority. Ethnic labels are used to 'say things' about social relations. It is because of these internal divisions that I have been led to suggest that the Maloh are a 'complex' of peoples, which conveys a sense of diversity within an overall socio-cultural unity.

(ii) Objective Categorization

The name 'Maloh' or 'Memaloh' is externally derived but it is a 'folk' or 'native' classification. The general name is used by the neighbouring Iban to refer to distinctive Dayak people in the Upper Kapuas who are widely known for their skills in fashioning metals, especially silver and gold. In fact, in the Iban mind 'Maloh' is virtually synonymous with 'silver-smith' (cf. King, 1975a:114-15). Iban derived the name 'Maloh' from the Embaloh river, one of the water-courses closest to Iban settlement. They therefore modified a river-based name and extended it to a larger population.

The Maloh are probably the only indigenous Borneo people who have specialized in the manufacture of ornamental silverware, and this craft, probably more than any other trait, serves to distinguish them from other ethnic groupings. In the past, the main market for their wares was found among the Iban of Sarawak. Itinerant smiths travelled long distances to sell or exchange their goods. Normally a Maloh smith settled in an Iban village for several months and produced items to order in exchange for his food and keep and woven Iban skirts, jackets and blankets. This craft has been steadily declining in importance because of falling demand for traditional adornments and the associated competition from imported and Chinese-made bazaar jewellery.

In the Sarawak literature Maloh are usually referred to in the context of their metal-working activities (e.g. Baring-Gould and Bampfylde, 1909:18-19; Harrison, 1965:244; Hose and McDougall, 1966:118-20, 253; Morrison, 1948:249-55). Spenser St. John's comment is fairly typical when he said

Near the very sources of the Kapuas live the Malau Dayaks who are workers in gold and brass, and it is very singular that members of this tribe can wander

safely through the villages of the head-hunting Saribas and Sakarang [Iban], and are never molested.... (1862:44).

Maloh smithing skills received scant attention from Dutch observers; a few mentioned the craft in passing (e.g. Enthoven, 1903:63; von Kessel, 1850:186). But it appears that Maloh markets were mainly outside Dutch West Borneo.

Although I use the term 'Maloh' in this thesis, I accept that the people concerned rarely employ it themselves; on the other hand, they accept that this external label is a valid indication of a socio-cultural identity which distinguishes them from other Borneo peoples. 'Maloh' is also a term which has gained acceptance in the English literature on Borneo. However, in the bulk of the Dutch literature on the area, there is no broad agreement on nomenclature. Perhaps this is partly because Dutchmen on the spot were aware of the differences in custom, language and names between Maloh river-based groupings and divisions. In contrast, English writers in Sarawak heard of or met only a few representatives of Maloh outside their homeland, and like the Iban, assumed a greater homogeneity among them than in fact existed.

Some early Dutch writers such as Blume (1843:159-60), van Lijnden (1851:583) and Molengraaff (1900:153) used the term 'Maloh' or a variant, but to refer to either those people of the Embaloh division, or more narrowly the inhabitants of the Embaloh river. More striking is Enthoven's work on West Borneo in which there is apparently no realization that the Taman and Embaloh divisions are constituent parts of a single complex. Using river-based names, the only peoples whom Enthoven specifically mentioned as related are those of the Leboyan, Embaloh, Lauh and Palin rivers (1903:58-65, 67-70, 76-9).⁸ Nevertheless,

8. See for similar statements Molengraaff (1900:153, 177) and Schuiling (1903:128-9).

despite disagreements on a general ethnic term, echoing those of the Maloh themselves, other Dutch observers did draw attention to similarities among the divisions of Embaloh, Taman and Kalis, and therefore saw them together as a distinguishable entity. Nieuwenhuis recognized a linguistic similarity between the divisions but called the common language 'Palin' (1960:27). Bouman also demarcated the 'Palin' peoples but preferred to call them all 'Taman' (1924a:174, 178), as did Burgemeestre (1934a:6-8),⁹ while Cense and Uhlenbeck, in their review of the literature on the Maloh language, opted for the general term 'Embaloh' (1958:38-9).

As we have seen most outside observers (Iban, English and Dutch) demarcated Maloh as a distinct ethnic grouping. English writers and Iban emphasized the Maloh cultural trait of silver- and gold-smithing. Dutchmen such as Bouman, Burgemeestre, Nieuwenhuis and Cense and Uhlenbeck pointed mainly to a distinctive Maloh language. It remains to review the classifications of foreign scholars who have attempted to locate Maloh within a broader category along with other Dayak peoples.

These schema present a confusing and often contradictory picture for two main reasons. First, boundaries between Maloh and some neighbouring peoples are by no means clear-cut. By this I mean that while, in their specific combination, several Maloh socio-cultural features mark them off as a distinct grouping, taken individually certain characteristics are shared by neighbouring peoples, so that differently named groupings in the Upper Kapuas overlap and shade into one another. For example, the possession of ranks and associated cultural traits (see Chapter 4) means that Maloh have close affinities with Leach's so-called Kenyah-Kayan-Kajang complex. Yet in some cultural particulars such as certain myths, folk-

9. See Hudson (1970:304, 306) and Kennedy (1935:321, 329-30) for the same usage.

stories, augural elements and some items of language, they come closer to groupings like the Iban (cf. King, 1975e:139-48; 1976b:88-95). Secondly, a number of observers do not specify which particular classificatory criteria they are utilizing in their categorizations.

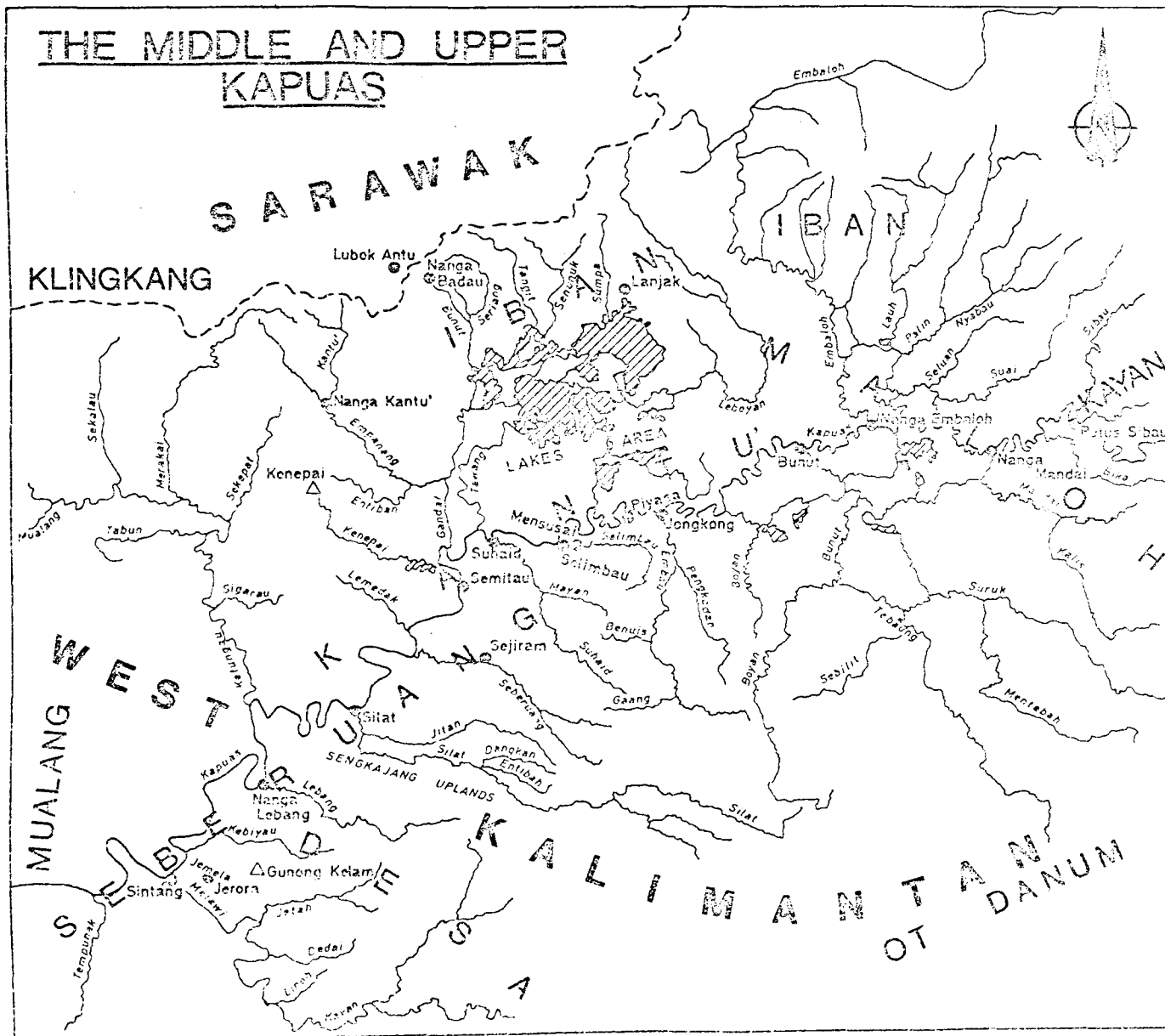
There are indeed classifications which lump Maloh together with one or more of the Central Borneo peoples such as the Kayan or Ot Danum. The earliest writer to follow this scheme was von Kessel who coined a general term 'Pari' to embrace the Maloh, Kayan and certain eastern Kalimantan groups called by him Kutai and Passir (1850:167, 185-6).¹⁰

A later Borneo-wide classification by Kennedy placed the Maloh ('Taman'), for unspecified reasons, in an Ot Danom (Danum) subgroup (1935: 329-30); this subgroup is then located in a broader category of 'Ngaju' covering most of the peoples of Central and Southern Borneo (cf. Mallinckrodt, 1928:23-4). 'Ngaju' are then distinguished from the 'Bahau' which includes Kayan and Kenyah, and both Ngaju and Bahau are in turn differentiated from a residual category called 'Klamantan' (Klemantan) covering some of the peoples which Leach labelled 'Kajang' in his Kenyah-Kayan-Kajang complex.

Hose also employed a 'Klemantan' category but this is even more amorphous than that of Kennedy. Hose, in contrast to Kennedy, listed Maloh in the Klemantan category along with such peoples as the Land Dayak (Hose and McDougall, 1966:320; cf. Ling Roth, 1968:378). Unfortunately even within his tabulation of 'Maloh Dayak' there are diverse groupings, including non-Maloh from Bunut, the Upper Mandai, the Empanang and Ketungau (see Map IV). A similarly misleading classification is that of

10. According to Veth (1854:167) the term 'Pari' is derived from the name of a tributary of the Upper Mahakam river in Central Borneo, but I never came across this term during fieldwork.

THE MIDDLE AND UPPER KAPUAS



MAP IV

Riwut in which Maloh groupings appear in both his 'Klemantan' and 'Ot Danum' categories (1958:198, 205).

Harrisson (1950:277) and Leach (1950:48-50) have argued against the use of the meaningless residual category 'Klemantan'. Leach put it strongly when he stated 'It seems to me high time that such a rag bag category was removed from the field of scientific discourse' (ibid.: 50). However, the placing of Maloh under Ot Danum/Ngaju and Klemantan, or with Kayan serves to indicate firstly, the difficulties scholars faced in categorizing Maloh on the basis of the limited available data; and secondly, the fact that Maloh may be grouped with some of the stratified societies of Central Borneo.

In contrast to the above schema other observers placed Maloh along with Iban. Indeed the close social and economic relations between Iban and Maloh both historically and at the present time have presumably led such writers as Harrisson (1965:242-3) and Molengraaff (1900:153) to suggest that these two peoples are of the same stock; and Leach was uncertain whether Maloh 'should be rated as Iban' (1950:48). Hudson's specifically linguistic classification of Western Borneo Dayaks also placed Maloh with Iban and others in his 'Malayic Dayak' category (1970: 302), which comprises non-Muslim indigenes who speak a language akin to Malay.¹¹ The groupings in this category also generally have relatively egalitarian social systems without hereditary ranks. Nevertheless, Hudson did isolate Maloh (Taman) as a distinct linguistic subgroup of the wider 'Malayic Dayak' category and admitted that his broad classificatory

11. Early on von Kessel (1850:166) demarcated a broad category of Dayak peoples in West Borneo which he called the 'Malay race'. Its composition is very similar to Hudson's 'Malayic Dayak'. The category also appears in Bouman's work as the 'true Dayaks' (echte Dajaks) (1924a:184-5, 194-5; 1924b:158). Van Lijnden too distinguished Dayaks of the Lower Kapuas who would approximate to 'Malayic Dayak' from the Upper Kapuas and Upper Melawi (i.e. Central Borneo) Dayaks (1851:586-7).

categories are 'rough-hewn' and 'very general indeed' (ibid.:303).

The Maloh language possesses certain words which allow its inclusion within Hudson's 'Malayic Dayak' category. On the other hand, the language is sufficiently distinct for Hudson to grant it subgroup status and it is difficult to determine which 'Malay' words in the Maloh are original and which have been subsequently acquired through contact with Malays, Iban and Kantu'. My data reveal that in the recent past Maloh have adopted words from the Iban and Kapuas Malay languages. Similarly Cense and Uhlenbeck stated that

... we may take it for granted that the process of extension of those languages which resemble Malay - both structurally and as regards their vocabulary - at the expense of earlier languages ... must have created a completely different situation in the course of time (1958:13).

If this is so then, in the distant past, Maloh may have been marginal to the 'Malayic Dayak' category. Even now there are a large number of Maloh words which are markedly different from Malay and, in general, such peoples as the Iban and Malays cannot understand Maloh. For this reason Scheuer felt that 'Embaloh' should be considered a separate language from Iban and Malay (1932:15). Similarly Burgemeestre (1934a:6) considered 'Taman' as a distinct language, though he pointed out these people could speak Malay very well.¹²

In the classificatory schema above there is an implication that Maloh are a 'marginal' population because they do not fit easily into broad categories. This marginality has been remarked upon by two scholars.

12. See also Cense and Uhlenbeck (1958:38-9). More recently Hudson has changed his mind about his classification of Maloh as 'Malayic Dayak' because their language 'appears to have been influenced diffusively by Malayic elements' (1977:20); it seems 'to have distinctive ties with the languages of Southern Celebes (e.g. Bugis)' (ibid.:2) and therefore is 'unique in the Bornean scene' (ibid.:20).

Kennedy felt that the Maloh, although included in his Ot Danum category, occupied, in linguistic terms, a 'peripheral' position in that category (1935:398, 419-20). Bouman went further by stating that Maloh are essentially a 'hybrid' arising from an ancient core population in the Upper Kapuas coming into contact and intermingling with three major Dayak 'groups' - the 'Northwestern group' represented mainly by the Iban, the 'Central group' of Kayan, Kenyah, Bahau and Penihing and the 'Southern group' which includes the Ot Danum (1924a:173-4; 1952:49). I cannot test Bouman's assertion because of the lack of precise historical data, but what he highlighted is the fact that Maloh have been in contact with, and influenced by surrounding peoples, and that we are not dealing with a completely homogeneous population.

This discussion appears to lead to negative conclusions for the keen exponent of ethnic categorization. On the contrary, I suggest that it illustrates some significant points in an examination of ethnic groupings and inter-ethnic relations. I do not maintain that classification is unnecessary. Clearly it is important for comparative purposes to establish broad patterns of similarity and difference, and to try and discover how far our data, based on local studies, have wider applicability. Yet we should not be blind to the dangers of classification for its own sake and the possible unfortunate results of a too rigid approach to category-building.

First, we must not assume that socio-cultural entities such as Maloh are invariably or even commonly homogeneous. Secondly, ethnic boundaries are not necessarily sharply defined. Thirdly, contemporary Maloh society and culture are the consequence of complex multi-dimensional processes, and the use of different classificatory criteria may produce remarkably different results. Finally, we need to keep in mind the temporal variable in classification because ethnic identity can change through time

and individuals may cross ethnic boundaries (see Chapter 3).

In summary, I suggest that the Maloh are a distinguishable socio-cultural unit using both subjective and objective perspectives. But by employing certain criteria in isolation Maloh may be placed along with others in a broader category. On balance, and in the interests of comparative social anthropological analysis, I stress the importance of sociological rather than cultural criteria in classifying the Maloh in this thesis (cf. Leach, 1950:52; de Martinoir, 1974:268-9). I therefore group them with the Central Borneo stratified societies such as the Kajang (including the Melanau), Kayan, Kenyah and Ot Danum. Nevertheless, one cannot lose sight of supplementary classificatory criteria such as religion, language and ecology (cf. Leach, 1950:52-6; and see Chapter 3). Therefore, I also acknowledge Maloh cultural gradation into 'Malayic Dayak' groupings and their actual social, economic and political relations with Iban, Kantu' and Malays.

b. Maloh Country

I propose here to present a general sketch of Maloh geography and economy. Details of economic organization, especially agricultural production, are discussed in Chapter 6, and changes in the Maloh economy are examined more fully in Chapter 3.

(i) Physical Setting

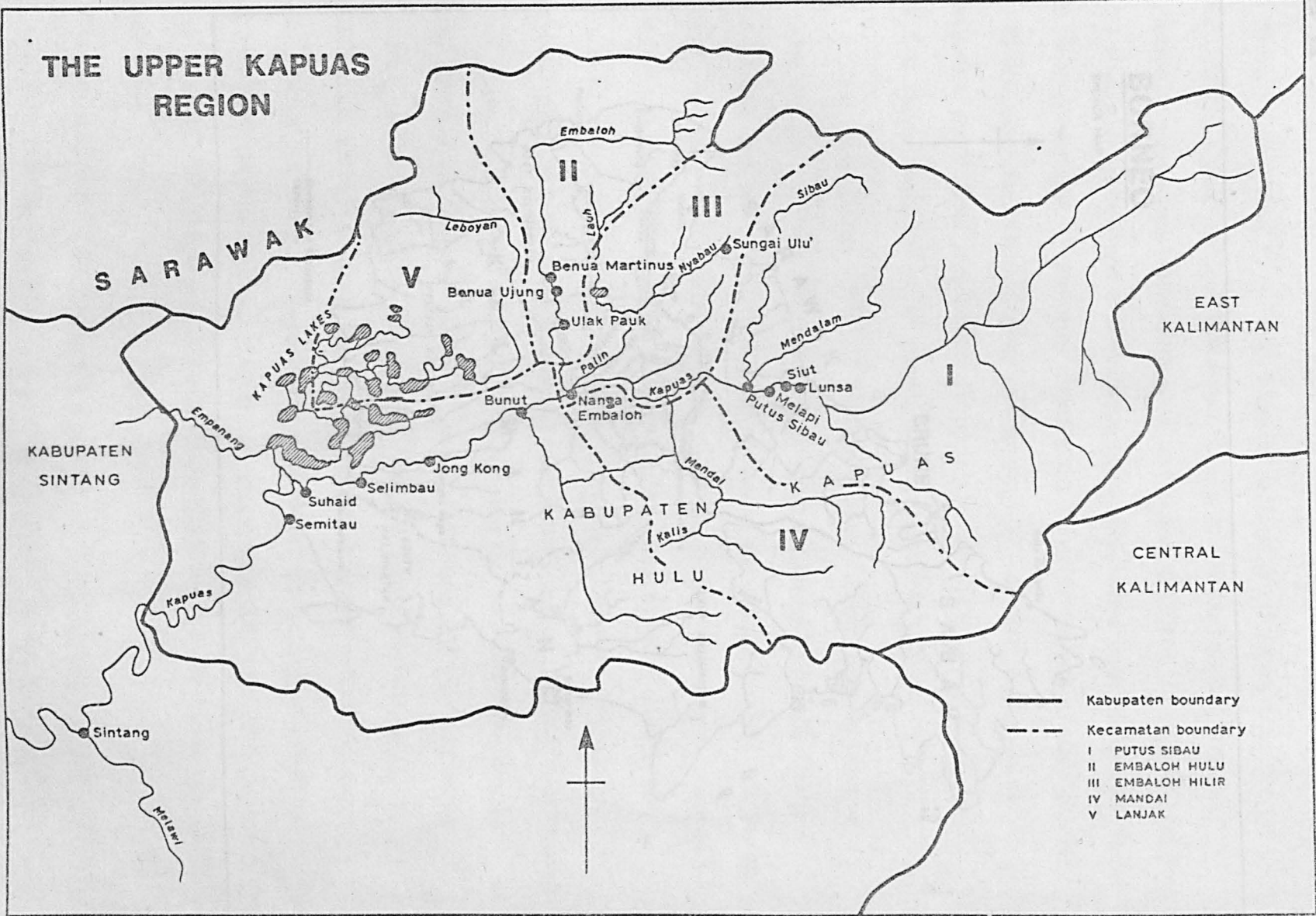
The Maloh inhabit the upper reaches of the Kapuas river and its tributaries in the north-east of the Indonesian province of West Kalimantan. The provincial boundaries coincide exactly with those of the former Dutch residency of West Borneo (Residentie Westerafdeeling van Borneo). Maloh villages are found in five administrative districts (kecamatan) of the province (propinsi) - Lanjak, Embaloh Hulu, Embaloh Hilir, Putus Sibau

and Mandai, and these are, in turn, segments of the administrative region of the Upper Kapuas (kabupaten Kapuas Hulu) (see Map V).

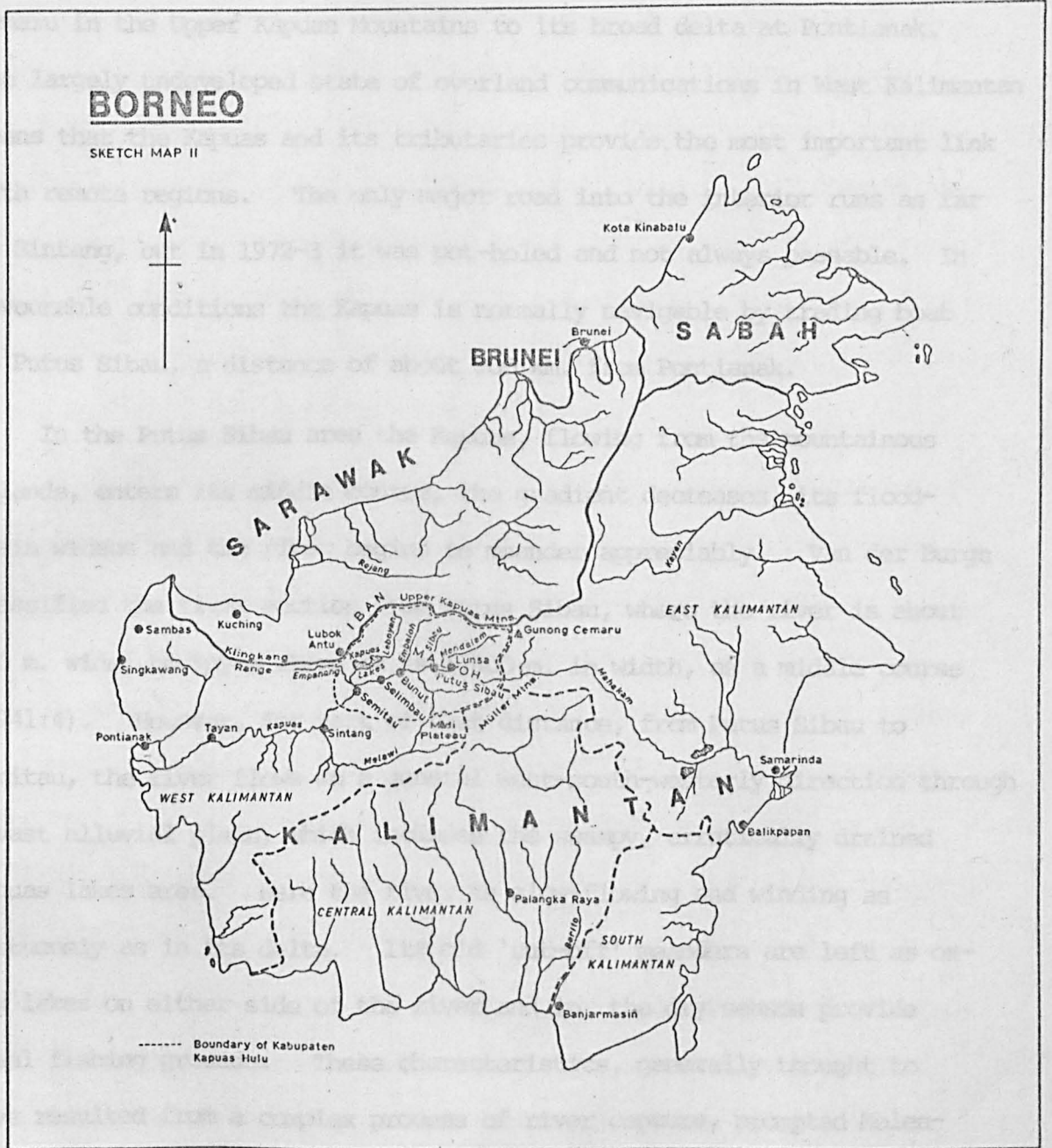
Maloh country is remote from Pontianak which is situated near the coast along one of the main Kapuas distributaries. A journey from Pontianak to the Maloh area can take anything up to two weeks by trading boat. Rivers comprise the most important medium of communication, and in Dutch times a regular government passenger service plied the main river from Pontianak to Putus Sibau. Today a number of the government passenger and cargo boats are in a state of disrepair and those in service are generally slow and run infrequently.

Maloh sometimes travel to the trading centres along the Kapuas river such as Bunut, Selimbau, Semitau, Sintang, and very occasionally Pontianak (see Map VI). More often they cross the nearby watershed into Sarawak for trade, the purchase of consumer goods and to find paid, usually seasonal work. The journey from the Embaloh river to the bazaar at the Sarawak border settlement of Lubok Antu only takes about two to three days on foot. The range of goods and the terms of trade tend to be more attractive on the Sarawak side, and an orientation to Sarawak and its peoples has been an important theme in recent Maloh history. Of course the Maloh rely on local traders, shopkeepers and facilities in the Upper Kapuas for most of their immediate, everyday needs. Nevertheless, Maloh remoteness from the main commercial and administrative centres along the Kapuas has resulted in a certain degree of insulation from wider economic pressures in West Kalimantan both historically and at the present time (see below).

The most significant natural feature in West Kalimantan is the Kapuas river itself. The predominantly low-lying Kapuas basin covers approximately 102,000 sq.km., about two-thirds of the area of the province



MAP VI



(van der Burgt, 1941:4). The river is approximately 1,145 km. in length and flows in a generally western direction from its source near Gunong Cemaru in the Upper Kapuas Mountains to its broad delta at Pontianak. The largely undeveloped state of overland communications in West Kalimantan means that the Kapuas and its tributaries provide the most important link with remote regions. The only major road into the interior runs as far as Sintang, but in 1972-3 it was pot-holed and not always passable. In favourable conditions the Kapuas is normally navigable by trading boat to Putus Sibau, a distance of about 900 km. from Pontianak.

In the Putus Sibau area the Kapuas, flowing from the mountainous uplands, enters its middle course, the gradient decreases, its flood-plain widens and the river begins to meander appreciably. Van der Burgt classified the river section from Putus Sibau, where the river is about 200 m. wide, to Tayan where it is 1,600 m. in width, as a middle course (1941:4). However, for part of that distance, from Putus Sibau to Semitau, the river flows in a general west-south-westerly direction through a vast alluvial plain, which includes the swampy, erratically drained Kapuas lakes area. Here the river is slow-flowing and winding as tortuously as in its delta. Its old 'cut-off' meanders are left as ox-bow lakes on either side of the river and in the dry season provide ideal fishing grounds. These characteristics, generally thought to have resulted from a complex process of river capture, prompted Molen-graaff to call the Putus Sibau-Semitau section, a 'pseudo-lower course' (1900:496).¹³

Maloh settlement is found to the east of the lakes and generally falls within this low-lying region. Much of the area is subject to

13. See ter Bruggen (1955:106-7) and Schuiling (1903:42-55, 124-33) for information on the Kapuas drainage system.

fairly frequent flooding, and even a slight rise in the river level is sufficient to cover parts of the flood-plain. Swampy areas are characterized by waterlogged, acidic, peaty soils, and are covered by a dense, freshwater swamp forest of short trees and thick undergrowth (Molengraaff, 1900:153). This environment affords few opportunities for the successful swidden cultivation of dry rice. Such peoples as the Kantu' and Malays who are mainly found along or near the main river grow a substantial amount of swamp rice and also rely on fishing. Places like Suhaid, Selimbau and Jongkong are said to be flooded for about four to six months of the year (Werkman, n.d.:4).

The Maloh are more fortunate than these other peoples since most of their villages are on slightly higher land some way along the various tributaries. The risks of frequent and persistent flooding are minimized to some extent, and many villages and farms are located on rolling and gently undulating quaternary and tertiary formations. These are covered in places by fertile alluvial soils. Maloh are therefore characteristically lowland dwellers. Their economy is based on the shifting cultivation of dry rice, supplemented by a significant amount of swamp rice grown in water-logged areas.

The Upper Kapuas region is bounded on three sides by forest-covered and, in some places, steep-sided and deeply-eroded uplands of ancient rock. To the north the Upper Kapuas Mountains, which continue in the west in the Klingkang Range, divide interior West Kalimantan from Sarawak. Low passes through these uplands adjacent to the Kapuas lakes and the Embaloh river facilitate Maloh movement to and from Sarawak. The granitic Müller Mountains in the east and south-east separate the Upper Kapuas from the Mahakam river, and also constitute part of the boundary between West Kalimantan and the provinces of East and Central Kalimantan. In the south the Madi Plateau divides the Kapuas from the basin of the Melawi,

its major tributary. Around these upland chains lies eroded, rolling hill country, which occasionally reaches to the banks of the Kapuas river. There are stories of past Maloh journeys and raids across the mountainous divides to the south and east, but an important orientation has been, and still is northwards to Sarawak.

The climate of the Maloh region is equatorial. Temperatures are uniformly high with a mean annual figure of about 29°C , and a daily range of between 20°C and 34°C (Tabrani Hadi et al, 1971:7). However, the cycle of rice cultivation and other economic activities are, to a significant degree, dictated by the pattern of rainfall. Rainfall statistics are few, but Ozinga (1940:10) gave an annual average rainfall figure for Putus Sibau of 4,334 mm. Rainfall is therefore high with two peaks in the periods October to January and April to May. These are interspersed by a short dry period (February-March) which ideally coincides with the rice harvest, and a long dry season (June-September) when forest is cleared, allowed to dry and then fired prior to sowing. The influence of the monsoon is apparent bringing more than the usual amount of rainfall between the two convectional peaks, so that in Putus Sibau no month has less than about 230 mm. of rain. High rainfall means an abundance of water-courses, although in the dry season, particularly during July and August, the larger rivers become shallow and difficult to pass in large trading boats. In smaller streams sand and shingle banks and broken trees become exposed and make the negotiation of water-courses extremely difficult, except by canoe. Drier conditions usually lead to a general improvement in land communications, although footpaths across watersheds are in use all year round.

For the most part the Upper Kapuas basin is covered by equatorial rain-forest. Journeying along rivers soon becomes monotonous as one

winds between low, vegetation-covered banks. Here and there long-houses and single-family dwellings on stilts interrupt the almost unbroken tree-lined river's edge. Variations in plant growth in inhabited areas are provided by coconut palms, banana and other cultivated trees. In places dry rice fields come down to the river-banks, but they are mainly found further inland, and the effects of swidden cultivation are shown by secondary growth of scrub, grass and bamboo. There is evidence of soil erosion but this is found on some of the steeper slopes of the foothills and upland outcrops.

(ii) Local Economy

In this remote and difficult environment the Maloh have been comparatively successful. They are generally diligent, conscientious rice farmers, and they are fortunate in having fertile alluvial soils, largely free from excessive flooding. They also grow a variety of other crops, either in or around their rice fields, or in separate garden plots near their dwellings. These include, among others, maize, beans, cucumber, cassava, sweet potatoes, pumpkins and chilli - and fruit such as rambutan, durian, pineapple, banana, cempadak, linset and nangka. Most are consumed locally but small surpluses may be sold or exchanged for consumer goods. Sugar cane, planted in the rice fields after the rice harvest, is a particularly important crop. Its juice is extracted and boiled to make a thick syrup used in sweetening beverages, flavouring cooked cassava, or in rice cakes and sweetmeats. It is also fermented to produce an alcoholic drink (papak). An alternative source of sugar, popular in the Embaloh region, is the juice of the aren palm. Maloh manufacture 'red sugar' from it for local use, although some is sold or traded. The Maloh are notorious drinkers of the fermented juice of the aren palm (danum enau). Certain households also grow small amounts of coffee and tobacco, mainly to meet local requirements.

Cultivated food crops are supplemented by jungle fruits and tubers. In particular, in the few years when the rice harvest is poor, Maloh depend partly on wild sago, and to them this is a decidedly inferior food. A vital source of protein is fish. The extensive areas of swamp, lakes and chaotic drainage provide plentiful supplies in the dry season. Fishing is made difficult when the water level is high, and in some upstream regions supplies are scarce because Iban have overfished streams using derris root (tuba).

Maloh keep domestic animals such as cows, pigs, goats and fowl. Some communities have a small number of water buffalo. Most of the animals are sold, traded or slaughtered for ritual purposes. Very rarely are domestic animals killed for daily food. Instead animal meat is largely obtained from hunting wild animals such as jungle pig, monkey, bear, and civet cat. This activity is undertaken enthusiastically by men in the slack periods of the agricultural cycle, while fishing is more often pursued when men and women have odd moments to spare during the day.

One of the main sources of cash for Maloh is rubber. Rubber gardens are a ubiquitous feature of Maloh country. The tree was introduced into West Kalimantan in 1909 (Uljee, 1925:74), and had been adopted in the Upper Kapuas by the 1920s. Most of the planting was carried out before the Second World War, and Maloh still tap a large number of old trees. Replanting is mainly done from old stock with little use of high-yielding seedlings. Many of the gardens are overplanted, badly maintained and have suffered from careless tapping methods. Not surprisingly therefore the quality of the rubber is low. Tapping can only take place on fine, rain-free days, and it is usually a female task. Maloh purchase the rubber coagulant (ukai getah) from small upriver shops and roll the latex themselves. Every village has at least one simple rubber mangle owned by one person or a group of people, for the use of which others pay a

nominal fee. The rolled sheets which contain many impurities and a quantity of water are then allowed to dry in the sun before being taken to local shopkeepers or Chinese traders along the Kapuas river. In 1972-3 rubber prices were low and Maloh were reluctant to expend much effort on tapping. Income from rubber had therefore declined somewhat from previous years.

Recently the growth of logging activities in West Kalimantan has provided an additional source of local cash. Timber companies based in Pontianak send their agents into the interior to purchase wood, and such peoples as the Maloh derive a portion of their immediate cash needs from selling timber. Maloh men normally work in independent gangs and sell logs on the main river. Rarely do they take paid work with a company. Concessions to cut areas of forest had by 1973 been granted to 13 companies in the five kecamatan in which Maloh villages are located. But these had not been worked over at that time. When logging does begin it is likely that a small number of Maloh will find temporary employment with these companies. A serious problem is the soil erosion which may result from large-scale timber exploitation. This has not yet affected Maloh areas because cutting has been done on a piecemeal basis. Nevertheless, if Maloh are deprived of certain forest areas necessary for a viable system of swidden agriculture it could have serious consequences for their local economy.

In the past, timber was not an important trade resource for Maloh, although various other forest products such as rattan, jelutong, damar and beeswax were. In the 1890s the Maloh village of Benua Ujung on the Embaloh river was one of the main collecting centres for these items in the Upper Kapuas (Enthoven, 1903:62). More recently the trade in forest products has declined among Maloh, but these materials are still employed in the local manufacture of mats, baskets, cooking utensils, agricultural,

fishing and hunting equipment, clothing and for house construction. However, one jungle product which is still a source of cash for Maloh is illipe nut (tengkawang, kakawang). It is collected in December and January and Maloh normally obtain a good harvest every three to four years. Maloh soak and dry the nuts themselves and sell them in bulk to Malay and Chinese traders. The oil is extracted for use in foodstuffs and cosmetics.

Formerly Maloh were involved in a wide-ranging barter system with neighbouring peoples based on craft specialization. Maloh obtained ceremonial fretted and inlaid swords from the Kayan, fine split bamboo mats from the Kantu', woven rattan mats and baskets from the Punan, and woven textiles from the Iban. In return Maloh traded their locally made gold and silver adornments and beaded jackets and skirts. All these objects are found fairly widely over the Upper Kapuas and some of them are still exchanged. But they are gradually being replaced by imported consumer goods. There has also long been trade between Dayaks in heirlooms such as gongs and jars, as well as in forest and agricultural products such as rice. This situation contrasts with that reported by Rousseau for the Belaga district of Sarawak. He stated that '... there is little economic need for communications between areas: the various groups practice a subsistence economy and are largely self-sufficient' (1975:33). This may be partly a result of the different terrain in the two areas. As far as I can ascertain the Upper Kapuas has always been the scene of significant movements of goods and people, and contacts have probably been aided by the comparatively flat terrain and the navigable Kapuas river and its tributaries.

As well as inter-Dayak trade, there is frequent trade between Dayaks and Malays and Chinese. Maloh, in particular, exchange or sell the more

bulky agricultural and forest products such as rubber, timber, illipe nut and surplus rice, vegetables, fruit and red sugar for imported commodities like salt, tobacco, iron, cloth, beads, cooking oil, kerosene, coffee, tea, patent medicines, pressure lamps, radios, torches, sewing machines and outboard motors. Trading contacts are maintained partly through a system of credit-debt relations with Chinese and Malays. There are also some small but enterprising Maloh shopkeepers in such centres as Benua Martinus, Ulak Pauk and Nanga Embaloh.

(iii) Health and Disease

The physical environment in Maloh country has a bearing on other aspects of Maloh life. The humid equatorial climate is extremely debilitating. The dark interior and often confined spaces of dwellings together with the substantially low-lying, swampy and riverine setting encourage a number of diseases. These health hazards have a marked effect on the efficiency of Maloh economic activity, although the degree of influence is impossible to determine.

Tuberculosis, bronchial diseases and pneumonia are very common among older people, but even very young children are often consumptive. In addition, almost all suffer from malaria. The swamps and lakes of the Upper Kapuas are ideal breeding grounds for mosquitoes. Molengraaff commented on the unhealthiness of the Embaloh area during his visit there in the 1890s (1900:153). Also very common are illnesses resulting from the consumption of contaminated food and water. Streams and rivers are used for a variety of purposes - for bathing, defecation, drinking water and for domestic purposes such as washing dishes and cooking. When the water level is low during the dry season, stomach disorders, dysentery, diarrhoea and gastro-enteritis increase. Various strains of intestinal parasites are encountered, and children especially suffer from skin diseases, sores, ulcers, and eye and ear infections. Malnutrition is not

really a problem. Maloh usually have enough staple food, although the balance of the diet is not always adequate. Sometimes vegetables and animal protein are scarce.¹⁴

The close physical contacts which result from long-house and village habitation probably contribute to the rapidity with which disease spreads. Particularly in the past, epidemics such as smallpox, cholera, influenza and typhoid were the main mechanisms limiting population growth. There was also a very high infant mortality rate. Under the Dutch medicines, vaccination and immunization became increasingly available, and lowered the risks of serious loss of life. Government and missionaries continue to provide medical facilities in upriver areas. The desire to limit the frequency of disease has been partly behind the government's policy of encouraging the abandonment of long-house domicile. Single-family dwellings are increasing in number, and it is hoped that these will prevent the spread of disease. Unfortunately some single dwellings are inadequate because individuals have to build their own houses rather than participate cooperatively in long-house construction. Frequently people do not have the time and resources to assemble spacious, airy, well-made houses. Some dwellings are smaller than former long-house apartments, and within a village, even without a long-house, it is difficult to stop the spread of disease.

(iv) Population

The fall in the death rate has resulted in an increase in population. I found various estimates for the Maloh population of the Embaloh, Leboyan, Lauh and Palin areas (excluding Taman and Kalis), although demographic statistics are somewhat unreliable. In the mid-nineteenth century van

14. Information on disease was taken from lists of diagnoses and treatment of patients in the Benua Martinus Catholic hospital (1971-2).

Lijnden put their numbers at 2,925 (1851:583). In the 1890s, Enthoven estimated them at 3,920 (1903:55-93). Bouman had a further figure for 1921 of 2,392 (1924a:192) and Scheuer gave the population as 2,648 for the early 1930s (1932:Appendix D). Enthoven's and van Lijnden's figures may well be inaccurate. Both observers made only brief visits to the region. However, Bouman and Scheuer collected their data as long-standing government employees and their statistics are probably more exact. For the period 1920 to 1930 we can fairly safely assume a population of about 2,500. My census data taken in 1972-3, together with the Indonesian census of 1971 (pp. 351-64) give an approximate total of 4,618 for the Embaloh division, with an additional 713 for the Embaloh residents of the Mandai. In 1895 Enthoven also provided an estimate for the Maloh as a whole of 5,520 and Scheuer gave a total of 4,793 for the early 1930s. My census for 1972-3 reveals a total Maloh population of about 10,900. Thus for both the Embaloh division and the Maloh as a whole population has roughly doubled between the 1920s/1930s and the 1970s.¹⁵

The population density for the Upper Kapuas region is given as roughly 3.37 people per sq.km. in 1971, and about 13 per sq.km. for the province of West Kalimantan (Tabrani Hadi et al, 1971:9). These figures obviously conceal the marked coalescence of settlement in certain areas, particularly in Maloh country. The flat, fertile terrain alongside rivers and frequent Maloh rice surpluses have permitted a comparatively dense population by Borneo standards, concentrated in the middle courses of the Kapuas tributaries. Maloh have also tended to collect together in favourable farming areas as peoples such as the Iban, Kantu' and Malays have taken over peripheral regions of Maloh settlement.

15. Harrisson (1965:244) set the Maloh population at over 25,000 in 1963. This figure is clearly grossly inflated.

This close physical association between villages along the same river and the concentration of population have implications for various aspects of Maloh social organization. Although villagers identify strongly with their own village, there was and is frequent intercourse with neighbouring villages expressed in visiting, intermarriage and labour exchange. As population grows and as Maloh continue to be confined by neighbouring peoples so pressure on existing land resources increases. Overworking land may have serious consequences in the long run. But it is not a problem yet and as a partial solution Maloh have begun to adopt wet rice cultivation under the auspices of government programmes which supply instruction, equipment, seeds, fertilizers and pesticides.

(v) Conclusions

The remoteness of the Upper Kapuas, the swampy terrain, impenetrable rain-forest, unhealthy environment, the overall scattered population and limited government financial resources and skilled personnel have inhibited any sustained attempts at economic development. Very little has been done in the Upper Kapuas to expand commercial agriculture. Interest today rests mainly on timber exploitation. The main local sources of cash, apart from logging, are small-holding rubber cultivation, gathering forest products such as illipe, and a small trade in periodic surplus agricultural products. Certainly the decline in rubber prices on the world market can affect the Maloh but not in an extreme way. Maloh simply leave their trees untapped until prices improve, while they concentrate on subsistence production. Illipe nut prices also fluctuate, but good harvests are infrequent, and Maloh do not depend on illipe for a regular income. Shortfalls in cash are made up now by logging and by some temporary male migration northwards to Sarawak for paid work.

Maloh have not suffered from close integration into a national and international economy because they have limited opportunities to cultivate cash crops on a commercial basis and work for money. They are still largely subsistence agriculturalists. The pattern of their lives is intimately associated with the shifting cultivation of rice and supplementary activities such as hunting, fishing and collecting.

Maloh have not lost their land to money-lenders and entrepreneurs. There has not been the emergence of a wealthy Maloh landed class, nor has their^{re} been the growth of unemployment and burgeoning debt which sometimes result from dependence on cash crop production. A few Maloh have set themselves up as shopkeepers, but these usually operate on a small-scale. Credit-debt relations do exist between Maloh producers/consumers and Chinese and Malay middlemen, but it seems that Maloh debts are not onerous. Maloh consider it advantageous to maintain a certain level of debt with Chinese and Malays so that they can obtain further credit should they need it, and to get favourable treatment as consumers in the price and supply of goods. In any case, there is not a great range of consumer goods to be had in shops in the Upper Kapuas. Furthermore, while Maloh continue to produce frequent surpluses of rice, they do not build up large debts.

Maloh have not remained unaffected by the outside world. Their ranking system, in particular, has been undermined. Nevertheless, I maintain that economic pressures have been less significant in affecting Maloh social organization than political and religious changes initiated during the Dutch colonial period. This assertion will be pursued with detailed historical data in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

a. Introduction

In this chapter I want to draw attention to a number of historical themes which bear directly on the contemporary Maloh social, economic, political and religious orders (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7), rather than present a detailed or chronological history of the Maloh. My main focus is an examination of the effects of outside forces, particularly the spread of Islam and Malay culture and Dutch intervention, on Maloh society. I also look at Maloh relations with their Dayak neighbours (cf. Leach, 1970). My argument is that the Maloh ranking system depended partly for its maintenance and reproduction on certain external relations with Dayaks and Malays. In the early stages of Dutch colonial rule aristocrats retained their superior position almost intact, but gradually European policies undermined the system of ranks. I also argue that it was politico-religious factors rather than economic ones which had the most significant impact on Maloh society, especially during Dutch rule. However, I do not assume a simplistic cause-effect relationship between 'external', dynamic forces and 'internal', passive changes. Rather the Dutch, as well as eroding the traditional system of stratification, opened new channels of communication by means of which Maloh responded dynamically to remodel elements of their social organization. In conclusion, I examine briefly the theme of continuity and change in Maloh history.

b. Some Elements of Oral Tradition

Maloh have a body of contradictory and inconsistent myths which describe such important events as the creation of mankind (i.e. Borneo man), Dayak cultural and linguistic differentiation, the great flood,

Maloh migrations, the loss of indigenous writing, the origins of rice and the technical and ritual practices surrounding its cultivation, the acquisition by Maloh of the knowledge of 'reading' natural signs, particularly bird omens, and the emergence of ranks.¹ The mythical events are not generally placed in any fixed sequence, nor are most of the characters in them located in genealogies. These traditions serve as ideology to explain, legitimize and anchor various contemporary socio-cultural forms, and in this sense, are intimately related to them and to the present. In some cases myth is also used to bolster claims to a particular position of social and cultural superiority (see pp. 63-4).

There is little point in recounting the myths in this thesis. It is sufficient to know that the ancestors of the Maloh were already settled in the Upper Kapuas over 20 generations ago. They cultivated rice for subsistence and engaged in hunting, fishing and gathering. The three divisions of Embaloh, Taman and Kalis, and the ranking system, are said to have emerged in these early times, and are therefore seen as part of the natural order of things.

Myths of the origin of ranks are relevant for my subsequent analysis. In one myth it is said that originally there were three brothers who competed against each other in various contests. The youngest brother was the victor and became the ancestor of the aristocrats; the second brother was runner-up and founded the pabiring or middle rank; while the eldest came last and gave rise to the banua stratum. The youngest brother wins by means of bravery, wisdom, foresight and shrewdness - important qualities for aristocrats. He is entitled to assistance from his lowly brothers whom he, in turn, has to protect (Huijbers, 1931:204).

1. See King (1975d:149-86) and Harrison (1965:236-50) for details of the Taman versions of this oral tradition. See Chapter 4 for further examination of the problems involved in studying 'history' in pre-literate societies.

The myths also legitimate the ideal procedure of selecting a younger son among samagat as village headman. Most importantly they illustrate the interplay of two organizational principles. The three brothers establish ranks, based on unequal relations of domination and subordination but linked by ties of brotherhood. Thus rank separates while kinship unites, so that aspiring individuals of low rank can invoke broad kinship ties to legitimate a claim to higher rank.

Besides the myths of socio-cultural evolution there are a series of Maloh sagas relevant to contemporary society. The main characters in these, unlike those in the myths, are connected to living Maloh by genealogies, extending back to between 12 and 20 genealogical levels. The sagas depict a golden age of dashing heroes, heroines in distress and frightening supernatural creatures. They are usually recounted by women in a guttural and halting chant (baranangis), and are generally performed in major ceremonies or during co-operative agricultural work (Huijbers, 1931:208).

The genealogies associated with the stories are of uneven historical value (cf. Lewis, 1968:xviii). The initial portions serve a largely religio-ideological purpose, linking certain Maloh with ancestors who possessed magical powers and delineating a pantheon of spirits and deities significant in Maloh ritual. The important ceremonial role of Maloh aristocrats is explained and justified by their genealogical connexion with powerful ancestral spirits and the inheritance from them of sacred ritual paraphernalia. The latter part of the pedigree generally provides a secular record of ancestry which functions to demarcate property rights and assign individuals to ranks. However, genealogical ties are subject to manipulation and invention (see pp. 46, 180).

The majority of the sagas concern the samagat who preserve long and detailed genealogies. Very few record the exploits of an ancestor of

banua rank; famous commoners are usually those who have been the 'right-hand man' or mantri of the aristocratic headman. Thus sagas generally eulogize and support the aristocracy. One important theme in them is courtship and marriage between aristocrats. Formerly marriage was, and to some extent still is arranged. The practice stems not only from a desire to preserve 'pure' aristocratic 'blood' (dara'mám, lit.: 'good blood') and maintain rank distinctions, but also very often from political considerations to secure allies or end hostilities. Another theme is the glorification of aristocrats' deeds such as taking the head of a giant 'man-eater', killing ferocious 'were-tigers' or completing a journey of adventure in search of valuable (and magical) heirlooms such as naga jars, gongs, plates and beads (Huijbers, 1931:208-9, 237-43). These raids and journeys were almost invariably organized and led by a samagat, and their success reflected favourably on him. The excursions ranged from such places as Siantan (near Pontianak), Mempawah, Sambas and Sukadana, on the coasts of West Borneo, to East and Central Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei, and to Java, the Malayan Peninsula and Sumatra.

Some of the myths and heroic sagas serve an important ideological function in justifying and maintaining the superior position of the aristocracy, and the social order in which that dominance is embedded. This ideology is still invoked by certain present-day aristocrats in their attempts to maintain their position and to express their traditional high status. However, this continuity in ideas for some Maloh must be balanced against the real decline in interest among many Maloh, especially those of the Embaloh area, in their oral traditions - a decline which is intimately related to the general undermining of the traditional ranking system.

c. Maloh Relations with Neighbouring Dayaks

In this section I want to explore the historical relations between the Maloh and their Dayak neighbours, who for convenience I have grouped into three main categories - forest nomads, and stratified and non-stratified cultivators.

(i) Forest Nomads (Punan, Bukat and Bukitan)

Prior to about 1900 these peoples were all forest nomads. Since then the majority have gradually settled in villages and now spend some time cultivating rice. Even so hunting and collecting remain important in their economies. Maloh categorize them as tau' ukit (hill people) or tau toan (forest people). In Maloh oral tradition the 'forest people' inhabited the Upper Kapuas prior to the arrival of Maloh cultivators, who absorbed some nomads and pushed others into upstream regions.

The Punan are distinct from the Bukat in language and custom. In 1972 there were seven Punan communities, two Bukat, and two mixed villages of Punan and Bukat, comprising about 1,000 people in all, in the headwaters of the Kapuas, upstream of the westernmost Taman settlement of Lunsu.

In the past the Taman, in closer contact with downriver bazaars, acted as middlemen between nomads and Malay and Chinese traders.² Taman exchanged such items as tobacco, salt, iron, cloth and manufactured goods for forest produce and handicrafts. These trade relations were largely unequal because the Taman used their superior bargaining position to their own advantage (cf. Terray, 1975:94-5). Aristocrats monopolized the trade, which helped them maintain their economic position. There was,

2. See Rousseau (1975:41-2) for similar relations between Punan and settled Kayan and Kenyah in Sarawak.

and still is some intermarriage between Taman and nomads at all levels of society. In Taman genealogies, marriage with Punan is accorded great importance, because it provides the Taman with ancestors who have legitimate rights to land in the Upper Kapuas. This feature is marked in rituals connected with agriculture and land rights where Punan ancestors are given the status of deities and addressed with elaborate praise names.

The Maloh of the Embaloh division have had few contacts with Punan and Bukat. Formerly there were nomads whom the Maloh called 'Bukitan', 'Baketan' or 'Ketan' in the head-waters of the Embaloh and Palin.³ Some of these people moved into Sarawak in the nineteenth century, where Bukitan are still found as a recognizable ethnic grouping (Sandin, 1967: 228-42; 1968:111-21). Others were gradually absorbed by the more numerous and powerful Iban and Maloh, so that there are no Bukitan as such in the Upper Kapuas today.

Here again relations between cultivators and nomads were based substantially on the trade of downstream for upstream goods. The Maloh of the Embaloh division also have a history of raiding the Bukitan for slaves. Some slaves were traded downriver to the Malays in exchange for the jars and gongs so esteemed by the Maloh; others were kept by aristocrats for their own use as workers, concubines and sacrifices. As slaves were exclusively owned by aristocrats, the benefits they produced were important in maintaining rank. This in turn meant that fresh supplies of slaves had to be regularly obtained.

These hostile relations were balanced by occasional alliances which were cemented between leading Maloh and Bukitan families through marriage.

3. See, for an early discussion of Bukitan, von Kessel (1850:167). He called them 'Mankettans' and saw them, along with Punan, as the original people of the island.

These external links also enhanced the aristocrats' political position and provided a channel along which samagat could more easily obtain trade goods.

During Dutch rule some Bukitan were compelled by government edict to settle near Maloh villages for ease of administration (Enthoven, 1903: 66). The former nomads gradually adopted their hosts' language, customs and techniques of rice cultivation, and intermarried with them (King, 1975f:2-3; cf. Freeman, 1970:134). Despite the absorption of Bukitan into Embaloh society, Maloh today still point to certain individuals as being of Bukitan ancestry, particularly if they were of slave descent. In 1972-3 the only obvious legacy of Bukitan influence appeared to be the rather different physical appearance of some villagers (especially in the upriver villages of Belimbis and Pinjawan into which Bukitan are known to have intermarried fairly extensively). They usually have higher cheek bones, more angular faces and are smaller in stature than other Maloh. Some Maloh of recent Bukitan descent can also remember certain Bukitan myths and customs.

(ii) Stratified Cultivators (Kayan and Ulu Ai')

Both the Kayan and Ulu Ai' have a system of hereditary ranks. Formerly they lived in relatively permanent and solidly built long-houses, some of which are still found among the Ulu Ai'. There are marked cultural differences between these two ethnic groupings and Maloh recognize both Kayan and Ulu Ai' as distinct bansa, referring to Kayan as 'Kayan' and calling the Ulu Ai' tau banua rá (lit.: 'people of the big country'). However, some Maloh insisted that the word rá was a shortened version of the Maloh word irá meaning 'upriver' (people), which seems more plausible.

The Upper Kapuas Kayan comprised about 1,400 people in 1972-3, dwelling in the Mendalam river, upstream of two Taman long-houses. They

are a branch of the large Central Borneo complex of Kayan, which moved into the Kapuas after the Maloh were already established there. In the past, there was apparently very little intermarriage between Maloh and Kayan (Hunnius, 1863:179), but the occasional marriage between Kayan and Maloh aristocrats was sufficient to cement alliances and maintain on-going political relations. Trade was also important and Maloh aristocrats were keen to acquire decorative swords made by the Kayan for ceremonial purposes. Maloh apparently adopted certain Kayan art styles as well, associated with aristocratic rank (cf. King, 1976d:166).

There was some hostility between Maloh and Kayan and this occasionally erupted into violence. For example, at the beginning of the nineteenth century a Kayan raid from the Mahakam river was launched on the Taman by the 'Dayak Napoleon' Bo Lejo (Luju) (Bouman, 1924a:182). According to one Maloh story some Taman long-houses were surprised, razed to the ground and the survivors taken back to the Mahakam as slaves.

Since the cessation of head-hunting and raiding, there have been signs of increasing social interaction and intermarriage between Kayan and Taman, particularly through the common bond of Catholicism. The Embaloh and Kalis are distant from Kayan communities and have had little contact with them.

About 1,000 Ulu Ai' people live along the Upper Mandai river, above Kalis and migrant Lauh settlements. In the literature they are sometimes referred to as 'Pangin' and are said to be a northern offshoot of the Ot Danum complex (Avé, 1972:192-4; Bouman, 1952:48).⁴ From my scant data

4. Recently Nicolaisen stated that about six generations ago some Punan Bah from Sarawak migrated to the Mandai (1976:78-9), and are now called 'Pangin'. On her evidence Ulu Ai' and Pangin seem to be distinct peoples (cf. Enthoven, 1903:73-6), yet my Maloh informants said that they are one and the same, and are a branch of Ot Danum. This is not surprising given the broad connotation of Ulu Ai' (which is a Malay term meaning 'people of the headwaters'/'upriver people').

their interests seem to be oriented to the south. They have little contact with the Maloh, although the Ulu Ai' often produce a surplus of vegetables for trade. According to Maloh oral tradition the northward migration of the Ulu Ai' led to a contraction in the area of Kalis settlement in the distant past.





(iii) Unstratified Cultivators ('Malayic Dayaks' - Iban, Kantu', Suruk and Mentebah)

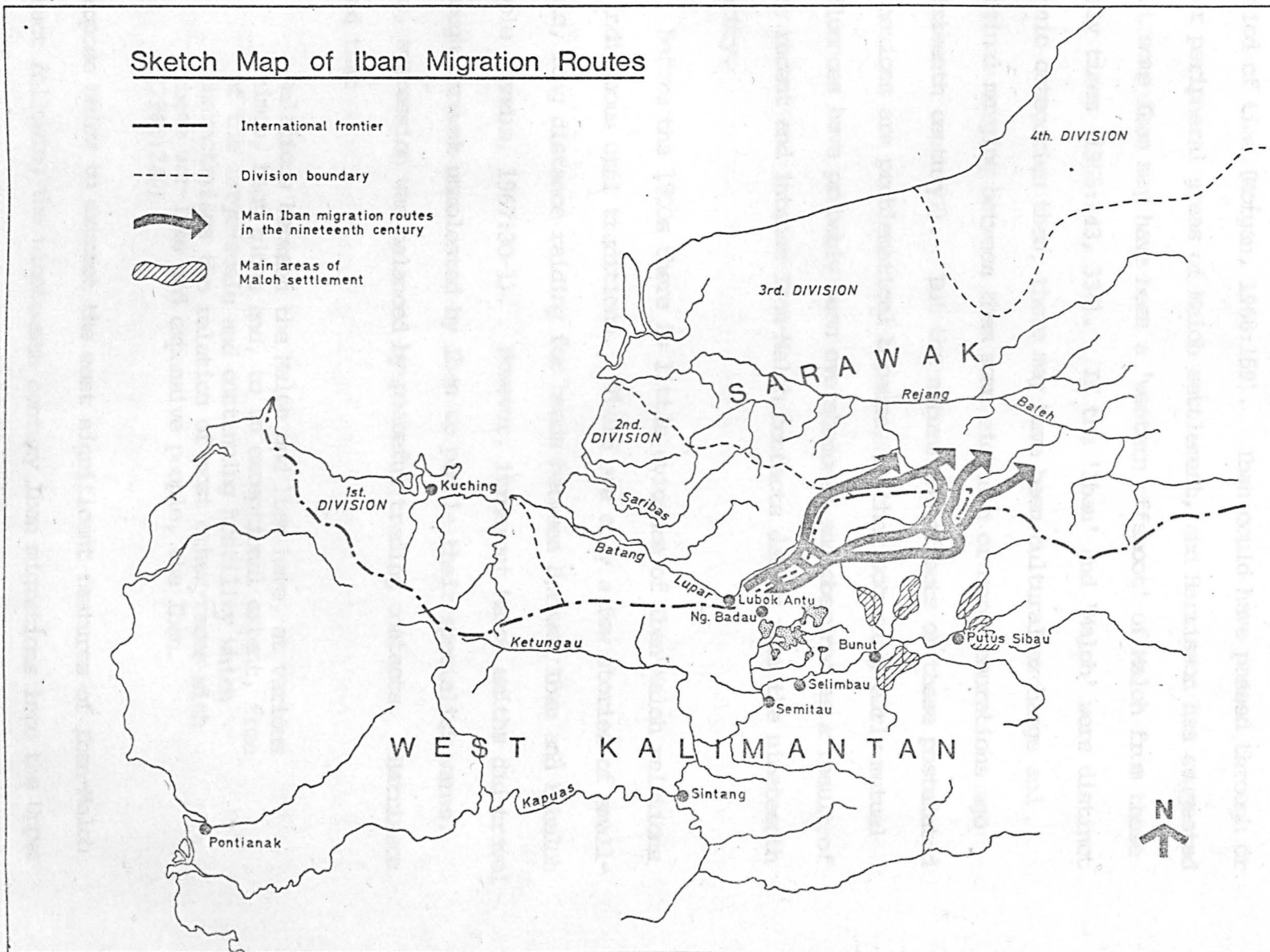
In his linguistic survey Hudson distinguished 'Ibanic' peoples, including Iban and Kantu', as a subgroup within the 'Malayic Dayak' category (1970:302-3). Maloh also group the Iban and their relatives together as tau batang Kanyalang (lit.: 'people of the hornbill river'), which refers to these peoples' former practice of constructing a hornbill figure before embarking on a head-hunting raid.⁵

In 1972-3 Kalimantan Iban numbered about 7,000 people. They occupy the border regions to the north of Embaloh settlement (cf. King, 1975g: 300-3), spreading from the Ketungau basin in the west, through the Empanang, Bunut, Seriang, Tangit and Guntul, to the Leboyan, Embaloh, Lauh and Palin rivers in the east (see Map IV). To some extent Iban migrations, beginning in the first half of the nineteenth century, have gradually displaced peripheral Maloh communities southwards, and forced them to concentrate in the middle courses of the northern Kapuas tributaries. Iban movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from the Upper Batang Lupar in Sarawak, through the border regions of Kalimantan, and back into Sarawak to the Rejang and beyond, were only the later stages of complex migrations across Western Borneo (Pringle, 1970; Sandin, 1967) (see Map VII). It is said that prior to their settlement of the Batang

5. See King (1976g:89-105) for a discussion of the possible reasons for the distinction between 'Ibanic' and other 'Malayic' Dayaks. For data on Dayak peoples elsewhere in West Borneo see King (1974a:31-8).

Sketch Map of Iban Migration Routes

-  International frontier
-  Division boundary
-  Main Iban migration routes in the nineteenth century
-  Main areas of Maloh settlement



Lupar, the ancestors of the Iban had been moving inland from the coasts of West Kalimantan and through the Middle Kapuas for a considerable period of time (Morgan, 1968:159). Iban could have passed through or near peripheral areas of Maloh settlement, and Harrison has suggested that some Iban may have been a 'western offshoot' of Maloh from these early times (1965:243, 334). If the 'Iban' and 'Maloh' were distinct ethnic categories then, there may have been cultural exchange and marginal merging between them some eighteen or more generations ago (sixteenth century?). But the nature and effects of these postulated connexions are problematical because, if they occurred, early mutual influences have probably been overshadowed and obscured as a result of more recent and intense Iban-Maloh contacts dating from the nineteenth century.

Before the 1800s there is little evidence of Iban-Maloh relations in indigenous oral traditions. There are only a few stories of small-scale, long distance raiding for heads between Sarawak Iban and Embaloh people (Sandin, 1967:30-1). However, itinerant Maloh smiths did travel through Sarawak unmolested by Iban to peddle their specialist wares. Thus, aggression was balanced by peaceful trading contacts. Harrison noted that

Relations between the Maloh and Iban have, at various times, been close and, to an exceptional extent, free of the large-scale and continuing hostility which characterises the relation of most other races with these war-like and expansive people, the Iban.
(1965:246)

I propose below to extract the most significant features of Iban-Maloh contact following the nineteenth century Iban migrations into the Upper Kapuas.⁶

6. See my two papers on Iban-Maloh relations for detailed data (King, 1976a:306-27; 1976b:85-114).

Iban moved into and through the Upper Kapuas region for a variety of interrelated reasons. They needed new farming areas because of pressure on resources, overpopulation and prodigal agricultural practices in their Sarawak homeland. From about the mid-nineteenth century onwards Iban also attempted to avoid punitive expeditions against them organized by colonial authorities. In the process of expansion individual Iban took heads and acquired prestige, and enterprising pioneers increased their land-holdings. As land was still plentiful and unoccupied to the north of the Embaloh settlements, Iban initially moved into and through this area. From the 1830s onwards there were border conflicts between Iban and Maloh in regions such as Lanjak, Empasuk, the Upper Leboyan and Upper Embaloh, and Maloh settlement contracted there. But to a significant degree, Iban took over an ecological niche unoccupied by Maloh. The Maloh cultivated fertile, gently undulating alluvial lands, while Iban preferred to farm virgin forest in upstream, hilly areas. This ecological complementarity permitted the gradual development of some non-hostile relations between the two peoples.⁷

Conflicts which did emerge were interspersed with 'peace-makings' sponsored very often by the Dutch, and, on occasion, leading Iban families and Maloh aristocrats made alliances and reduced hostilities through inter-marriage. As the Dutch extended their control in the border regions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries hostilities were gradually reduced. While Maloh aristocrats began to convert to Christianity and cooperate with the Dutch to ensure continued protection against the Iban,

7. Vayda (1969a, 1969b) and Wagner (1972) argued that Iban preferred to take over secondary forest areas already cleared by other Dayaks. On my evidence this was not generally so in the Upper Kapuas. Vayda and Wagner also tended to stress hostile relations at the expense of peaceful inter-Dayak contacts.

the Dutch gave legal recognition to Iban claims to land they had settled, and drew up boundaries between Iban and Maloh territory. Then some Iban were welcomed by Maloh headmen into their villages to set up house and farm there.

Over the last hundred years a slow process of Iban assimilation of Maloh has been taking place in the Maloh border areas. As Iban are overall more numerous than their Embaloh neighbours, the Maloh could not possibly have integrated large numbers of them. Iban absorption of Maloh has been effected by intermarriage, by Iban moving into Maloh villages, especially along the Leboyan, and by the ease with which Maloh became fluent in Iban. Maloh have adopted a number of Iban words; they use some Iban basket and mat designs, and hold various Iban beliefs associated with illness and curing.

Economic relations between the two peoples are also increasing in importance. There is still some exchange of craft products, and until recently Maloh smiths were a common sight in Sarawak Iban villages. Now this exchange is being replaced by trade in rice because usually a number of Iban in the Upper Kapuas fail to harvest sufficient rice for their annual needs. To meet the shortfall they obtain rice from the Maloh, who normally produce a surplus, in return for woven goods and forest products such as rattan and pandanus. Some Iban also work on Maloh farms at weeding and harvest time for payment in rice.

The Kantu' are culturally close to and historically related with the Iban (cf. King, 1973b:254-7). I estimate their numbers at about 12,000 in 1972-3, though this figure may be too conservative. Continuous Iban aggression against them led the Dutch authorities to organize the moving of the majority of the Kantu' from their homeland of the Empanang river about 90 years ago to new settlements. These were along the main Kapuas river from Silat to above Putus Sibau, and along the lower courses of some

of the Kapuas tributaries such as the Embaloh, Sibau and Mandai. Kantu' have therefore settled downstream of Maloh villages, and, being late arrivals in the Upper Kapuas, they were forced to take poor, unoccupied land near the main river subject to frequent and prolonged flooding. While Kantu' have rice shortages, they are ideally placed to exploit the fish resources of the Kapuas, especially in the dry season.

The Kantu' are not aggressive, and Maloh, seeing them as 'refugees' and 'down-and-outs', have no fear that Kantu' will encroach on their lands. This may be one reason why Maloh are generally reluctant to intermarry with them, though some commoner Maloh have taken Kantu' wives. On the other hand there are Maloh-Kantu' trading contacts, with Maloh receiving Kantu' fish and split bamboo mats.

The Suruk and Mentebah Dayaks of the Bunut area, while not culturally akin to Iban and Kantu', also speak a Malay-type language. Many were converted to Islam in the nineteenth century propagated from the Malay capital of Bunut (Bouman, 1952:56). But in the 1890s there were still pagan Suruk and Mentebah (Bouman, 1924a:100-2, 108; Enthoven, 1903:111-12), and some have resisted Islam to this day. Bouman stated that the Kalis, though essentially Maloh, exhibit some cultural similarities to the Bunut Dayaks (ibid.:117). This may indicate that Kalis once mixed fairly extensively with Suruk and Mentebah. I have no up-to-date data on the Bunut peoples.

* * * * *

In summary, an examination of Maloh relations with their Dayak neighbours suggests that, as well as periodic hostilities, there has been intermarriage, cultural exchange, assimilation and trade in specialist goods and produce for a considerable time. Some individuals have changed their ethnic identity, and boundaries between neighbouring ethnic groupings

may be difficult to draw precisely. Furthermore, Maloh aristocrats, in part, maintained their position by means of trade, intermarriage and political alliance with and slave raiding against surrounding Dayaks.

d. Malays and Islam in the Upper Kapuas

Maloh make a categorical distinction in Borneo between pagan Dayaks and Malays (tau Melayu, tau tasik, tau laut, Singganan), who are Muslims with distinct cultural traits. Malays generally live in downstream and coastal areas (cf. Whittier, 1973:6), and their livelihood largely depends on fishing and small-scale trade. Most of the Upper Kapuas Malays are descended from local Dayaks who converted to Islam.⁸ They live along the Kapuas river mainly in settlements at the mouths of its main tributaries such as Putus Sibau, Nanga Embaloh, Nanga Mandai and Bunut, and in or near Maloh and other Dayak villages.

The first appearance of Islam on the coasts of West Borneo is difficult to determine precisely. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Hindu-Javanese state of Majapahit is said to have held nominal sovereignty over the coastal margins of Borneo (Hall, 1970:86-7). Its power declined in the late fifteenth century, partly as a result of the emergence of Islamic states in the Indonesian archipelago (ibid.:205-19). Veth has pointed to the establishment of the Muslim dynasties of Sambas, Sukadana and Landak in the early sixteenth century on the coast of West Borneo (1854:193; Irwin, 1967:3; Meilink-Roelofs, 1962:100-1; cf. Harrison, 1968:180-4). Malay, Javanese and Buginese immigrants, who had come to Borneo earlier, probably provided the nuclei of these small

8. Conversion to Islam does not usually result in an individual immediately 'becoming Malay'. The process is gradual and even in subsequent generations some Dayak cultural traits may be retained (cf. Zainal, 1973:1-5).

coastal states (Irwin, *ibid.*:3; Ozinga, 1940:48-9). Islam began to spread into interior Borneo along its major rivers, usually through the medium of trade (Jackson, 1970:15). Widespread conversion to Islam did not occur in the Upper Kapuas until the nineteenth century when the faith was disseminated from small Malay trading centres such as Bunut, Jongkong, Piyasa and Selimbau (Enthoven, 1903:95, 162, 205-6) (see Map IV). The ruling families of these states claimed to be related to each other through consanguineal and affinal ties.

Precise dates for the founding of these early upriver states are difficult to ascertain without documentary evidence or full dynastic genealogies. In most cases their original population comprised local Dayaks, who, having settled at the confluence of a main tributary with the Kapuas, gained economic and political superiority by monopolizing trade in a catchment area upstream (Enthoven, *ibid.*:157; King, 1976g:93-102). Downriver the regional and overseas trade was in Chinese and Buginese hands, while the in-between trade to the interior was handled mainly by Malays. They exchanged salt, tobacco, cloth, iron and beads for local products such as rice, timber, rattan, illipe, damar, aren sugar, honey, fish, mats and baskets (van Lijnden, 1851:622). Even today Malays control a significant proportion of the local trade between Dayak villages and the large trading centres.

In the mid-nineteenth century the 'capitals' of the upriver Malay states were little more than stockaded villages, and the majority of the Malay population lived there in the interests of security (van Lijnden, *ibid.*:573). Malay rulers reckoned their power not in terms of amount of territory (which was largely uninhabited and economically undeveloped) but by the number of followers and Dayaks from whom they could expect tribute and services. Territorial boundaries between states were relatively unimportant and hence ill-defined (*ibid.*:567, 570).

The Dutch literature contains several references to the 'ruthless' and 'cunning' practices of the Malays in their trade with 'docile' Dayaks (e.g. Blume, 1843:109; van den Dungen Gronovius, 1849:354; van Hoëvell, 1852:187, 191; van Lijnden, *ibid.*:595-6, 602).⁹ This presents a distorted view of Malay-Dayak relations and of their respective personal characteristics. Undoubtedly Malay control of essential trade goods led to excesses, and some Dayaks were subject to various kinds of Malay taxation. There were two kinds of levy, the hasil (a direct and fixed head or 'door' tax) and the serah (a system of forced trade whereby the Dayaks under Malay political control delivered items such as rice and forest products in return for salt, tobacco and iron at grossly inflated exchange rates) (Enthoven, 1903:193; van Lijnden, 1851:632-3; Veth, 1856:337-9). On ritual occasions such as births, marriages and deaths within the Malay ruling family, Dayaks living near the capital had to deliver extra tribute and perform additional services (Enthoven, *ibid.*: 790-2). However, this picture is distorted by the fact that many Dayaks were substantially free of Malay control (Dajak mardaheka). Most Maloh and Iban were relatively remote from Malay centres of power. They were not under Malay sovereignty, nor subject to tribute (Veth, *ibid.*:335-40). Even Dayaks such as the Suruk and Mentebah, who were more directly under Malay control, were able to shift their allegiances from one Malay ruler to another, refuse to deliver goods, or, if abuses became too great, they could escape by migration. On the other hand, some Dayaks, harassed by such people as the aggressive Iban, deliberately placed themselves under the protection of a Malay ruler. Finally, since the majority of Malays came from local stock, there were many kinship links between Malays and Dayaks.

9. Perhaps Dutch views were influenced by preconceived ideas about the plight of the noble savage, and their dislike of Islam and the political power of the Malays.

The small Malay population maintained control over certain Dayaks by exploiting inter-Dayak rivalry and skilfully arranging alliances with both Dayaks and other Malay states. Malays also had greater access to firearms and ammunition, and they controlled the main trade routes (Enthoven, 1903:157, 160; van Lijnden, 1851:633-4). Occasionally Malay rulers subjugated unruly Dayaks. Enthoven mentioned the raids of Abang Tajak, a ruler of Selimbau, against the Maloh of the Embaloh, Lauh, and Mandai (ibid.:157), and the attack of Abang Tella, another Selimbau rajah, on the Palin people in the 1820s (ibid.:160). Maloh oral traditions also refer to the large-scale offensive of Abang Barita, the ruler of Bunut, against the Embaloh, in the first half of the nineteenth century. Barita, with a force of Malays and assorted Dayak allies, including Maloh from other rivers, sacked Embaloh villages (cf. King, 1975d:178-9).

We can now examine more specifically the impact of Islam and Malay culture on the Maloh. In the 1890s Enthoven indicated that most of the 400 or so Malays in the Putus Sibau and Mandai areas were Taman converts to Islam (1903:78; cf. Schuiling, 1903:128). There were no Malay states in the Putus Sibau region, and Malays there were regarded as the subjects of the Dutch in a directly ruled region (gouvernementslanden) (Enthoven, ibid.:91-2).¹⁰ The nearest Malay capital to Maloh settlement was Bunut below Nanga Embaloh. Its origin apparently dates from the end of the eighteenth century when Malays, comprising recently converted Embau and Bunut Dayaks, settled on the main river (Bouman, 1952:56). It was formally established as a Malay state in about 1815 when a Malay trader from Selimbau, Abang Barita, moved there and was accepted as ruler.

10. Self-governing Malay states in Borneo under Dutch control were called landschap.

His father, Abang (Patih) Turan, was an Embaloh aristocrat, who had embraced Islam on a visit to Selimbau, and married Dayang Kunta from the Malay ruling family of Suhaid. Barita married a daughter of the 'sultan' of the powerful state of Selimbau and, by virtue of this link, became the leader of the Bunut Malays with the title Panembahan Adi Paku Negara (Enthoven, 1903:94-5).

The political control of Bunut was nominal outside its immediate environs, and, although the Bunut and Mandai Dayaks (including the Kalis) acknowledged its authority, Enthoven pointed out that this 'must certainly have been more in name than in fact, for with a few exceptions it appears that these tribes never paid tribute to Bunut' (ibid.:95). Furthermore, the Maloh of the Embaloh and Taman divisions were not subject to tribute and they retained their 'self-respect' (Werkman, n.d.:111; Scheuer, 1932: 39).

Most of the Upper Kapuas Malay population originally derived from Barita's efforts to propagate Islam until the end of his reign in 1855. After his death his successors were not active proselytizers, though conversion continued through individual contacts. For example, Embaloh people came into contact with Malay traders from Bunut and Jongkong because the Upper Embaloh was a major source of forest products.

Some Maloh from all ranks were absorbed into Malay society, but it appears that an important practice was intermarriage between Malay and Maloh aristocrats. For example, Abang Barita's father was an Embaloh samagat (see above) and one of Barita's daughters, Dayang Suntai, married Laksamana, a Taman aristocrat (Enthoven, 1903, genealogy pp. 96-7). Barita's successor, his son-in-law Abang Suria, had a grandfather, Abang Harun, who was also an Embaloh samagat.

According to Maloh oral tradition and information from Enthoven

(ibid.:127-8) the Malay state of Jongkong, downriver from Bunut, partly comprised converted Embaloh Dayaks who had initially separated from their Dayak relatives to live in a village on the lower Embaloh river at Ulak Lamau (Temau?). They were led by a samagat who took the name Raja Kiyai Patih Uda. In the late 1860s these people moved to Jongkong, at the mouth of the Embau river. Uda's son, Raden Nata, succeeded and he was followed by his grandson, Abang Abdul Arab. The latter was the offspring of Dayang Mesinto, Nata's daughter, and her husband, Abang Buja, a Palin samagat (Enthoven, ibid.:158,166). Finally, a Kalis samagat, called in Maloh oral tradition Mangku Malik, married Dayang Ripa, a daughter of the Malay ruler of Sintang, and subsequently became ruler himself (Harrisson, 1965:320-3; King, 1975d:179).

There are many complex reasons for Maloh conversion to Islam. In the first instance, there was some positive proselytizing by Malay rulers. Secondly, a Malay ruler and a Maloh aristocratic headman sometimes entered into an alliance for their mutual advantage. The bond was normally cemented by marriage and by a gift of slaves from Maloh to Malay. The Malay rajah might marry a woman from a leading Dayak family or receive a male samagat to wed his daughter. In this way the rajah gained allies and ensured trading relations. The Maloh samagat might enhance his political and economic position with the promise of external support, protection and more favourable terms of trade. If a Maloh samagat moved on marriage to a Malay settlement then he (or she) would have to become Muslim. I recorded only one case of a Maloh headman who remained in situ but became nominally Muslim and tried to emulate a Malay ruler. He lost support in his village and so he set up a separate village with some faithful followers and eventually moved to a Malay settlement. Thirdly, on occasion, ambitious samagat deprived of the headmanship, or aristocrats, who were in danger of falling in rank, might also move away, marry a Malay

and convert to Islam, as an expression of discontent with the prevailing Maloh social order. No doubt there were also dissatisfied pabiring and banua who turned to Islam for salvation. Finally, there must have been chance conversions. A Maloh travelling to trade with Malays might decide to settle with them or meet a Malay girl and marry. Certainly Maloh interested in becoming traders would be likely to embrace Islam as a prerequisite for entering trade.

The importance of Islam and Malay culture obviously varied for different Maloh individuals. One of its main advantages was that it provided a different scale of values for the prestige-seeking and power-conscious aristocrats, and for those who were dissatisfied with their own society and culture. It therefore perhaps reinforced and accelerated ever-present divisive tendencies in Maloh society itself, and served to translate discontent into real opposition by encouraging alliance with others of the same religion. Its significance for established aristocrats was that it could provide a means to secure and enhance their position through trade and alliance.

It is difficult to say what would have happened to the Maloh had the Dutch not intervened in the Upper Kapuas. Presumably Islamization would have continued apace, but it is likely that Maloh society and culture would have remained viable for a considerable time. However, in other areas subject to intensive contact with Islam numerous Dayaks 'became Malay'. Few Dayaks now remain in the Selimbau area. In the nineteenth century Enthoven (1903:168-9) and Bouman (1924a:185) pointed to syncretic communities of 'Pekaki' Malays to the south of Selimbau. These were Muslim Dayaks who continued to live in long-houses and follow such Dayak customs as drinking rice wine and eating pork. As with the examination of inter-Dayak relations in the last section we see here that ethnic identity was not, and is not fixed and immutable, and that 'transitional'

communities come into being when processes of cultural exchange, inter-marriage and assimilation are operating.

e. The Maloh and the Chinese

The Chinese in the Upper Kapuas probably numbered less than 2,000 in 1972-3 and are found, as are many Malays, in the main trading centres such as Jongkong, Bunut, Nanga Embaloh and Putus Sibau. Significant Chinese immigration, encouraged partly by local Malay rulers, occurred from the mid-eighteenth century into the West Borneo goldfields, inland of the coast between Sambas and Pontianak (Veth, 1856:297-301). In the first half of the nineteenth century signs of exhaustion in certain mines gradually led to the Chinese either leaving Borneo or remaining and moving into trade and shopkeeping (Jackson, 1970:76). Even by 1850 some Chinese had reached Sintang, Silat and beyond, while others were panning for gold in interior rivers (Enthoven, 1903:195; van Lijnden, 1851:615).

In the 1890s the main concentration of Chinese (about 100 people) in the Upper Kapuas was at Bunut (Enthoven, *ibid.*:92-3). Even at that time Chinese had managed to wrest a part of the trade in forest products from the Malays. They were also visiting such places as Benua Ujung and Putus Sibau (*ibid.*:62). Eventually some settled there and at Nanga Embaloh. Chinese traders often married local Dayak women, some of them Maloh, which helped them increase their stake in local trade (Jackson, 1970:44). A few Chinese also married into Maloh villages, especially in the Palin.

A large number of Maloh were and are ultimately locked into trading and credit-debt relations with Chinese. Indeed Chinese shopkeepers at such places as Nanga Embaloh control much of the large-scale import and export within the area. The Maloh economy is therefore partially linked,

through these individuals, to a wider Borneo and Indonesian economy, although, as I argued in Chapter 2, these linkages are not absolutely vital to the Maloh economy.

f. The Maloh and the Dutch

It was the advent of the Dutch more than any other external influence which markedly changed Maloh society and culture, and particularly the ranking system. Furthermore, the characteristics and intensity of inter-Dayak relations, the direction and extent of Iban migrations and the spread of Islam and Malay culture were all affected by the progressive extension of the Pax Nederlandica in the Upper Kapuas from about the mid-nineteenth century onwards.

Political and strategic interests were of most importance in explaining the eventual Dutch intervention in interior Borneo. Despite early seventeenth century Dutch mercantile contacts with the West Borneo coastal sultanates of Sukadana and Sambas, it was only after the Anglo-Dutch Convention of 1814 and the brief British interregnum in the Indies that the Dutch began to take any real interest in interior Borneo (Veth, 1854: xxxvii). The first journeys of exploration in West Borneo began in the 1820s, encouraged particularly by government and partly 'impelled by curiosity and a thirst for knowledge' (Posewitz, 1892:19).

In 1823 L.C. Hartmann, the Government Commissioner and later Resident of West Borneo, reached Jongkong and the Kapuas lakes. He concluded treaties with the Malay rulers of Jongkong, Selimbau, Suhaid and Silat which brought certain trade items and small mines under a Dutch monopoly (Enthoven, 1903:127, 160, 179, 190; Posewitz, 1892:20). George Müller, appointed as Inspector of the Interior Provinces in 1822, was the first European to travel the length of the Kapuas as far as the mouth

of the Sibau river (Blume, 1843:108). Starting from Pontianak on 27 January 1824, he reached the Sibau on 13 April (ibid.:154, 160). He was also the first European to document the existence of Maloh in the Sibau region.

The Java War (1825-30) and the financial burden it placed on the Netherlands Indies government led to a cut-back in activities in Borneo. The war, coupled with subsequent Dutch interest in the 'Culture System' in Java prolonged the 'period of neglect' in Borneo until the 1840s (Veth, 1856:443). It was the establishment of James Brooke's Sarawak and the fear of the extension of British influence in Borneo that revived Dutch interest in the southern two-thirds of the island. Accordingly O. von Kessel undertook an important journey along the Kapuas in 1843. He published the first general topographic and ethnographic account of the Kapuas region and gave a cursory description of the Maloh (1850:165-204). He was followed in 1847 by D.W.C. Baron van Lijnden, the Assistant-Resident of Pontianak, who reached the Embaloh river, which he called 'Malo' or 'Ambaloh' (1851:552, 571).

In 1846 J.J. Rochussen, Governor-General of the Indies, and A.L. Weddik, Commissioner and Inspector for Borneo, Riau and Lingga, decided to unify the administration of Borneo. To affirm Dutch commitments to the interior and counter any British ambitions, the new capital of Borneo was located at Sintang (Irwin, 1967:156). Sintang was soon abandoned as the capital because of its isolation and inconvenience. In 1849 two independent administrative regions of Borneo were established - each with a Resident - the Westerafdeeling (Western Division) and the Zuid-en-Oosterafdeeling (Southern and Eastern Division). These remained intact until the end of Dutch rule (Ozinga, 1940:37).

The whole region above Sintang was established as one administrative

district in 1854, with an Assistant-Resident at Sintang and a government outpost at Selimbau (Burgemeestre, 1934b:8; Posewitz, 1892:35). Von Gaffron was appointed to Sintang and between 1854 and 1859 he travelled through much of the interior including such Maloh areas as the Embaloh, Palin and Mendalam. On some of these journeys he accompanied the Government-Commissioner Prins, who had been instructed to conclude agreements with various Upper Kapuas Malay states such as Bunut (van der Aa, 1881:323; Enthoven, 1903:96).

The main objective of the Dutch was simply to extend their political control in the interior.¹¹ To finance their administration they exerted some control over trade, developed mining (ter Bruggen, 1955:44) and introduced taxes. Their first priority was to establish law and order and stamp out head-hunting (Ozinga, 1940:79). Dutch attempts to combat endemic inter-Dayak rivalry were chiefly directed against the Iban. Peoples such as the Maloh, Kayan and Kantu' were considered relatively peaceable and early on some Maloh villages acknowledged Dutch authority, partly to ensure protection from Sarawak Iban raids.

A large part of the Upper Kapuas in the 1850s fell outside the sphere of influence of the Malay ruler at Bunut, and all Malay^{sh} villages were theoretically placed under direct Dutch rule (Enthoven, 1903:55).¹² For example, in 1857 Suara Ma' Jarup, the aristocratic Maloh headman of Ulak Pauk, was appointed as government tax collector for the Embaloh region. He received no salary, but was entitled to a small percentage of the taxes he received. Taxes fell mainly on forest products (Salam, 1936:16).

11. See Whittier (1973:32 seq.) for similar comments on Dutch policy in East Borneo.

12. The Bunut ruler was deprived of his special privileges in raising taxes in 1909 and placed under direct Dutch rule. Jongkong and Selimbau followed suit in 1916 (Ozinga, 1940:85).

After Suara's death in 1895 four Maloh samagat were given the authority to collect taxes. These were Maling Ma' Lunsa (Ulak Pauk), Ajung (Pat), Nandang Ma' Sarinau (Belimbis) and Ma' Lassa (Temau). Of these Maling was selected by the Dutch as the adat head (temenggung) of the Embaloh river (ibid.:16). The Dutch relied on the Maloh institution of indu' banua (lit.: 'mother of the country') for this office. The indu' banua was an aristocratic headman of a village comprising more than one long-house, who also had authority to arbitrate in disputes beyond his own village. Thus some aristocrats were co-opted into the colonial administration as low-level officials to collect taxes and administer local justice. The Dutch also gradually eliminated raiding and therefore the role of samagat as war-leaders, and removed the village headman's jurisdiction over the crime of homicide.

Despite administrative and legal changes which were effected from the 1850s onwards, they were only indifferently and sporadically put into practice among Maloh. European personnel were few in number and, until the end of the nineteenth century, the Dutch were preoccupied with troubles elsewhere. They had to put down two Malay rebellions in the Sintang and Melawi areas in 1859 and 1864 (Kielstra, 1893:1278; H.A.A.N, 1887:34-5) and tackle Iban head-hunting raids in the northern border regions. For example, in the early 1870s Iban from Sarawak and the Dutch border areas were raiding each other, and in 1876 Sarawak Iban from the Rejang attacked Maloh in the Lauh river. Most of the Maloh survivors moved to the Mandai and Peniung rivers, and today their population in the Lauh region is comparatively small, while many Iban reside there.

To combat these hostilities, particularly from Sarawak Iban, the Dutch established border outposts commanded by Dutch military personnel

and manned by indigenous (mainly Malay) soldiers (Gerlach, 1881:287, 293-300; Pringle, 1970:241-2). Between the late 1870s and the early 1880s military posts were located along the northern rim of the Kapuas lakes at Nanga Kantu', Nanga Badau, Pulau Majang, Pangkalang Pesaya, Genting Durian and Lanjak (see Map VIII), and from there Dutch forces patrolled the border, access being facilitated by the navigable Kapuas lakes (Pringle, *ibid.*:241).

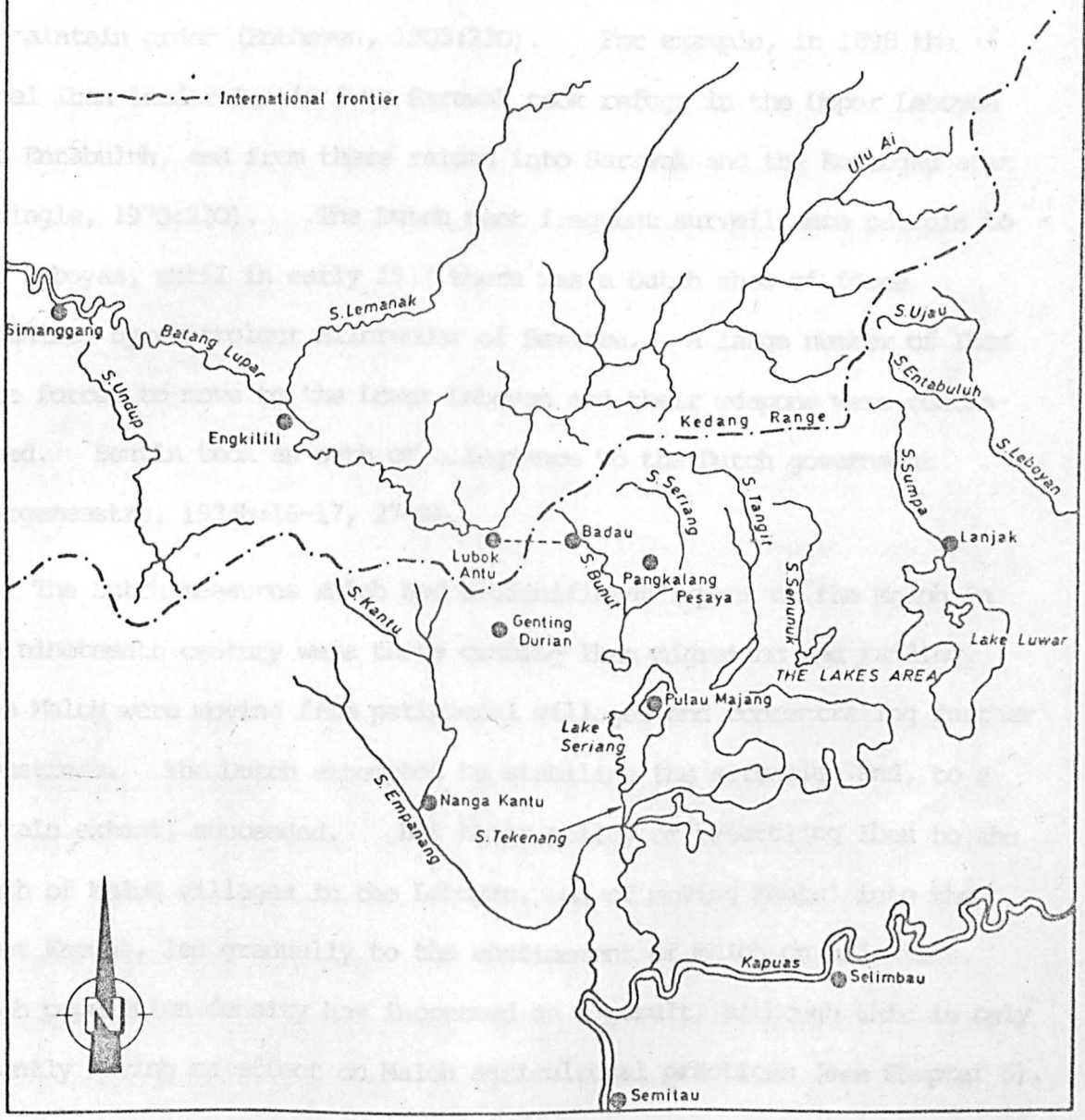
The Dutch resettled people away from Iban aggression. In 1881 many Kantu', traditional enemies of the Iban, were moved to the Kapuas river (Burgemeestre, 1934b:9-10). After their removal Iban attention concentrated more on the Maloh, but hostilities were tempered by the Dutch. In 1882 a force of Sarawak Iban came into Dutch territory and tried to enlist fellow Iban there to raid Maloh in the Leboyan. The Dutch controleur (district officer) at Badau dissuaded his own Iban, but he could not deter Sarawak Iban, and in August 1882 they attacked the Leboyan (Kielstra, 1893:968-9). The controleur eventually arranged a temporary settlement between Iban and Maloh, but in 1883 Sarawak Iban attempted a further raid on Leboyan Maloh. Their attack was diverted by a Dutch patrol from Badau, supported by the government steamer 'Singkawang' from Semitau (H.A.A.N., 1887:52-3).

From 1885 onwards the Dutch took additional steps to protect Maloh. They encouraged some Leboyan people to move further downstream (Enthoven, 1903:58). Many had already done so the previous year (Kielstra, 1893:2100). The Dutch also built a fortified long-house at Jejawé in the Middle Leboyan, garrisoned by Malay soldiers, and they supplied Maloh with weapons and ammunition (Burgemeestre, 1934b:12; Kielstra, 1893:2101). Ten years later Enthoven noted that the Maloh still possessed a great number of firearms (1903:64, 68).

MAP VIII

1886 the controller at ... and the March of the British division, and in 1887 a big "peace-taking" was held at ...

The Kapuas Lakes Area and Border Regions



Between 1880 and 1891 March ... The controller at ... appointed to ... maintained ... all the lake ...

In January 1886 the controleur at Badau secured peace between Iban and the Maloh of the Embaloh division, and in 1887 a big 'peace-making' was held at Lubok Antu (Deshon, 1888:66; Pringle, 1970:220). From then on little raiding took place, and by the 1890s the Dutch had begun to withdraw their border posts. Instead they relied mainly on patrols to maintain order (Enthoven, 1903:230). For example, in 1898 the rebel Iban leader Bantin from Sarawak took refuge in the Upper Leboyan and Entabuluh, and from there raided into Sarawak and the Ketungau area (Pringle, 1970:230). The Dutch sent frequent surveillance patrols to the Leboyan, until in early 1917 there was a Dutch show of force organized by controleur Hilbrander of Semitau. A large number of Iban were forced to move to the Lower Leboyan and their weapons were confiscated. Bantin took an oath of allegiance to the Dutch government (Burgemeestre, 1934b:16-17, 27-9).

The Dutch measures which had a significant impact on the Maloh in the nineteenth century were those curbing Iban migration and raiding. Some Maloh were moving from peripheral villages and concentrating further downstream. The Dutch attempted to stabilize the situation and, to a certain extent, succeeded. But their policy of resettling Iban to the south of Maloh villages in the Leboyan, and of moving Kantu' into the Upper Kapuas, led gradually to the confinement of Maloh on all sides. Maloh population density has increased as a result, although this is only recently having an effect on Maloh agricultural practices (see Chapter 6).

Between 1880 and 1895 Maloh villages received occasional visits from the controleurs at Badau and Semitau. Then in 1895 a controleur was appointed to Putus Sibau in charge of a newly created Upper Kapuas administrative subdivision (Onderafdeeling Boven-Kapoeas) which included all the Maloh areas of settlement (Enthoven, 1903:56). The greater security of the 1890s meant that various Dutch scientific expeditions

could be successfully undertaken. In 1893-4 the 'Borneo Expedition' to Central Borneo took place. Under its auspices a geological survey was completed by G.A.F. Molengraaff, who visited the Mandai, Embaloh and the Kapuas above Putus Sibau (ter Bruggen, 1955:45; Schuilin, 1903:42-6). In addition, between 1894 and 1900 Nieuwenhuis carried out ethnographical work in the Upper Kapuas, mainly among the Kayan.

J. Büttikofer, another expedition member, provided additional ethnographic data on the Upper Kapuas (e.g. 1895:514-22). Between them they provided some of the most reliable early information on this part of Borneo.

In the 1890s J.J.K. Enthoven was appointed head of the Topografischen Dienst to complete a topographic survey of West Borneo. His work on the land, peoples, history and administration of the Upper Kapuas contains the earliest informative, though still relatively superficial account of the Maloh (1903:4-115). Enthoven found that Embaloh people were 'good-natured', 'hospitable' and 'peace-loving' and seldom embarked on head-hunting raids (ibid.:60, 65). In fact, when Gonzalvus, a Dutch priest, visited the Embaloh in 1911 he was surprised to find so few smoked heads in Maloh dwellings (1911:896). Enthoven observed that Iban attacks on the Leboyan and Embaloh had led to a concentration of Maloh settlement in impressive, heavily fortified long-houses (cf. Molengraaff, 1900:154). Gonzalvus noted that a raised plankwalk led from long~~th~~house to river's edge which enabled the Maloh inhabitants to beat a hasty retreat should they have to abandon the house (1911:380-1).

The Dutch expeditions revealed the low economic potential of the Upper Kapuas, and of West Borneo in general. Various minerals were found but, with the exception of coal, only in small, scattered deposits. Thus, despite some early interest in the economic possibilities of the area (especially in mining), the Dutch enterprise in West Borneo remained largely a political, and to a certain extent a religious one.

With the establishment of a controleur at Putus Sibau, the first household tax on Malays and Dayaks was introduced in the Upper Kapuas on 1 January 1896. It comprised two per cent of a household's income, with a minimum assessment of one guilder a year (Enthoven, 1903:57, 92). For tax collection in the Embaloh region the Dutch established a small 'fort' (kubu) at Benua Ujung with a corporal in charge (Molengraaff, 1900:155). Gradually other taxes were imposed on the sale of pigs, cows, weapons, gold and forest products. In addition, 'village service' (kampongdienst) was introduced whereby every adult had to contribute to the upkeep of footpaths and bridges in the village territory (Werkman, n.d.:3). Larger projects such as road construction were accomplished by paying local labour a small wage. Taxation and paid work resulted in the gradual introduction of money into the region.

Enthoven reported that by the 1890s government interference in the local affairs of people in the Leboyan, Embaloh and Palin rivers had been relatively slight. Government orders were usually carried out by samagat, but in the Palin area Dutch officials visited villages so infrequently that headmen had little inclination to co-operate with Europeans (1903:60, 69-70). Therefore, up to the turn of the century Maloh in the Embaloh division had retained a considerable degree of autonomy and, if anything, Maloh aristocrats appointed as tax-collectors and administrators initially consolidated their position with Dutch support. Nevertheless, Dutch moves against inter-Dayak raiding, the siphoning off of some funds in taxation and the incorporation of samagat into a colonial administration all contributed to the eventual undermining of traditional leadership.

To ensure continued peace, especially in Iban areas, the controleur of Semitau suggested that the 'civilizing' influence of Christianity might accomplish more than the use of military force. In 1908 he succeeded in

getting the Roman Catholic Capuchin order to establish a mission at Lanjak where the military post had been closed (Maxandrea, 1924:176-7). Attempts to convert Iban there largely failed, and in 1921 the mission was closed. Meanwhile priests had visited the nearby Leboyan and Embaloh, and they decided that Maloh there offered the best opportunities for conversion. The Capuchins set up a mission in 1913 between the villages of Benua Ujung and Keram on the Embaloh river (A.S. April, 1913).¹³ This also encouraged the Dutch government to establish an Assistant Demang's (Native Officer's) post in Benua Ujung staffed by Malays.

Some Maloh aristocrats, such as the headman of Bukung, were anxious to accept Christianity and education. One of their motives was to secure continued Dutch protection from the Iban. They also saw it in their interests to co-operate with the Dutch who were obviously more powerful than the Malays and whose religion was seen as more prestigious than Islam (A.S. July 21, 1920). While aristocrats saw conversion to Christianity as a possible means of maintaining their position, some Maloh commoners saw it gave them opportunities to avoid their obligations to the samagat.

Mission work in the Embaloh area had additional advantages other than a receptive population. Maloh villages were large, close together, relatively permanent and situated in low-lying terrain. Establishing themselves at Benua Martinus in the centre of the Embaloh and on a main routeway to the Leboyan, the Catholic missionaries had an accessible base among a large, concentrated and stable population. This was in marked contrast to their experience with the scattered, constantly shifting Iban villages set in remote hill country.

13. A.S. refers to the Catholic 'Archief Statie' at Benua Martinus (with a date of entry).

In 1913 some Maloh men began work on the priests' living quarters, while the fathers stayed in the long-house at Bukung (A.S. Feb. 28, 1914). Later work began on a church. Initially Father Gonzalvus was appointed head of the new station, assisted by Father Flavianus (Huijbers) and Brother Donulus. In 1918 Gonzalvus was transferred and was succeeded by Flavianus who, with the exception of vacations, remained at the mission until the Japanese occupation in 1942. The Catholic missionaries were responsible for four main changes in the Embaloh, and to a certain extent the Leboyan. The Palin was remote from the mission, and apart from occasional visits (dienstreis) by the priests, it avoided most of the dramatic effects of Christian proselytizing, though some Palin people continued to convert to Islam.

First, the arrival of Dutch missionaries slowed Maloh conversion to Islam. The Catholic priests were generally antagonistic towards the Muslim Malays, and Flavianus particularly disliked the continuing influence of Islam on the Palin peoples (A.S. 12 Jan., 1934). This antipathy was illustrated in an incident in Benua Ujung where there was a settlement of Malay traders and local government employees. During the early 1930s Flavianus acted as spokesman for the Maloh in a protracted dispute against the Malays and eventually succeeded in getting the Malays removed from the area, though he probably saw himself in this situation as protector of the oppressed natives rather than as a Christian crusader.

In the 1920s the Assistant Demang, a Padang Malay, and his colleagues had managed through 'trickery' and official pressure (apparently with the support of the Dutch controleur), to get some Maloh in Benua Ujung and Teliai to cede land rights to them with minimum compensation (A.S. 1 August 1926; 18 February 1932). Flavianus pressed for a formal hearing between Maloh and Malays. The Assistant Demang, in particular, had procured a substantial area from the Maloh for the cultivation of rice and vegetables, and he pursued his claim to the Assistant Resident in Sintang (A.S. 16 Sept. 1931; 11 April 1932). At meetings held in Benua Ujung on 10, 11, 12 and 14 May 1933, it was ruled that a substantial part of the land be returned to the Maloh. On 30 June 1933 the Assistant Resident further ordered that most of the Malays relinquish their present site and move into virgin forest on the opposite side of the river. Finally, on 16 March 1934, the

Assistant Demang moved the majority of the Malays from Benua Ujung to Luangan, Ujung Rasau, Batu Ampar and Keduduk on the Lower Embaloh. However, the Malays were now distant from the forest products trade in Benua Ujung, and many subsequently returned to the main Kapuas river.

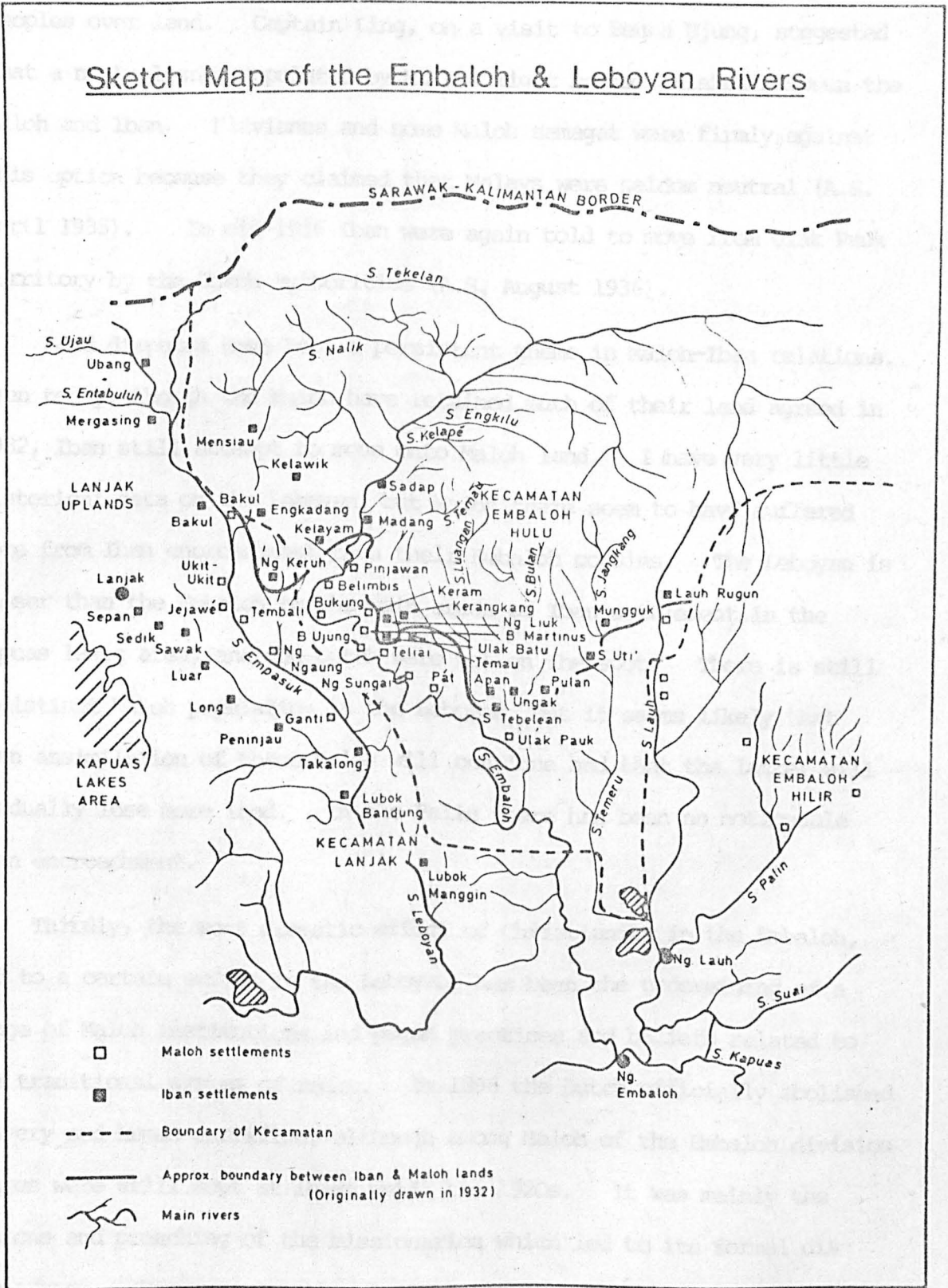
The second consequence of the missionary presence was the prevention of more extensive Iban encroachment on Embaloh land. At the beginning of the twentieth century Iban had started to move into regions to the east of the Embaloh river to augment the small Iban settlements in the Lauh area. In the 1930s there was a large increase in numbers in these eastern regions when many Iban moved there from the Upper Embaloh as a result of border unrest. The Dutch were continually sending military patrols to the Upper Embaloh and Leboyan in pursuit of Iban rebels from Sarawak (e.g. A.S. 17 June, 2 August, 16 Oct. 1919; A.S. 19 Sept. 1923; A.S. 12, 16 May, 17-18 July 1932; Burgemeestre, 1934a:34). Things came to a head in 1934 when rumours circulated among Embaloh Iban that they would be raided by large forces of Iban from Sarawak (A.S. 22, 24, 28 May, 10 June 1934). These events led Judan, the Iban adat head of the Embaloh region, to meet with Embaloh samagat and the Dutch controleur. They decided that Iban in the Upper Embaloh should move to the east, further away from Sarawak Iban influence (A.S. 2 July 1934). In 1935-6 Iban in the Embaloh villages of Talas, Sadap, Jangung, Engkilu, Banyu and Karangany Bunut, as well as some Iban from Lanjak, moved to the east of the Embaloh, without encroaching on Palin land (A.S. 7 Feb. 1935; June 1936).

The location of the mission station and the Assistant Demang's office near the border regions with Sarawak meant that the priests were continually receiving visits from Dutch military personnel and government officials. Flavianus therefore made it known to them that he was anxious about the possible consequences of Iban migration and their prodigal agricultural practices for the Maloh. Partly at his instigation the Dutch

sponsored two important boundary agreements between the Iban and the Maloh of the Embaloh river. The first, in 1923, was convened in Benua Ujung by W.J. Cator, the controleur of Putus Sibau. It was agreed that Iban should formally retain rights to the lands of the Upper Embaloh river. They were also permitted to live in the upper courses of its eastern tributaries such as the Temau, Uti', Jangkang and Bulan. Iban had to confine themselves exclusively to districts demarcated by the government. They were not allowed to open up arbitrarily more forest for farming than was needed in any one year. They were also required to maintain footpaths.

During the next ten years it still proved difficult to control Iban movements, and in 1927 Flavianus warned various Embaloh samagat that they must prevent the gradual annexation of their lands (A.S. 9 July 1927). Meanwhile, Rajang, the Maloh headman of Ulak Pauk, had received ten Iban families into his village in direct contravention of the 1923 regulations. At Flavianus' urging other Embaloh headmen made strong representations to controleur Kelly of Putus Sibau. Flavianus also pointed to the disastrous environmental consequences of Iban agriculture on hill slopes in the Lanjak and Upper Leboyan areas. In August 1931 the Father took the matter to the Assistant Resident in Sintang (A.S. 25 Aug. 1931), and it was largely through his efforts that a second boundary agreement was concluded in 1932 (A.S. 21 April 1932). The negotiations were presided over by van den Kolk, the controleur of Putus Sibau. The boundary between Iban and Embaloh areas was redrawn. It cut across the Kelayam river to the north-west and north of the Embaloh settlements of Pinjawan and Belimbis, continuing to the east of the Embaloh river and through the Temau, Luangan, Bulan and Temeru rivers (see Map IX). Under this agreement the Iban long-houses on Maloh territory were given eight months to move, as were the Iban resident in Ulak Pauk.

Sketch Map of the Embaloh & Leboyan Rivers



Between 1933 and 1935 there were sporadic disputes between the two peoples over land. Captain Ling, on a visit to Benua Ujung, suggested that a neutral zone populated by Malays might be established between the Maloh and Iban. Flavianus and some Maloh samagat were firmly against this option because they claimed that Malays were seldom neutral (A.S. April 1935). In mid-1936 Iban were again told to move from Ulak Pauk territory by the Dutch authorities (A.S. August 1936).

Land disputes have been a persistent theme in Maloh-Iban relations. Even today, though the Maloh have retained much of their land agreed in 1932, Iban still attempt to move onto Maloh land. I have very little historical data on the Leboyan, but Maloh there seem to have suffered more from Iban encroachment than their Embaloh cousins. The Leboyan is closer than the Embaloh to the main areas of Iban settlement in the Kapuas lakes area, and the Dutch were not on the spot. There is still a distinct Maloh population in the Leboyan, but it seems likely that Iban assimilation of these Maloh will continue and that the latter will gradually lose more land. In the Palin there has been no noticeable Iban encroachment.

Thirdly, the most dramatic effect of Christianity in the Embaloh, and to a certain extent in the Leboyan, has been the undermining of a range of Maloh institutions and pagan practices and beliefs related to the traditional system of ranks. In 1896 the Dutch officially abolished slavery and human sacrifice, although among Maloh of the Embaloh division slaves were still kept at least until the 1920s. It was mainly the actions and preaching of the missionaries which led to its formal disappearance. For example, the mission records mention the case of Galiga, a slave owned by the samagat Ma' Kasso, who, under pressure from the church, released her from bondage (A.S. 30 Jan. 1920). Dutch government action against raiding also meant that one of the main means of

acquiring new slaves was eliminated. The disintegration of slavery as an institution severely affected the superior economic, political and religious position of samagat, and the cessation of warfare removed the aristocratic role of protector and war-leader.

Over time the religious legitimation and expression of aristocratic superiority and sacredness was challenged. In traditional rites of birth, marriage and death, differences in rank were symbolized and re-affirmed. Samagat were entitled to special ritual paraphernalia and elaborate ceremonials (see Chapter 4). Aristocratic headmen played a significant role in village-wide ceremonies associated with agriculture and the construction of long-houses and death-houses. Catholic rituals were introduced in the Embaloh and Leboyan. By December 1913, 88 baptisms had been performed; the first church burial took place in 1916 (A.S. 22 Sept. 1916) and the first wedding in 1917 (A.S. 16 March 1917). Commoners figured significantly in these early Christian activities. Religious change was also evident in an event which occurred in 1918.

The kulambu, a house-like structure on stilts containing the coffins of the dead, of Keram village was close to the mission buildings. The Catholics had acquired land from Keram to build their mission, and part of it was 'burial' land. A number of Maloh would not go near the mission for fear of 'evil spirits'. Flavianus wanted to move the death-house and plant the area to fruit and rubber. In consultation with the Dutch controleur and the pastor, the villagers reluctantly complied with the mission's wishes. The good building materials of the kulambu were salvaged and used in the construction of another kulambu on the opposite side of the river, but the rotted wood and bones were buried. Flavianus said of this incident that 'Everything was buried and cleared away with great care but in the eyes of the Dayaks this was still an unpardonable deed, completely contrary to their adat. It frightened them away temporarily' (A.S. 27 May 1918).

This action was the first stage in the gradual discarding of the kulambu as an integral part of the funerary complex. Kulambu were important in the symbolization of rank because dead aristocrats were either entitled to separate, elaborately decorated kulambu, or their

coffins were placed on high platforms inside communal village death-houses. Samagat also played a key part in the ceremonial inception of a new kulambu. The last death-houses were built in 1924 in the villages of Teliai and Keram (A.S. 18 Aug. 1924), although corpses were still placed in them in the Embaloh up to the 1950s. They continued to be erected in the Leboyan until the 1940s, and I witnessed the construction of a kulambu in the Palin in 1973.

The Dutch missionaries disliked the Maloh ranking system itself, particularly the practice of arranged marriage within ranks (A.S. 8 Nov. 1935) and differential adat fines according to rank (Huijbers, 1932:162; 1934:94). Government edicts were also to a certain extent communicated and enforced by the missionaries. The political power and decision-making abilities of samagat in cases of homicide were largely co-opted by the colonial government, and missionaries became involved in internal village issues concerning marriage, domestic strife, adultery, theft and in decisions about the level of fines to be levied. Individuals in trouble with their headmen, or those who thought they had been mistreated or fined unfairly by samagat, or young people who did not wish to be party to an arranged marriage, increasingly sought the protection and assistance of the church. Flavianus himself sometimes decided in local disputes or initiated proceedings or handed the matter over to a government official (e.g. A.S. 8 June, 2 July, 8 Dec. 1919; 26 July 1920; 19 Jan., 4 July, 26 July, 15 Aug. 1921). Therefore, both government and missionary actions worked to the detriment of the aristocrats in the politico-legal sphere. The important prerogative of aristocrats to fine commoners who wished to leave their village was also removed (Bouman, 1924a:179-80). Finally, European intervention resulted in the realization among ordinary Maloh that Dutch political power was superior to that of their own leaders and that European education and religion might be an

additional means to acquire wealth and status in, for example, white-collar employment. In this connexion Leach has pertinently remarked that in a colonial context 'as any native district developed from a state of primitive freedom towards administered sophistication, the tendency has been for the native chiefs and elders to lose their status as traditional leaders and become merely agents of government' (1950:61).

Nevertheless, the missionaries were not successful in all their endeavours. While they set themselves against the practices of pre-marital sexual liaisons (mainjami), cock-fighting, abortion, excessive drinking and gambling, my recent fieldwork data revealed that these customs still thrived. However, though Flavianus often described the Maloh as 'unreliable', 'petty-minded', 'coarse', 'brutal', 'primitive' and 'foolish', it must not be thought that he was totally unsympathetic. His summary of the mission's work in 1930, after 17 years of activity, reveals his attitudes towards Maloh and his assessment of the difficulties involved. He said:

Christianity in the village still leaves a lot to be desired. This is because of the Dayak circumstances of life in their 'closed village society'. Christian converts work together in their fields with pagans, live with them and reside with pagan parents and relatives.... But we must still strive for the denunciation of the frequently evil customs, rules for marriage and attitudes towards bringing up children.. ... There must be many changes in Dayak society before our Christians are free from its constraints. We cannot use force because their society is still dependent on these customs. We have to make allowance for their needs and circumstances of life and work. When we are more familiar with their local situation we realize that at busy times (farming, feasting) then church attendance is poor. In the last four weeks [in December] Church attendance has been satisfactory because now the busy working periods in the rice fields have passed (there is now also very little weeding). Sunday is the most important part of the Christian life. Yet we must also make reasonable allowance for the people and their surroundings. It is fortunate that relations between mission and people are favourable and we have influence. If these relations should change

and the population become averse to us because of harshness or imprudence then it is we who must suffer. A Dayak has little feeling for the abstract and spiritual sphere of Catholicism - alas he is still too primitive. Things take time and must progress slowly. The work is very heavy but there are still prospects and the situation is not so bad (A.S. 25 Dec. 1930; my translation).

Catholics probably had considerable success in education. A government-subsidized mission school, with instruction in Malay, was opened in November 1914 and had 20 boys as pupils by September 1916 (A.S. Jan. 1920). Certain of the brighter students went on to further studies in the secondary school in Pontianak and a few of these entered the mission teacher-training college at Nyarumkop. Of the three Nyarumkop graduates in 1929, one, Giling Laut, was a samagat and two were commoners (A.S. Jan. 1929). In 1917 the Martinus mission began to take girls for instruction in domestic subjects, and by 1921 Catholic sisters had arrived to establish the girls' school (A.S. July 1921). This was resisted by some Maloh headmen, and absenteeism was frequent because of parental reliance on the daughter's domestic help (A.S. 27 Nov. 1921).

Teaching was a potent agent of change in the Embaloh and Leboyan. Children who received Christian and secular education began to question traditional authority. Differences of opinion between younger and older Maloh were exacerbated. Particular issues of conflict were arranged marriages, respect for elders, various services due to aristocrats and respect for adat, and beliefs associated with spirits and deities. The conversion of some Maloh, especially commoners, also led to a certain amount of village schism. Those who provided services for the mission such as teachers, domestic servants and gardeners moved to Benua Martinus and built independent family dwellings. Conflicts between pagans and Christians accelerated the break up of long-houses (Burgemeestre, 1934a: 6), but village cohesion itself declined partly as a result of the

cessation of inter-Dayak hostility and the removal of long-house fortifications. Tensions between pagans and others very often revolved around the problem of which rulings to apply to Christians if they avoided customary obligations (e.g. A.S. 30 Nov. 1920).

The mission completed a small hospital at Martinus in September 1924. A qualified doctor made periodic visits to the Embaloh to vaccinate against cholera and smallpox and the sisters ministered to the sick (A.S. 19 July 1924). However, native curers (balian) were still popular for the treatment of certain afflictions and remain so even today. One effect of the introduction of Western medicines and hygiene has been a gradual increase in population, aggravating the pressure on land resources.

The fourth main area of change initiated, in part, by the mission was of an economic nature. The Dutch priests began to grow rubber and coffee in their gardens in 1915 (A.S. 18 Jan. 1915) using hired Maloh labour. The new plants were then adopted by the local population. Small-holder rubber growing spread rapidly. It provided a source of cash which Maloh used to pay taxes, buy their children's school equipment and purchase manufactured imported goods. The fathers also experimented with wet rice cultivation and tried to introduce it into Maloh villages. This had no success before the Second World War because of Maloh preference for dry and swamp rice agriculture.

Cash crop production and increasing opportunities to find paid work in government building projects assisted social mobility for some Maloh. Acquired wealth for some commoners was initially more likely to be channelled into raising one's rank position, but later, as consumer goods became available, cash was used to purchase these, or set up in trade. Traditional heirlooms, some of which were used as symbols of rank in

bridewealth, adat fines and ritual very slowly declined in importance. People began to sell or exchange gongs and jars for money or other items.¹⁴

The existence of the mission together with the government office in the Embaloh also led to an improvement in communications. A government officer from Putus Sibau was responsible for the construction and improvement of routeways and bridges linking all the Embaloh villages and crossing the low watershed between the Embaloh and Leboyan (A.S. 27 Aug. 1913). These were of such a standard that the fathers could use bicycles. There was also a twice-monthly motor boat service between Martinus and the main river to bring mail and essential goods to the mission and government office (A.S. 26 Aug. 1916). The improved communications increased the quantity of goods, people and information flowing in and out of the Embaloh area.

g. The Departure of the Dutch and After

Dutch control of West Borneo ended abruptly with the arrival of the Japanese. News filtered through to the Embaloh that bombing had damaged Pontianak in December 1941 (A.S. 21 Dec. 1941). By April 1942 the Japanese had reached Sintang and sent orders to the missionaries to leave Martinus, which they did in June 1942 (A.S. 7 April, 21 June 1942). The mission complex was left in the hands of trusted local people who were instructed to run it as best they could (A.S. 25 June 1942).

The Japanese did not directly occupy the Upper Kapuas and local officials, mainly Malays, controlled the interior regions. The occupiers extracted local produce, particularly rice, from the Dayaks, but it appears that the Maloh remained relatively untouched during the period 1942-5.

14. See Morris (1953:20) for a similar situation among the Melanau.

Australians entered Pontianak in 1945, followed by the Dutch, and on 21 October 1945 control of West Borneo was officially and comparatively peacefully taken from Indonesian hands and returned to the Dutch (Riwut, 1958:5, 36). A number of Dutch officials, soldiers and missionaries came back to West Borneo. A controleur was re-established at Putus Sibau in charge of indigenous officials. The Capuchin mission chose to concentrate its efforts henceforth below Sintang, and the Dutch Montfort fathers replaced them in the Upper Kapuas in 1947.

With Indonesian independence the Dutch relinquished their Borneo possessions in 1950 (Riwut, *ibid.*:6). Initially the Indonesian government established a united Kalimantan administration with its capital at Banjarmasin. But by the mid-1950s West Kalimantan was again organized as a separate province (propinsi), subdivided into administrative regions (kabupaten). Maloh territory became part of Kabupaten Kapuas Hulu which corresponded approximately to the old Dutch subdivisions (onderafdeeling) of Semitau and Boven Kapoeas (*ibid.*: 1958:59). Kabupaten were in turn divided into several districts (kecamatan), though there have been a number of district boundary changes since the 1950s.

The Dutch departure left an administrative vacuum. Those Indonesian officials who had been raised by the Japanese, and who had generally served under the Dutch in minor official positions, took over the posts of bupati and camat. As bureaucracy grew to absorb labour, many Dayaks became government workers. For example, in 1972-3 the regional offices at Putus Sibau and Sintang employed a number of Maloh men, and in Benua Martinus the camat and his staff were all local Maloh. Maloh even occupied some provincial administrative posts in Pontianak. Greater opportunities in government and in teaching have led to a change in values among young Maloh, greater physical mobility to pursue education and paid work, and a further diminution in the prerogatives of traditional rank.

This is not to say that offices and schools have spawned an entirely separate class of non-manual workers. For example, in Benua Martinus salaries were nominal, payment often delayed, and office hours were short and irregular. Male office employees and teachers lived in the area with their families, and also worked their own rice-fields and rubber gardens. In the Palin there was no government office, and the two primary school teachers there spent much of their time trading and farming. Therefore, in general, government salaries were merely a useful supplement to other sources of income for low-level white collar workers.

The district officer's main tasks are to handle certain local disputes, if called on to do so, issue travel permits, collect statistics on the local economy and population, register births, marriages and deaths, implement provincial and regional government directives, co-ordinate the activities of other local departments such as Agriculture, and Education and Culture, and collect taxes on exports of rubber, timber and agricultural and forest produce. As far as I could determine the district office in Martinus had no comprehensive statistical data, no complete register, it collected taxes sporadically and implemented very few government directives. Its budget was virtually non-existent, apart from the salaries for employees, and the only project in which it was involved was the encouragement of local wet rice cultivation along with the Agricultural Department. It did issue travel passes and the camat played a role in local dispute settlement with the assistance of the local policeman, temenggung and village headmen.

The adat head and village headmen occupy the lowest rungs of the administrative hierarchy. Both positions existed in the Dutch system. The temenggung is entitled to a uniform and a small honorarium. He is elected by all the village headmen in the adat area concerned, and he is

primarily responsible for resolving inter-village disputes and delicts which cannot be settled in the village. As in colonial times the temenggung has no jurisdiction over major criminal offences such as homicide. In 1972-3 the aristocratic stratum dominated the position of temenggung in all my fieldwork areas of the Leboyan, Embaloh and Palin.

During Dutch times village headmanship was reserved for aristocrats. Indonesian independence saw the institution of democratic elections for headmen, and the requirement that headmen should be literate.¹⁵ Candidates can be from any rank, and because there are more non-samagat adults in the village than aristocrats some commoner headmen have been elected. Furthermore, today a headman has very little real power and commands only a nominal salary, so that it is often difficult to get suitable candidates, especially aristocrats, to stand for election. Despite the unattractive features of headmanship, several samagat still occupy the position, mainly because of their knowledge of Maloh law. However, the government insists that headmen are called by the Malay term kepala kampong (lit.: 'village head') and not 'samagat', which has connotations of rank.

The political changes above led to an adat conference in the Embaloh in 1970 to reformulate customary law, equalize fines and bridewealth, officially change rituals relating to marriage, death and agriculture, and eliminate rank differentials. The resulting new regulations in the Embaloh formally acknowledged some changes which had already taken place, and introduced new ones. In 1972-3 Maloh in the Leboyan and Palin had not accepted them, though negotiations were in progress.

Political changes have been accompanied by continued conversion to Christianity and educational developments, resulting in the disappearance

15. See similarly the Kenyah of East Kalimantan (Whittier, 1973:51).

of much of the traditional religion, at least in the Embaloh. Some older people remember the old sagas and chants, and many individuals continue to use traditional curers. Elements of pagan religion are preserved in minor agricultural rites, and in marriage and funeral ceremonies. But in the Embaloh and Leboyan village-wide agricultural ceremonies and those associated with long-house and death-house construction presided over by samagat have disappeared. The Palin retains more of its traditional religion with some changes in detail, but on my departure from West Kalimantan American Protestant missionaries were building a mission at Nanga Nyabau.

Despite Maloh political and religious changes there have been fewer alterations in the local economy. The Embaloh, Leboyan and Palin remain relatively isolated from the main administrative and commercial centres along the Kapuas. If anything land and river communications have declined in efficiency since the departure of the Dutch. The majority of bridges have fallen into disrepair in the Upper Kapuas and some of the wide footpaths are overgrown and become waterlogged in the rainy season. Routeways across watersheds have been particularly badly affected, though the river-bank pathways are fairly well maintained in the Embaloh and Leboyan, but not in the Palin. River passenger services are irregular and travellers usually rely on private trading boats. Because of the Communist guerrilla problem in border regions Chinese traders have been forbidden to enter the northern tributaries of the Kapuas.

Deterioration in communications are theoretically compensated for by wider Maloh ownership of outboard motors (though petrol is often scarce upriver) and of transistor radios. Individuals can now tune into national radio and obtain all kinds of information (e.g. on prices of agricultural products). The camat's office in Martinus has a radio

link with the bupati's office in Putus Sibau, but official written correspondence can take two to three months to arrive in Martinus from Pontianak. Furthermore, the bupati of Putus Sibau had only visited the Embaloh region once in the five years from 1966 to 1971. The physical geography and scattered population present communication problems and many obstacles to orderly administration and effective economic development.

Maloh still cultivate dry and swamp rice, and other subsistence crops. Rubber, timber and the occasional illipe nut harvest are among the main sources of cash. Apart from the limited introduction of wet rice agriculture and some logging, little else has been achieved. If anything rubber export suffered a decline in the early 1970s with the fall in prices, and much of the Upper Kapuas rubber is of poor quality. A few Maloh have, however, set up in trade and shop-keeping, and paid work is available in Sarawak.

In the context of the Maloh economy perhaps one of the most alarming aspects is the absence of strong governmental controls on Iban farming practices and migration. Recently the effect of Iban prodigal cultivation practices on steep slopes has become very apparent. Iban also try to farm on Maloh land and this is partly facilitated by some Maloh leaders who have allowed Iban into virgin forest in their territory. Often Iban invoke ties of kinship and friendship with Maloh to enable them to move onto Maloh lands.

In the Leboyan Iban encirclement of Maloh settlement is almost complete. Iban long-houses are found in the Upper and Lower Leboyan, the Empasuk river in the west, and the Ngaung and Mensiau rivers to the east (see Map IX). The Iban village of Takalong was originally a Maloh community, and there has been considerable Iban intermarriage with the Maloh of Bakul, Ganti and Nanga Ngaung.

In 1972-3 there were only two Iban villages in the Upper Embaloh at Madang and Sadap. During Confrontation Iban upriver of these two villages were ordered by the Indonesian military to move to areas further from the border. Some Iban asked the permission of the Embaloh temenggung to settle in an area of virgin forest near Benua Ujung. Embaloh leaders disagreed on the best course of action, but it was eventually agreed that the Iban could build a long-house at Ulak Batu. Between 1963 and 1973 the original three households increased to eleven. Iban are also found to the east and west of the Embaloh river, but the Palin has suffered no Iban in-migration.

The real problem which Maloh in the Embaloh and Leboyan face is pressure on resources. Iban often face food shortages. Even in the 1930s there were references in the mission records to Iban hunger and poor harvests (A.S. Jan. 1934; April 1936; July 1938; July 1939). The Dutch priests at that time felt that this might place undue burdens on the Maloh if Iban had to beg for food. As a temporary solution the Dutch government supplied Iban with free sago plants to provide supplementary food (A.S. July 1938).

The Iban and Maloh populations are increasing in numbers, and Maloh are restricted spatially by the surrounding Iban and Kantu'. By 1972-3 Maloh still managed to produce rice surpluses regularly, and in their areas at least there were no signs of serious soil exhaustion. The fertile riverine lands cope with Maloh farming demands, but some households have shortened the length of the fallow period between cultivation cycles. One improvement has been the adoption of wet rice agriculture using high-yielding seeds in a few villages such as Belimbis, Keram and Martinus, although it is progressing slowly and has made no headway in the Leboyan and Palin.

There are a few Malay families in the Embaloh area. Six Malay households are found in the Lower Embaloh villages of Pát and Ulak Pauk, and they have a small prayer-house in Ulak Pauk. However, conversion to Islam is rare because of the presence of Catholic missionaries. In the Palin Malays have a large settlement at Nanga Lauh, and a few live in Nanga Nyabau and Tanjung Karaja.

In 1963, during the Indonesian Confrontation against Malaysia, Indonesian troops were stationed in the Leboyan and Embaloh.¹⁶ After Konfrontasi and Sukarno's downfall some disaffected Indonesian border forces joined with Chinese Communists in a guerrilla war against both the Malaysian and Indonesian authorities. To combat this threat further Indonesian troops were posted to such places as the Leboyan and Embaloh. Some Maloh were recruited as guides to the soldiers, and Maloh villagers had to provide for the subsistence needs of the largely Javanese, Sumatran and Kalimantan Malay troops, when supplies failed to reach them from down-river. The military had its own administrative structure at provincial, regional and local levels. They had a command post at Benua Martinus, and an outpost in Pinjawan. Patrols were sent out from there, and some soldiers stayed temporarily in long-houses in the Leboyan.

The military forces in the Embaloh imposed a night curfew during the years 1971-3. In the past, several households would come together and build small long-houses near their rice-fields in the busy times of the agricultural year, only occasionally returning to the main village. The military measures meant that the Maloh had to return to their village before dark. The Maloh were forbidden to stay out in farm-huts and field-houses, though temporary huts were built to provide shelter during the daytime. Therefore, Maloh tended to farm areas closer to home. This

16. See Whittier (1973:43 seq.) on Confrontation in East Kalimantan.

coupled with the forced delivery of food to the military adversely affected the Embaloh economy, though it is impossible to gauge the effects precisely. Villages in the Leboyan and Palin largely avoided these military actions.

Other factors have led to some tension between the troops and the local population. Casual sexual liaisons sometimes developed between soldiers and local females, much to the anger of some of the Maloh men. Furthermore, soldiers sometimes showed disrespect towards local adat and questioned some of the values underlying it. Perhaps most significantly the military helped enforce government policy against long-house construction, and Embaloh villagers were compelled to abandon these dwellings. A comment in the provincial government magazine Warta Penda summarizes the prevailing official attitude:

Perhaps the long-house had its place long ago, but today the single house is more fitting. Each family occupies one house with its own rooms and kitchen, and thankfully family members have their own washroom and toilet, and a yard and animal pen separate from the house. With a long-house it is difficult to guarantee cleanliness, health and the development of family life and so on, and in consequence difficult to attain advancement (1971:20, my translation).

Before the 1960s there had already been some hiving-off and construction of independent family dwellings, particularly by households which had embraced Christianity or Islam. Nevertheless, the long-house remained a viable form of domicile, and still did in the Leboyan and Palin in 1972-3. Now all villages in the Embaloh comprise single-family dwellings with separate village meeting halls to replace the former long-house verandah. The decline in long-house domicile has also led to a decrease in village cohesion. Villagers do not use the meeting halls much, and living in separate houses makes it easier for people to avoid kinship obligations and stay out of the way of people they dislike.

h. Conclusions

Despite changes in Maloh society and culture there is evidence of some continuity. First, Maloh appear to be an ancient, long-house dwelling population in interior Borneo. They have lived in the Upper Kapuas for a considerable time, and they continue to do so. There has been some change in the overall spread of villages with the migration into the region of Iban, Kantu' and Kayan, and the intrusion of Islamic/Malay culture. Many Maloh have also retained long-house domicile, though not along the Embaloh river.

Secondly, oral traditions indicate that Maloh have never been an isolated people, but have had a long-established network of trading links with other Dayak peoples, and later with Malays and Chinese. Trade is still one of the most important inter-ethnic relationships and serves as the basis for other relations such as intermarriage and cultural exchange. However, the kinds and quantities of trade goods have changed with the increasing availability of money and consumer goods. Hostile relations in the past have also given way to more peaceful interaction and the possibility of increasing intermarriage and assimilation.

As far back as they can remember Maloh have been subsistence cultivators of dry and swamp rice, and their economy is still largely oriented to subsistence needs. Rubber cultivation, timber-cutting, labour migration and other sources of cash income have increased economic diversification and along with general improvements in communications (with some noticeable recent set-backs) have served to link the local economy to a wider economic system. Maloh do channel goods and some agricultural surplus into the market and rely on certain imported goods. As a result of external pressures the traditional Maloh craft of silver- and gold-smithing has also declined in importance. Nevertheless, most Maloh have essentially remained subsistence farmers and thus, unlike more

easily accessible peoples in more environmentally and commercially suitable locations, they have largely avoided the unfavourable effects which often result from close integration into a market economy. One real danger to Maloh economic viability, which has not yet made itself felt to any degree, is pressure on resources from population growth and migration into the Upper Kapuas. To a certain extent these processes were linked to Dutch colonialism with its establishment of law and order, the introduction of medicines and hygiene, and its resettlement and forest conservation policies. Yet migration and differential population growth were features of pre-colonial Borneo, and the Dutch simply moulded, redirected and, in some cases, exacerbated these long-established processes. Pressure on land and forest resources has serious implications for swidden farmers, but continued planting of swamp rice and Maloh experiments with high-yielding wet rice varieties lessen the dangers of swidden 'over-farming'.

In striking contrast to the overall resilience of their economy, Maloh political and religious structures were markedly affected by Dutch and subsequent Indonesian government actions.¹⁷ Changes in the Maloh ranking system have not been dominated so much by direct economic forces, but rather by political and religious pressures. It might be argued that most Dutch colonial policies stemmed ultimately from basic economic concerns, but in the context of Dutch-Maloh relations these were not significant. What is more the Dutch interest in the Upper Kapuas was not primarily an economic one. Even certain economic changes among the Maloh and alterations in class structure were precipitated largely by

17. This situation contrasts to some extent with the Melanau whose society was dramatically affected by economic changes, particularly by the mechanization of sago production (Morris, 1974:273-301). Morris reported increasing landlessness, debt and unemployment among Melanau (1977:121-42).

Dutch political-administrative measures, particularly the abolition of slavery.

Inequality among Maloh was partly maintained by and expressed in politico-religious ideology and in the political and religious functions of the samagat. Changes in politics and religion therefore undermined the superior position of aristocrats. This is not to suggest that the traditional ranking system has been completely destroyed. Outside influences were variable in their impact, and were most intensely felt in the Embaloh, to a lesser extent in the Leboyan, and least in the Palin. Even in the Embaloh ranks are still recognized and talked about, and some samagat there have retained positions of influence and prestige. Maloh aristocrats employed various mechanisms such as rank endogamous marriage and the recalling of genealogies and social origins to retain their status. Some also used their initial advantages to adapt to a changing situation and maintain economic and political superiority.

The rest of the thesis is devoted to a more detailed examination of the significant changes which have occurred in Maloh society, and particularly in their ranking system. In Chapter 4 I present material on traditional Maloh ranks to serve as a basis for my subsequent account of Maloh society in 1972-3, and to bring the past into close juxtaposition with the present, which is covered in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

CHAPTER 4 TRADITIONAL RANK

In this chapter I document the main characteristics of the traditional Maloh ranking system to which a few references have been made in Chapter 3. There are many problems inherent in any historical reconstruction of a pre-literate society. I have relied to some extent on information supplied by present-day Maloh, and their 'consciousness of the past' may have confused ideal with practice, altered past 'events' to fit with present ideas and emphasized certain aspects of the society at the expense of others. An informant obviously presents a fragmented vision of the past coloured by his (or her) interests, age, sex and rank. Frequently Maloh do not distinguish between 'what was' and 'what is', and some informants, especially aristocrats, stressed the continuity of certain social and cultural institutions which to the outside observer had clearly disappeared or been radically altered (cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1972:245 seq.). I have also extracted data from Dutch secondary sources which are themselves fragments of an infinite resource of events, ideas and personalities channelled through the senses of particular observers with particular commitments, and created as historical objects. Furthermore, while I recognize the contingency of social and cultural forms, I have brought together, like Lévi-Strauss' 'bricoleur', bits and pieces of material taken from different time periods and orders of phenomena, in an attempt to grasp synchronically the main features of the Maloh ranking system before European intervention began seriously to undermine them (i.e. in the first few decades of the twentieth century).

Like any 'history', I am presenting a particular interpretation of the past. My main defence is that firstly, despite the difficulties, a view of the past is necessary to illuminate the present. Indeed, I would go further and argue that I could not have understood contemporary Maloh society without some ^{compre} apprehension of former Maloh social forms.

Secondly, fundamental changes among the Maloh have only come about in the last 60 years or so, so that taking material mainly relating to the period before that and synchronizing it, may not do too much injustice to past Maloh social organization. Thirdly, there were many details given by Maloh informants and Dutch observers which were congruent, and which to some extent allayed my fears about the status and utility of some of the data.

I have set my discussion within the framework of the Maloh village, because it is a key unit of analysis, and there is a close relationship between village and rank.

a. The Traditional Village

Formerly a Maloh village (banua) consisted of one or more long-houses (sau). In general, multi-long-house villages did not exceed three or four houses. Sau were massive wooden structures raised on stilts.

Enthoven remarked on them in the following terms

The houses built five to six metres above the ground resemble the normal Dayak dwelling, but are of much more solid construction; the main support posts are of ironwood, the floors of planks, the walls partly of planks and partly of plaited bamboo, and the roof of ironwood slats or tree bark. The entrance ladder, made from a carved ironwood log, is beneath the house and comes through a trap-door in the floor which can be closed.... The houses are surrounded by palisades of ironwood or sharpened bamboo; during the attacks of the Batang Lupars [Iban] man-traps were also dug in the surrounding earth. The Leboyans live in their houses for 20 to 25 years; they do not leave them until they are in a state of disrepair and then they build a new house with the usable material from the old house in its immediate vicinity (1903:58-9, my translation).

Maloh settlement was markedly permanent and most of the Maloh villages shown on Dutch maps of the 1890s could still be found on more or less the same site in 1972-3. So much effort went into long-house construction

that Maloh were reluctant to rebuild dwellings frequently or move long distances. These houses served a defensive need, but I also argue that permanency and long-house size were, in part, a product of the ranking system (see below). Furthermore, villages were concentrated in the middle reaches of rivers. This can be partly explained in terms of defensive needs, and Iban and Kantu' migration into Maloh country. But permanency and concentration were also made possible by favourable physical conditions and diligent cultivation practices which enabled Maloh to produce food surpluses.

The village was defined primarily in territorial and residential terms. Each village had its own broadly recognized boundaries (intara banua), usually demarcated by natural features such as streams and watersheds. Village territory comprised cultivated land (uma), fruit and vegetable gardens, rivers, lakes (dano) and forest. Within their own lands all adult village members, to the exclusion of outsiders, had equal rights of access to village resources which were not already the property of individual village households or descent categories (kapulungan). It was the aristocratic headman who was seen ultimately as the custodian of the unclaimed village estate and he would settle disputes over its use (Huijbers, 1931:205-6). He also had the power to confiscate his own villagers' property should he be displeased with them, and retain it for his own use or redistribute it to others (ibid.:205). If outsiders wished to exploit a portion of the unclaimed village estate, they had to obtain the headman's permission and give him a previously agreed percentage of the agricultural or natural products extracted (A.S. 10 May 1921; Enthoven, 1903:69). In a very real sense the territorial integrity of the village was maintained by and expressed in the position of the aristocratic headman.

It is instructive that the term for headman - samagat - is the same as that for the aristocratic rank.¹ Conceptually the two are inseparable because the headmanship was under the collective control of the aristocrats. Headmen were always aristocrats; aristocrats selected and sometimes dismissed headmen; they participated in decision-making and the advantages which the headmanship gave. The village, as a territorial unit, was, in some sense, aristocratic 'property'. However, the concept of a village, as well as including a territorial component, involved a human element. Territory was virtually useless without people to exploit it, and an important aristocratic prerogative was control over the movement of villagers. Village members could not leave the community without the headman's permission, and without paying him a fine (sarakan paulun) (A.S. 4 July 1919; 25 June 1934). What is more the term for a village - banua - is also one of the words used to refer to the freemen who constituted the majority of the population. An alternative term for the banua - suang sau (lit.: 'contents of the long-house') - has a similar connotation.

Finally, the village was not defined primarily as a kinship unit, though a number of residents were kinsmen and a variety of village relationships were expressed in kinship terms. Village membership required the consent of the aristocrats (Bouman, 1924a:179). Strangers who wanted to join a village could only do so with the headman's permission and the offering of a gift to him, and not just by claiming kinship links with existing residents. Nor were all villagers related through kinship because of the rule of rank endogamy.

Villages comprising more than one long-house operated in most respects like a single long-house village. However, in a village of one house, the

1. See also the Baluy Kayan (Rousseau, 1979:224).

house headman was by definition also village headman. The village had a name (e.g. Belimbis, Keram), but alternatively it could be called 'the house/village of so-and-so'. In a multi-long-house village only one of the long-house headmen served as village headman. Long-house headmen were called samagat as was the headman of the village, but his other title was 'indu' banua' ('mother of the village/country'). Again the headman was selected by all the aristocrats, and sometimes the office rotated amongst the constituent long-houses. The indu' banua was the village's representative in extra-community relations. He could also intervene in disputes between long-houses in his village, or in cases which could not be solved by the respective long-house headman. Nevertheless, each house had a considerable degree of autonomy in political and ritual matters and was primarily responsible to its house headman.

The term 'mother of the village' is revealing, because it demonstrates that aristocrats, especially the headman, were responsible for the fertility (and health) of the village. The village was a ritual unit and the headman had to provide offerings to spirits and deities in major ceremonies to secure the physical and spiritual well-being of the villagers. If there was much sickness or if crops continually failed the house was considered to be in a supernaturally dangerous or 'hot' condition. This circumstance sometimes resulted in the premature abandonment of the long-house, its rebuilding in a propitious 'cool' location, and the headman's dismissal. Aristocrats were also custodians of customary law responsible for settling and restoring both normal social relations and supernatural balance. Social tensions resulted in imbalances between the human and non-human worlds. The spiritual integrity of the village had to be maintained at all costs. This was one reason for the long-house headman demanding a quittance payment should someone wish to leave. The fine acted, in part, to seal the breach in

ritual protection which might result if villagers moved out. Thus Maloh village organization was closely bound up with the ranking system conceptually, terminologically and in practice.

For convenience I discuss rank in a village comprising one long-house and point out in passing the few features which differ between this and a multi-long-house village. I also divide the discussion in terms of the four named status levels of Maloh stratification - samagat, pabiring, banua and pangkam.² These four hereditary status levels also constituted three politico-economic classes - the aristocrats or ruling group (samagat), the freemen or ruled (pabiring and banua), and slaves (pangkam). I will consider the economic and political features of the four status strata below as well as their associated symbols of prestige.

b. Samagat

The term 'samagat' has no meaning in the Maloh language other than 'aristocrat' and 'headman', though it may be etymologically related to the Maloh word sumangat (soul, spirit). Huijbers pointed out the rationale behind this linguistic usage because just as the soul is essential to the human body so the 'monarch' is vital for 'the life of the tribe' (1931:204). This reinforces the spiritual, sacred connotation of Maloh aristocracy. Sometimes samagat are referred to as suka, which is merely an honorific title prefixed to the personal name of an aristocrat, and is used particularly by the Taman. Formerly, some headmen also adopted the Malay title raja (ruler).

As we have seen the samagat can be defined in political terms. They were the ruling stratum in control of the positions of adat head, and

2. See King for a summary discussion of Maloh ranks (1974b:221-5; 1978c:208-12).

village and long-house headman. Ideally succession to the village headmanship was from father to son or from a man to his nephew.³ However, if there was no suitable candidate a man's son-in-law might be chosen, or a brother or cousin either from the village in question or another village (Enthoven, 1903:64). The adoption of a son from another samagat household might be another alternative. The absence of male heirs within the village was by no means uncommon because usually only a small number of samagat households were resident there. In a single long-house village there might be only two or three households, though in a multi-long-house village there was likely to be a greater selection of candidates for the headmanship.

In any matter of concern to the whole community adult samagat (both males and females) played a conspicuous and crucial role in village discussions. Important subjects for village moots would be the time and place for the construction of a new long-house and charnel-house, and the planning of the stages and associated rites of the agricultural cycle (Huijbers, 1931:205). Any or all adults from the lower strata, with the exception of slaves, could also voice their opinion, but it was the views of the aristocrats and a few prominent freemen (see below) which carried most weight. The headman, as the chosen representative of the samagat, had very little authority over other aristocrats. Any decisions which he made were, in practice, collective judgements of the aristocrats, taking into account the contributions of learned pabiring and banua. Very rarely would the headman go against the general will or he might be relieved of his duties (Enthoven, 1903:64).

In his discussion of Kayan politics, Rousseau coined the term 'political élite' in the context of village decision-making processes

3. See also Rousseau for the Kayan (n.d.:8).

(n.d.:8). This term is also appropriate for the Maloh because influence and the ability to have one's views incorporated into final decisions were not confined to the samagat as a ruling class. Individuals outside that class could be politically active and together with samagat formed a wider political élite. The indigenous term for this élite is tamatoa, which I have translated elsewhere as a 'council of elders' (King, 1974b:217). Age was usually a condition of entry to the circle, but it was not a necessary qualification. Non-aristocratic tamatoa usually comprised the most capable pabiring and banua who had established a reputation for economic success, wisdom, oratory, knowledge of adat, fair-mindedness, generosity and bravery in war (cf. Morris, 1953:61). Rousseau called these influential non-samagat individuals 'big men' (n.d.: 9), and interestingly Maloh refer to men who have achieved positions of prominence as tau rá (lit.: 'big men').⁴ Maloh 'big men' rubbed shoulders with samagat, but unlike them their position was achieved and not ascribed, and if public opinion went against them they could lose their influence. 'Big men' did attempt to consolidate their position by securing marriages for their children with those of higher rank, or with wealthy and promising individuals of the same rank.

The council of elders presided over legal disputes (pakara) within the village, and disputants were expected to provide food and drink in return for their services. The chairman, who was the headman, would also receive a percentage of the fine levied. More important 'big men' acted as mediators in minor legal disputes between non-aristocrats, sometimes without the intervention of samagat, and they represented commoners and guarded against aristocratic abuse of power (cf. Rousseau, 1974:417-27). They did not play a prominent role in proceedings between aristocrats

4. Morris used the term 'great men' (1953:61), but this referred mainly to Melanau aristocrats.

unless specifically called on for advice. The political élite, and particularly the aristocrats, would also handle inter-village relations involving such matters as boundary disputes, inter-village crimes (theft, murder, wounding), feuds, and large-scale religious ceremonies. In marriages and divorces involving individuals from different villages, members of the political élite (aristocrats and/or 'big men') would normally be called on for assistance and advice (cf. Rousseau, 1979:222).

The aristocrats, with the assistance of 'big men', were the ultimate judicial authority. Samagat were not merely mediators (peintara) in legal disputes; they could initiate proceedings against others if there was clear evidence of disrespect or insult towards them, and confiscate property of the offender. Sometimes these powers were abused and the missionary archives frequently reported the excesses of Ma' Kilat, an aristocratic headman of the Leboyan. Apparently he arbitrarily confiscated villagers' property, if he thought his subjects had been disrespectful to him (A.S. 22 July 1919; 3 Aug. 1921; 1 July 1922). Eventually the Dutch disciplined and removed him from office (A.S. 27 Jan., 11 March 1924). Other cases were reported of headmen seizing villagers' land as a form of punishment, or if a fine was not met (e.g. A.S. 8 June 1919). In these cases the headmen could be checked by 'big men'. Samagat could also exert discipline by such supernatural sanctions as cursing (King, 1976h:129-34, 142).

In the past, the headman and other aristocrats were the most important war-leaders and they mobilized forces to embark on raids for slaves and heads. On the evidence it appears that Maloh were more interested in taking slaves, especially women and children, than heads. Samagat acted as commanders-in-chief by virtue of their ancestry from such deities as Sangyang Burong, the 'god of war', which endowed them with physical strength and appropriate supernatural qualities (Huijbers, 1934:94).

They possessed sacred heirlooms, weapons, and charms such as 'bravery stones' (batu rani) passed down from illustrious aristocratic ancestors (A.S. 15 Feb. 1929; King, 1975c:110-11). Aristocrats were not only responsible for protecting their village but also for negotiating peace-settlements between villages. One of the main mechanisms for ending hostilities was an aristocratic inter-village marriage. While head-hunting and raiding were theoretically not allowed within a river-based grouping, there is evidence to indicate enmity between aristocrats not only from different villages within the same river system (A.S. 25 July 1930), but also within the same village. It is misleading to see aristocrats as a whole bound together by common bonds of kinship, alliance and mutual interest, when personal ambition came to the fore.

One of the main reasons for community fission was conflict between aristocrats in the same village or house (cf. Rousseau, 1974:365; 1979: 229-30). Maloh claim that originally every village began as one long-house. Sometimes disagreement between the headman and another aristocrat might lead to a decision to split the house, if the situation could not be resolved by removing the existing headman (A.S. 14 May 1936).⁵ However, the contending aristocrat had to secure a following to allow the formation of a viable house, and he would have to capitalize on any ill-will which ordinary villagers felt towards their headman (A.S. 4 June 1931). There were obviously tensions arising from the inherent inequalities in Maloh society. For example, in 1928 a fire in the rice granary of Ma' Terapit, the headman of Teliai, was said to have been caused by an 'envious' slave (A.S. 14 Aug. 1928). If inter-aristocrat conflict was serious then the departing aristocrat might move some distance from the natal house to form a fully independent village. However, if the dispute was easily settled

5. See also the Punan Bah (Nicolaisen, 1976:68-71).

the new long-house might retain links with the parental house to form a multi-long-house village.⁶ Other circumstances might also lead to the formation of a long-house complex. In cases of overcrowding a decision might be reached by the aristocrats to divide the population between two houses within the village. The new house headman would initially remain politically subordinate to the headman in the established house, and they would recognize common boundaries and participate together in various village-wide ceremonies and in dispute settlement.

Long-house and village size was usually a function of the political power, economic success and prestige of the headman, but it also depended on the capacity of the environment to support a large population, and to produce a surplus to sustain a non-productive aristocracy. Historically there was also long-house and village fusion. A fall in population in a community through epidemics, for example, was usually the occasion for the headman in question to subordinate himself to another headman elsewhere.

I would argue that traditionally the aristocracy could be defined in political power terms as a ruling class, particularly with its monopoly of the headmanship, and its commanding role in both internal and external political affairs. Communities could only be formed and maintained if they had aristocrats to lead them. However, there were checks on the power of the headman, in particular, and non-aristocrats did share in political power in the context of a political élite. Finally, conflicts within the aristocracy were by no means uncommon though these did not lead to the decline in the superiority of the samagat nor in its overall political solidarity and its capacity to operate as a ruling class.

6. See also Geddes for an informative discussion of the dynamics of village formation among the Bidayuh (1954:9-13).

Aristocrats were also an economic class. Only they could own slaves. The captive-slaves lived in their masters' households, and performed domestic chores such as cleaning, washing, cooking and collecting firewood. They opened forest on behalf of samagat for cultivation and they worked and guarded aristocrats' swidden fields. This meant that aristocrats could establish rights in extensive areas of land because the first felling of virgin forest gave rights in perpetuity. House-slaves could be sacrificed in large ceremonies such as those accompanying long-house construction and aristocratic funerals. They also provided entertainment such as dancing and wrestling at festivals (Huijbers, 1931:205). They could be exchanged for goods, or used in bridewealth and the payment of fines, or provide ransom to secure the release of someone captured by an enemy village (sitawan ati iponang). In fact, slaves were used as a form of currency (kalétau) and a means of expressing exchange values (see below). They could be summarily executed if they committed an offence, and aristocrats arranged their slaves' marriages and disposed of their children (A.S. 6 Jan. 1932).⁷ For example, it was reported in 1920 that Ma' Kasso, the headman of Bukung, refused to allow his slave Bajano to marry Kuwang, a male commoner, because the latter refused to pay an appropriate bridewealth to Ma' Kasso. Traditionally Kuwang would have become a slave himself if he had defaulted on the payment. Bajano and Kuwang sought the Catholic father's assistance and married in church (A.S. 1 Feb., 31 May, 29 July 1920).

The ability of aristocrats to impose fines on their villagers and the fact that fines due to aristocrats were higher than those paid for offences against freemen meant that ordinary villagers might get into debt. Indeed, in inter-rank disputes the maxim was 'Samagat always win'. Those

7. See Rousseau (1974:374) for a similar situation among Baluy Kayan.

in debt to aristocrats might then become debt- or field-slaves. These lived in their own households and were allowed to farm and work for themselves. Yet they were subject to the whims of their master. They could be called at any time to perform duties on his behalf. They had to deliver tribute to their master particularly to help finance ceremonies; and theoretically aristocrats held the rights in land which their debt-slaves worked, and regulated their marriages (cf. Morris, 1980: 305).

Even freemen (both *pabiring* and *banua*), who were largely economically independent, had to perform *corvées* for aristocrats (including the headman and households closely related to him) (Enthoven, 1903:64-5; Huijbers, 1931:206). Aristocrats did not organize or supervise freemen in agriculture and other productive activities, but at the start of certain phases of the farming cycle (clearing the forest, sowing and harvesting), they were entitled to one day of *corvée* (sa'asón nana samagaten) from every adult member of households in their community (Huijbers, 1931:204). No commoner household was allowed to start on its farm at that phase of the cultivation cycle until these labour services had been performed. Unlike slaves, theoretically freemen were not at the aristocrats' beck-and-call. Their *corvées* were seen as assistance to the *samagat* (mangoroki samagat), and the latter had to invite their villagers to help them. Villagers also had to offer to their headman a portion of animals taken in hunts, or fish caught within village territory, and to contribute food and drink in large, village-wide festivals (cf. Rousseau, 1979:225).

With their significant control of labour and their rights to various prestations, aristocrats were released from manual labour. They were a 'leisured class', although they did go hunting and fishing and made some of their own domestic equipment. They had the time to organise profitable trading expeditions. *Samagat* were wealthy in land and heirlooms

(Huijbers, 1931:205). Surpluses which they commanded in agricultural products were also utilized in trade, in financing impressive ceremonies and channelled into high aristocratic bridewealth payments. Aristocrats provided the main sacrifices of slaves and animals in rituals.

Aristocrats therefore constituted a class in terms of their command over and/or possession of resources. Their economic dominance also contributed to their superior status. Samagat did not have to join with other villagers in co-operative agricultural work groups which were based on egalitarian principles and strict reciprocity. They remained aloof and, in any case, they were away for part of the year visiting other villages, and on trading expeditions and journeys of adventure.

There was a host of rank symbols which differentiated the aristocratic status level from others. These symbols were variously legal, religious, cosmological and pictorial. Adat fines were distinguished according to status level and weighted in favour of aristocrats (A.S. 26 July 1920; Nov. 1924; 7, 19 April 1932).⁸ For example, in the first two decades of this century the murder (kalasang) of an aristocrat would incur a fine of four kalétau⁹ payable to the victim's household, whereas only three kalétau were due to pabiring, and two to banua. The same levels of fine were exacted if someone committed adultery with another's spouse (siukan bai'inge-laki) or with another's widow (siukan balu), or if someone abducted another's widow (poan balu). If one entered a long-house and stole from another's apartment (manggalit jalu ibo sau'en), then a fine of two kalétau was due to a samagat, one kalétau plus a gong

8. See Whittier for a similar differentiation among Kenyah (1973:70-1).

9. Calculation of fines and bridewealth in terms of kalétau or slaves did not entail that slaves actually passed hands. A kalétau had an equivalent in jars, gongs, plates and gold- and silverware. During the Dutch period one kalétau equalled 15 Dutch silver guilders (Huijbers, 1931:205).

(garantung rá) to pabiring, and one kalétau to a banua.

The superior position of the samagat, particularly the headman, was also expressed and legitimized in religious terms. Samagat were considered sacred because of their descent from founding ancestors and legendary heroes, and their possession of heirlooms invested with supernatural powers.¹⁰ As direct descendants of ancestral spirits invoked in important ceremonies, samagat, represented by the headman, were essential participants in ritual. It was the headman who gave offerings to and addressed supernatural beings. Aristocrats were entitled to sit on 'high seats' or gongs during ceremonies (Huijbers, 1931:205). They also provided the main sacrifices. For example, the building of a new long-house (pakadeng sau) demanded a blood sacrifice. The first ironwood support post (pakayu) to be cut and erected was one of those providing the foundations of the headman's apartment. The headman supervised the work, and at this point offered a slave for sacrifice. An offering, usually a pig, made by the headman also accompanied the carving and placement of the main long-house entrance ladder. After the completion of the house the headman held a 'house-warming' ceremony (mamasi sau) in which he offered thanksgivings to and asked blessings from ancestral spirits, and provided pigs and cattle for sacrifice (A.S. 11 Aug. 1920). Then offering trays of food were hung from the top of the ironwood support posts of the samagat apartments, and rice wine thrown on the verandah outside their living quarters. During the construction of a new death-house the headman also had to offer prayers and a slave for sacrifice (A.S. 25 July 1920). Finally, the headman supervised and organized

10. Most samagat dwelling along the Embaloh river claimed descent from Sangyang Burong, an aristocrat and the deity of war and the omen birds (burong beo) (cf. King, 1975e:139-48). See also King (1975d: 159-63) for some of the ancestral links of Taman aristocrats to the deities of the Sun (Mata'aso), Moon (Bulan) and Stars (Bintang).

communal ceremonies relating to the agricultural cycle (first clearing of the forest, sowing, harvesting and the harvest festival). The main rites were held at the headman's farm, although the harvest festival took place in the main long-house. Sometimes magical objects owned by an aristocrat provided the focus of a farming ceremony. For example, a 'sun-stone' (batu mata' aso) endowed to Tangkuju, the samagat of the former Embaloh village of Supapé, became the object of a cult. Only aristocrats in the villages of Belimbis and Pinjawan, who were Tangkuju's descendants, could make offerings to the stone. Batu mata' aso was addressed to secure dry weather for ripening the rice before the harvest (cf. King, 1975c:111-13).

A few qualifications need to be made in the case of ceremonies performed in multi-long-house villages. In a long-house complex, each house had its own death-house and was responsible for its construction, just as the house members were charged with the building of a new long-house. In the work and ceremonies associated with these activities, and in agricultural rituals, each house followed its own house headman. There were no major ceremonies in which all houses within a complex took part, although members from other houses both in and outside the village might well participate and assist in the work and rituals related to long-house and death-house construction on a piece-meal basis, and they would almost certainly be invited to ceremonies which were the preserve of one house. Only in one situation would all houses be involved, and that was in the case of village epidemics and widespread sickness when rites to chase out evil spirits were performed (marajang), presided over by the indu' banua (A.S. 17 Feb. 1924). All village households came together to take part in the curing rituals and to observe certain prohibitions (tata').

Distinctions were also made in rites of passage between individuals from different ranks. The birth of an aristocratic child was greeted by the firing of cannon (badil, léla) or guns (sanapang); and when the child was ritually bathed and purified at the water's edge the occasion would be marked by cannon fire (cf. King, 1976c:200-1). Aristocratic marriages, in particular, provided the opportunity for the display of symbols of rank. Samagat marriage ceremonies lasted longer and were grander affairs than those of non-aristocrats. Large numbers of guests were invited and yellow flags flown outside the long-house (an auspicious colour for aristocrats) (cf. King, 1976d:170). If the bridegroom came from another village his entourage would travel to his prospective wife's village in an elaborately painted canoe, using aristocratic motifs (see below) and bedecked with flags. The exchange of certain items of bride-wealth (Emb. panyonyok; Palin. kéningko; Taman. pakain) from groom's to bride's side also expressed rank differences (see below) (A.S. July 1930).

Finally, the occasion of death allowed the display of rank. An aristocrat's body lay in state in a coffin on the long-house verandah for a longer period of time than for a non-aristocrat. Again ceremonies were grandiose. The coffin was decorated in motifs indicative of aristocratic rank (Harrisson, 1966:146-50; King, 1976h:136-7). Among the Maloh of the Embaloh division there were two possible resting places for the coffin. Sometimes a samagat, if he was a headman, might be honoured with a separate kulambu (surambi) decorated with full aristocratic designs (see below) and flags.¹¹ On the other hand, the coffin might be placed in a kulambu which was used by the whole long-house. In this case,

11. Among the Taman any household, whether aristocrat or not, was entitled to a separate kulambu. Metcalf has also referred to impressive mausoleums for Berawan aristocrats, decorated with specific high rank designs (1976b:121-36). See similarly Nicolaisen on the Punan Bah (1976:75-6).

it was left on a high shelf in the charnel-house above the coffins of pabiring and banua. The roof of the house was also draped with an expensive silk cloth, and aristocrats were entitled to have slaves sacrificed on their death to accompany them as servants to the land of the dead (Télung) (Harrisson, 1965:147, 339-40). The coffins were surrounded with 'burial property' (puan maté) comprising beaded clothing, weapons and heirlooms appropriate to the dead person's rank, as well as everyday items such as tools, mats, baskets and plates.

After the death of an aristocrat there were onerous mourning prohibitions which had to be observed by all long-house members. The most important restriction involved the placing of a rattan cord across the river (jantang tali) near the village of the samagat in question. The cord was strung with decorations of flowers, dried palm leaves and 'mobiles' (ngingilang) representing hornbills. In the centre of the cord was suspended a circle of rattan fixed with a diagonal piece of wood. These represented a gong and a cannon and signified that anyone crossing the cord would be fined. No one was allowed to carry heirlooms or travel either by land or water through the village wearing their best clothing until the cord had been cut. This prohibition was observed for three months in 1928 on the death of Ma' Kasso, the headman of Bukung (A.S. 15 May, 11 June 1928). At the same time a carved anthropomorphic wooden statue (tambang) was erected near his kulambu (cf. Harrisson, 1965:340). This is said to have replaced the slave which in former times was sacrificed on a samagat's death. In the case of Ma Kasso' it remained there for three years and was only removed in the context of a costly ceremony. Furthermore, on his death, restrictions on the fishing of a small lake which belonged to him were imposed. To end this prohibition the waters were eventually fished with derris root and this coincided with the dismantling of the tambang, when the undergrowth around the

kulambu was cleared, and the death-house decorated with flags and its roof draped with a silk cloth.

Apart from marks of rank used in ceremony there were numerous other symbols which distinguished aristocrats from others. However, certain of these also brought samagat and pabiring together as one symbolic category differentiated from banua. In symbolic and ceremonial terms slaves were 'non-people'; they were excluded from the system of rituals and were not entitled to any rank symbols.

Samagat lived at the upriver end of the long-house with pabiring below them, and banua and debt-slaves at the downstream end of the house. Samagat had more spacious long-house apartments or living areas than either pabiring or banua, partly because aristocrats possessed house-slaves and had to accommodate them. The covered verandah space outside samagat apartments was also larger than that of non-aristocrats, since it was there that most house meetings and ceremonies were held (Huijbers, 1931: 206).¹² Certain designs (surat/kalingé) painted on coffins (lungun), offering trays (kalangkang), death-houses, canoes (búng, parau), long-house posts and apartment walls (siring) were specific to the samagat, as were some designs incorporated into beadwork on jackets, skirts, head-bands, ceremonial staffs and sun-hats. The main elements in Maloh art were human forms (kakalétau), faces (masks?) (udo'), 'dragons' (naga) and hornbills (tantakuan). In a design some or all of these motifs were usually linked together and embellished with tendrils (karawit). In appearance the designs were strikingly similar to those of the Kenyah and Kayan, and many Maloh claim that parts of their iconography have been taken from Kayan, especially the udo' and karawit (Gill, 1971:113-14;

12. See Whittier (1973:167-9) for similar distinctions in apartment and verandah size among Kenyah. However, unlike Maloh aristocrats, those of the Kenyah occupied central apartments with high roofs.

King, 1976d:165-71).

The dragon design was usually depicted on samagat coffins, canoes, offering trays, apartment walls, support posts and beadwork. Normally the naga was elaborately painted and embellished. According to my Embaloh informants this dragon, or as they described it 'the huge water-snake which breathes fire', usually assisted humans if correctly propitiated. In the past, it was specifically called on in the context of warfare, and Embaloh people tell a story of Lamana Bungkalang, an aristocrat, headman and war-leader of Benua Ujung, who received a charm from the naga and was victorious in a raid against the Taman. Pabiring were also allowed less elaborate naga designs on their coffins, offering trays, apartment walls and support posts, while banua men, who had proved themselves fearless in war, could display them on their coffins and offering trays. These designs comprised a naga's head (ulu naga), since the full naga design was reserved exclusively for aristocrats.

The human motif or kakalétau was the sole preserve of aristocrats. It represented a slave, and only aristocrats possessed slaves (cf. Whittier, 1973:169). They were drawn mainly on the coffins of aristocrats and sometimes on their apartment walls and support posts, and incorporated in beadwork clothing. Another anthropomorphic design was the udo', a geometrical human face. Both samagat and pabiring were allowed this design, but not banua (cf. Whittier, 1973:169). The importance of the udo' might be attributed to the fact that Maloh believe the main human soul resides in the head.

The final important motif was the Rhinoceros Hornbill (Harrisson, 1965:340; 1966:148-50) called Raja Burong ('King of the Birds') by the Maloh. It, like the naga, appears to have had an important role in warfare, and aristocrats were permitted the hornbill design on coffins, offering trays, apartment walls and support posts. A less elaborate

hornbill motif was allowed on the coffins, trays, walls and posts of pabiring, and on the coffins and offering trays of banua who had proved themselves in war, and banua females who had acquired prestige as shaman (balian) (cf. King, 1976d:168).

Thus, designs were used in a complex way. First, in designs shared by samagat, pabiring and prestigious banua, aristocratic motifs were always more elaborate than those of other ranks. Secondly, only samagat and pabiring could use the udo' design. Thirdly, in designs shared by all ranks, distinctions were made according to where the motifs could be displayed. Samagat and pabiring were allowed paintings on apartment walls and support posts as well as on coffins and offering trays, while prestigious banua could only use motifs on their coffins and trays. Finally, only samagat could use the kakalétau and the full naga, and usually only samagat would decorate their canoes for use in raids or in marriage and funeral ceremonies.

Other symbols of rank comprised items of clothing and other bodily adornments. As with Kenyah tiger teeth were reserved exclusively for male Maloh aristocrats (Whittier, 1973:163-6). These were worn in the upper shell of the ear. In addition, only aristocrats were permitted to wear animal skins of the orang utan, bear and clouded leopard as war cloaks (gagung). However, any male pabiring and banua who had been on head-hunting expeditions could wear leopard teeth in their ear lobes, and bark cloth cloaks or tunics made from lower animals such as the civet cat, monkey and gibbon. The lower jaws of the wild pig could also be displayed in rows by samagat, pabiring and banua on their verandahs (cf. Whittier, 1973:165-6). These jaws were acquired in contests (mandung) held during festivals of the departed spirits (mulambu). At this time wild pigs were penned, and selected individuals attempted to kill the animal either with a bush knife or their bare hands. On the other hand,

only samagat could display the tusks of wild pigs.

Feathers were also indicative of rank and prestige. Samagat could wear the long feathers of the Helmeted Hornbill in their head-dress (cf. Rousseau, 1974:100; Whittier, 1973:166), while any samagat and pabiring, and certain banua, who had distinguished themselves as warriors or balian, could decorate themselves with the feathers of the Rhinoceros Hornbill.¹³ However, only samagat could wear sun-hats decorated with Rhinoceros Hornbill feathers and elaborate beadwork.

It is apparent from the above that there were means outside the formal ranking system, which enabled a low-ranking person of ability and enterprise to attain prestige in the community and so secure extra entitlements in life and at his (or her) death. In spite of the advantages granted to samagat through ascribed rank, some individuals of low rank became 'big men'; some achieved reputations as warriors; and certain banua women were initiated into the secrets of shamanism. These achievements gave leave for these people to adopt particular status symbols (designs, bodily adornments). In addition, if a person had financed, organized or played a key role in certain major ceremonies he (or she) would be provided with extra offerings of food at his (or her) death (daun tau maté).¹⁴ These offerings, comprising such items as rice, cakes, chicken, tobacco and betel nut, were placed in trays and hung from the roof of the kulambu. They were used to feed the dead person's spirit during its journey to T'elung, and shared by the spirit's ancestors on its

13. Tattoos which served to indicate rank distinctions among Kayan (Rousseau, n.d.:5) and Kenyah (Whittier, 1973:176-7) were not used as such among Maloh, though tattoos were copied from Iban, irrespective of rank.

14. According to informants in the Embaloh, individuals of different status were given varying amounts of rice placed in separate piles. In the Palin extra rice would be placed in layers one on top of the other (daun pipis).

arrival. Food offerings were on a graded scale according to whether the individual had been significantly involved in one of the following feasts (gawa) - mulambu, mamasi sau, mandung, pamolé béo (feast accompanying the successful return from a journey of adventure), manyarung (rites accompanying the initiation of a balian), and gawa mauno' tau' en (rites associated with head-hunting). Although the finance and organization of major ceremonies were largely in samagat hands, a pabiring or banua could play an important organizational role in these, or hold a pamolé béo, or become a balian or take a head, and thereby attain extra offerings at death (cf. King, 1974b:225; 1976h:137; 1978c:212).

These distinctions, dependent on a graded scale of feasts, seem to have been modest when compared to the Kenyah suhan grades and impressive mamat rituals (Whittier, 1973:74-6, 162-3, 167, 175-6). Whittier stated that 'Each time a person participated in the mamat rituals he advanced one step in the suhan system' (ibid.:74). Suhan grades only applied to males, and the system had 'as many as forty different grades' (ibid.:75). Each grade was entitled to different 'ritual paraphernalia', though aristocrats and commoners of the same grade would still be differentiated by different symbols comprising animal skins and teeth, feathers, sacred stones and so on. Maloh grades only appear to have been symbolized in food offerings at death, and they covered both males and females. The entitlements of prestigious lower rank people to such items as designs and feathers were not graded. I cannot say on my scant data whether Maloh status grades were a modified form of an earlier, elaborate system of feasting similar to that of the Kenyah.

In various myths, sagas and chants there was also a discernible symbolic division between samagat and pabiring on the one hand, and banua on the other hand. We have seen that samagat and pabiring households were located towards the upstream end of the house (ulu sau). Upstream

regions were seen by Maloh as a source of goodness, health and life; they were auspicious and the home of benevolent spirits. Thus there was a general association between 'goodness' and samagat/pabiring. In various sagas these latter were specifically classed together as 'good' or 'superior' people (tau mam), while banua were referred to as 'inferior' or 'bad' people (tau ajau), associated with inauspiciousness and evil spirits.¹⁵ In Maloh cosmology upstream regions linked up with the 'heavens' or the Upperworld where ancestral spirits and aristocratic deities such as Sangyang Burong and the hornbill and omen birds dwell. Samagat and pabiring coffins were placed on shelves above those of banua in communal kulambu. Good people associated with Upperworld, birds and warfare were also seen as courageous and strong (Huijbers, 1931:206; 1934:94). Strength was in turn linked symbolically with maleness, right-handedness and the deity of the sun; male aristocrats were identified with the sun and tigers in oral tradition. In contrast, banua were symbolically associated with femaleness, weakness, the left-hand and the moon. The death-house was located downstream of the village and in cosmology downstream regions led to the land of the dead, the sea and the Underworld - the domain of serpents and fish.¹⁶

We can see that in Maloh classification the ranking system is incorporated into a total world-view. Just as ranks were created in the mythical past and therefore 'natural' (i.e. not man-made), so the classification system links ranks to a universal, perpetual and timeless cosmological and sacred order. This classification itself served to

15. For similar symbolic divisions among Kayan and Kenyah see Rousseau (1979:218-19) and Whittier (1973:69; 1978:110-11) respectively.
16. See for details my structural analyses of Borneo classification systems (1977; n.d.(a) forthcoming). See, in particular, my comments on Schärer's analysis of Ngaju religion (1963) in which he revealed a marked dual symbolic classification associated with the division between 'aristocrats' and 'commoners'.

maintain the traditional patterns of inequality, particularly by placing the pabiring in a somewhat ambiguous position (see below).

Apart from the political, economic and status spheres of Maloh stratification, there was another dimension, that of kinship and descent, relevant to the ranking system. Kinship and descent, in part, maintained ranks, facilitated social mobility and contributed to status evaluation. I have very little data on past Maloh kinship, but I will summarise what information I have and also make a few informed guesses. I include a brief discussion of the Maloh household (tindoan) here, although it is by definition a residential unit, as well as a kinship or family unit (kaiyan).

In the past, Maloh long-houses comprised separately owned apartments inhabited by individual households. The core of the household was characteristically a husband and wife with their children, one or more of whom were married with children, and one or more close relatives (sibling, parent) of one of the spouses of the focal conjugal pair. As well as its apartment the household owned its section of covered verandah and the support posts of its section of the house. It was the key economic unit, in large part cultivating its own fields. It was also a domestic group and a ritual entity, performing a variety of rituals (especially in agriculture) by and for itself.

From the perspective of rank, there were two important features of Maloh households. First, in a long-house the number of households was unevenly distributed between ranks. Generally aristocratic households were few in number (usually about two to four per long-house). Pabiring households usually numbered a few more than those of samagat, as did the households of field-slaves. Banua households made up the bulk of the long-house population. I have no specific information on the size and composition of households, though overall the average number of people

per household was probably larger than at the present time. Today, among Maloh, nuclear and stem families are the norm, but my limited data suggest that formerly there were also several extended families in a given long-house. These comprised a conjugal pair living in the same household with two or more of their married children plus possibly their children. This would be a similar pattern to residence in long-established long-houses for which we have data from elsewhere in Borneo. For example, among the Long Nawang Kenyah, who still lived in impressive, relatively permanent long-houses in the early 1970s, Whittier noted a not inconsiderable percentage (22.85%) of extended families (1973:58-9; 1978:104).¹⁷ Interestingly Morris also pointed out that in traditional Melanau long-houses because they 'were seldom rebuilt, the apartments were very crowded' (1978:47). In the large, comparatively fixed long-houses which stratified Borneo peoples usually built, there were problems for married children who wished to secede from their natal households since it was difficult to accumulate adequate resources and release enough labour to build a separate apartment with its heavy planked walls and ironwood supports. Furthermore, ordinary villagers could not move from the house without the headman's permission. Therefore, married couples had to wait long periods until the house was eventually rebuilt. Nor, while the house stood, could young married couples of banua and pabiring rank build separate apartments onto the existing long-house because of considerations of rank. It would be inadmissible to construct an apartment upstream of those of aristocrats, and freemen would be reluctant to build downstream, below apartments of slaves. I can make no definite comment about the distribution of extended families between

17. Contrast the situation among the egalitarian Iban who constructed less permanent and solid long-houses and where extended families were rare (Freeman, 1970:46-7).

ranks. It seems that all ranks had a share of them, given the restrictions imposed by settlement patterns and long-house domicile.

Unlike the majority of pabiring and banua, samagat also kept long, detailed genealogies (tutulan), linking them to famous ancestors.¹⁸ A given aristocrat was also more likely to be able to specify the exact relationship to him of distant collateral kinsmen. Samagat in a particular village recognized descent categories (*kapulungan*) based on rights in property. They tended to act together in a range of activities and have a common interest in maintaining their superior political and economic position. While pabiring and some banua acknowledged *kapulungan* as well, membership in some of them was more confused, overlapping and disparate because rights in property were shared by a much larger number of people who tended to be less concerned with the maintenance of detailed genealogies (see below).

Perhaps the most direct relationship was that between marriage and rank. In a small-scale society, an important means to maintain the ideological and practical exclusiveness of ranks was by following a rule of rank endogamy (A.S. 3, 11 June 1920; Huijbers, 1931:206).¹⁹ There were four main features of aristocratic marriage practice, given the fact that the ideal rule of rank endogamy seems to have been adhered to in a number of cases. First, aristocrats, unlike other villagers, tended to marry outside their own village. This was necessary because of the small number of aristocrats in a village. It was also a means of political alliance. Genealogies which I collected revealed a ramifying network of samagat affinal ties covering many Maloh villages and, on

18. See also Nicolaisen (1976:65 seq.) for the Punan Bah.

19. See also the Kayan (Rousseau, 1978:86; 1979:220-1), the Kenyah (Whittier, 1978:113) and the Melanau (Morris, 1978:48-9).

occasion, extending to some of the leading families of neighbouring Malays, Iban, Kajang, Kayan, Punan and Bukitan. Aristocratic village exogamy also served to decrease competition for the headmanship, if it could be arranged that only one son remained in his father's household. Secondly, the importance of succession to office meant that aristocrats favoured post-marital virilocal residence. A man was more likely to occupy office, or at least exercise his influence and participate in decision-making, if he stayed in his own village.²⁰ Indeed, one important indication of a gradual fall from grace of some aristocratic households was their willingness to contract uxorilocal marriages for their males, as well as, of course, marrying into lower ranks. Thirdly, first cousin marriage was more frequent among aristocrats, given the small number of potential partners available and the importance of rank endogamy.²¹ Whereas among ordinary villagers marriage with first cousins was disliked and rarely contracted (A.S. 18 Jan. 1929). However, in all ranks marriage with second, third and fourth cousins was common, and overall the preferred marriage was with third cousins. Fourthly, large age differences were frequent among aristocratic spouses as a consequence of the difficulty of finding partners of approximately the same age. For example, Huijbers mentioned just such a marriage between Terapit, a 17-year old male samagat, and Kasian, a divorced 30-year old from the Embaloh (1931:207).

A further point needs to be made about affinity and rank. Each rank differed broadly in the quantity, type and quality of bridewealth which it could command.²² The importance of rank and descent were made very apparent in pre-marriage negotiations (panaju) between the represen-

20. See also the Kayan (Rousseau, 1978:86) and Kenyah (Whittier, 1978: 113-16).

21. See also the Kenyah (Whittier, 1978:113-14).

22. See also the Kenyah (Whittier, 1973:86).

tatives of the prospective bride and groom. In these meetings the main concern was the determination of the suitability of the two partners, their relative rank positions and any other considerations which might affect their status. The outcome of these discussions resolved the amount and type of bridewealth due to the bride's side. I have listed below the broad distinctions in bridewealth which were in operation in the 1920s within the Embaloh division, and with the exception of the people of the Embaloh river, were still used among Maloh in the 1970s (with some differences in detail).

1. Marriage within samagat ranks required the payment of four kalétau or a cannon of one pikul weight (133 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs) or four gongs (garantung rá).²³
2. Between pabiring two kalétau or 50 katis (half a pikul) of brassware or two gongs (garantung rá loloé) or one naga jar six hands high (kalengkong) sufficed.
3. Banua marriage required one kalétau or 25 katis of brassware or one gong (tawak), although payments were ideally made in naga jars three to four hands high (bakamlama).

These ideal payments set very broad guidelines. Different amounts, types and sizes of gongs, more ornately decorated cannon and extra ceramics such as jars and plates could be demanded, depending on certain internal rank gradations, the location of post-marital residence and other marks of status such as warriorship and shamanism. Within the samagat rank there were two divisions which came to the fore mainly in marriage transactions.

23. Gongs were named differently depending on their size in circumference and depth. For example, a garantung rá measured 12 to 13 jangkal in circumference (a jangkal is the distance between thumb and middle forefinger outstretched); a garantung rá loloé measured 10 to 11 jangkal, while a tawak measured below eight jangkal. For a very elaborate system of bridewealth differentiation according to rank see the Melanau (Morris, 1953:54-64).

These were the samagat tutu ('highest' or 'topmost' aristocrat) who claimed 'pure' aristocrat descent, and samagat rá ('big' samagat) who had connexions of kinship and descent with samagat tutu and with lower ranking individuals. It was usually people of samagat tutu status who were preferred as long-house headmen and indu' banua. Huijbers noted that in the 1920s samagat tutu of the Embaloh river were still to be found as headmen in Belimbis, Bukung, Teliai, Nanga Sungai, Pát and Ulak Pauk, while other villages had headmen of samagat rá rank (1931: 205). In the pabiring rank internal differentiation depended on whether an individual could trace fairly recent links with samagat, or whether he had mixed fairly extensively with banua. Finally, a 'true' banua (ulun mam) of unmixed banua ancestry or with some higher ranking ancestors was in a better negotiating position in marriage discussions than one with some slave ancestry.

Despite the ideal rule of rank endogamy there was always some movement between ranks and inter-rank marriage, although social mobility has probably increased over the last 40 years or so. There was also an ideal system, and this was still largely followed in the Leboyan and Palin in 1973, which set out the various bridewealth payments for inter-strata marriage. In practice the system was complex, but generally and by virtue of the fact that bridewealth flowed from the groom's to the bride's side and the majority of marriages assumed post-marital uxorilocal residence, the children of an inter-rank marriage in most cases took the mother's rank. In other words, a Maloh child normally took the rank of the parent in whose household he (or she) took up permanent residence. Therefore, in cases of post-marital virilocal residence the child assumed the father's rank.

In inter-rank marriage it was the children to the marriage who benefitted or suffered in terms of rank position, and not the husband or wife or the parents of the spouses. None of these latter changed their

rank. This system contrasted with that of the Melanau because Morris noted that both a father and his daughter rose in prestige and rank if she managed to marry a man of high rank. Morris stated that 'In strict theory it is his daughter who has gained the higher rank, but the wedding is known as her father's "work" (kerja), and the prestige is his' (1953:61). The daughter changed rank and by implication so did the father because Morris indicated that a low ranking man of wealth and political influence might 'make claims to high rank' (ibid.:61) and be successful in this claim by arranging a suitable marriage for his daughter. Furthermore, the 'great men' in a village, a few of whom were strictly speaking of low rank, were 'in effect, rich men of age and knowledge who value themselves and their position not for their wealth, but for their rank and knowledge of the adat' (ibid.:61, my emphasis).

While a Maloh man of low rank could gain in prestige by marrying into a higher rank or by contracting a marriage for his daughter to someone of high rank, no one changed rank. One inherited rank, one did not achieve it, even through marriage. If, for example, a child had a samagat father and a pabiring mother and his (or her) parents resided virilocally, the child would be a samagat, but his mother remained pabiring. In a few generations his pabiring descent might be forgotten or at least not deliberately recalled. The consequences of inter-rank marriage were clearly revealed in the Maloh phrase rapéan dara'. It means literally 'the breaking of blood', referring to a situation in which a person of high rank went to reside after marriage with someone of low rank. 'Rapéan' was commonly used to refer to the partial breaking of a tree branch which left the branch hanging and precariously attached. This was analogous to the situation resulting from an inter-rank marriage. The person of high rank partially broke his (or her) ties with his (or her) rank because children to the marriage were destined to be of low rank. But the man or

woman in question retained their rank. This rule also seems to apply to the Kayan since Rousseau remarked that 'without exception, all the children of mixed unions belong to the stratum of the parent who maintains natal residence ...' (n.d.:3) and 'To be a maren [aristocrat], you must have a maren origin' (ibid.:7). Similarly Whittier pointed out that Kenyah children of mixed marriages took the rank of the parent who remained in his (or her) natal household, while the in-marrying spouse did not change rank (1978:110-11). Whittier gave the example of a commoner man who set up post-marital uxori-local residence with an aristocratic woman - 'His class has not actually changed; people still think of him as a panyin [commoner] and, indeed, it would be considered unseemly and pretentious if he tried to act as a deta'u [aristocrat] in such matters as seating arrangements at meetings. His children, however, are considered to be deta'u' (ibid.:110-11). Furthermore, 'A man born a panyin remains so even though he may distinguish himself, but by judicious marriages and choices of residence, his grandchildren may come to be deta'u' (ibid.:111).

The ideal system of inter-rank marriage payments among Maloh in operation in the 1920s in the Embaloh division were as follows:

Post-marital uxori-local residence

1. If a banua man married a samagat woman he had to pay bridewealth according to adat samagat which was four kalétau, plus a further eight kalétau to 'buy rank' (mámbiti). This was a rare marriage.
2. If a banua man married a pabiring woman he paid two kalétau plus a further four kalétau so that his children became pabiring.
3. If a pabiring man married a samagat woman he paid four kalétau plus a further four kalétau to buy rank.

On the other hand, should a man marry into a lower rank and reside uxorilocally, he merely met the bridewealth appropriate to that rank (pabiring--two kalétau; banua--one kalétau), and his children were born into the lower rank. In cases in which a man took a spouse from a higher rank, but continued to reside virilocally, again he had merely to find bridewealth appropriate to the woman's rank and his children would take his rank. This type of marriage came about very often if a man could not meet the extra payments necessary to buy rank. In the alternative situation in which a man brought a lower ranking wife to live with him, his children took his rank and he would have to meet the bridewealth appropriate to his wife's rank. In addition, he was normally required to find extra bridewealth to compensate his bride's household for the loss of the woman's services. In any case, in terms of prestige his children were not as highly esteemed as children whose parents were both of that rank. Finally, in any inter-rank marriage the in-marrying spouse was theoretically governed by the adat appropriate to that household's rank. In practice, his (or her) right to be treated in that way might well be questioned and a compromise reached.

Aristocrats always attempted to avoid marrying down. It was uncommon for a high ranking man to move in with a low ranking wife unless he was unable to muster sufficient resources to meet bridewealth for reasons such as being disowned by parents (A.S. 9 Sept. 1934; Huijbers, 1931:207) or a sharp decline in family fortunes (e.g. following a fire, A.S. 1 Aug. 1924). It was more desirable that a man pay more to his prospective wife's household and bring her to live with him. An aristocrat might, on very rare occasions, take a banua woman in to reside with him, but usually as a second wife.

It is clear that inter-rank marriages complicated the ranking system and led, in practice, to gradations within ranks and to a blurring of

rank boundaries, which were theoretically rigid. However, it was a necessary mechanism to bring status levels into line with the changing fortunes of individuals in relation to wealth and political power (cf. Morris, 1980:302). It also served to maintain the dominant position of the aristocrats by allowing enterprising individuals to channel their energies into acquiring higher rank for their descendants rather than challenging the existing system. Inter-rank marriage also provided a means of demoting non-functional or failed aristocrats (cf. Rousseau, 1979:230).

c. Pabiring

I shall discuss the pabiring status level largely from the perspective of social mobility. In a very real sense this rank, although defined terminologically, symbolically and legally, was transitional between the two ranks of samagat and banua. The Maloh term 'pabiring' can be translated as 'those at the edge/on the sides', and, in fact, pabiring constituted a middle rank of 'fallen aristocrats' and 'aspiring banua'. Similarly Rousseau asserted that Kayan hipuy, structurally equivalent to Maloh pabiring, appear on the surface to be 'a residual category with no definite role' (1974:389). As we have seen, the pabiring were distinguished from both banua and samagat in prestige terms, especially in the symbolic realm. Yet, in their right to use such symbols as the udo' and in the display of designs on their apartment walls and support posts, they were grouped together with samagat. They were also categorized with samagat in various Maloh classificatory schema. On the other hand, in class terms they were clearly freemen like the banua. They occupied the same position in the process of production. They worked their own fields and co-operated together with banua in ad hoc work groups to undertake such tasks as sowing, weeding and harvesting.

They had to perform *corvées* for the samagat and offer prestations to them. They had no say in the selection of the headman, and again like the banua they were politically subordinate.

One can view the *pabiring* as a means to accommodate social movements between ranks and so, almost paradoxically, maintain Maloh ranks as an on-going system. If, for some time, samagat households failed to supply a candidate for the headmanship, and did not sponsor large feasts and re-distribute resources, their claims on *corvées* and the use of slaves might decrease. They might have to begin working their own fields and their disposable wealth might also diminish. Decline in economic and political position would present difficulties in attracting suitable samagat spouses. They might then have to begin contracting marriages with people of low rank. It is difficult to determine which particular factor precipitated the decline; this varied between households. But loss of political power, material resources, prestige and the contraction of low rank marriage were intimately related. Gradually after a few generations the households concerned would be reclassified as *pabiring* (Huijbers, 1934: 94).²⁴

The decline of some samagat households was also sometimes the consequence of demographic exigencies. If, for example, samagat households increased in number relative to other ranks, more samagat would be competing for political power and the labour resources provided by freemen. A burgeoning aristocracy would ultimately have to shed some of its members, who would eventually become *pabiring*. Huijbers also pointed out that samagat households which lost followers either through defection to another headman or through epidemics would be on the road to *pabiring* status (1934: 94). They might well have to accept a position of lower esteem in someone

24. See Rousseau (1974:378-80) for a similar process among the Kayan.

else's village and marry into lower ranks. Despite the fact that the pabiring rank served to accommodate non-functional samagat, and bring economic and political circumstances into line with an appropriate status level, pabiring were still in an ambiguous position. Huijbers indicated that all pabiring he knew could trace at least some descent lines to samagat (ibid.:94). Some pabiring had samagat names; they shared certain aristocratic symbols, and, as Huijbers remarked, pabiring had a role to play in legal disputes (as 'big men') and in assisting in the organization of major ceremonies (ibid.:94). In fact, some pabiring 'do not admit they have fallen', and Huijbers cited the case of Sanggum, a pabiring, who 'claims he is fully royal and who tries to get his subjects back' (ibid.:94-5). Therefore, certain status attributes were used to claim an unwarranted political position and membership of a higher economic class. Interestingly Rousseau pointed to the same phenomenon among Kayan. In one Kayan village of 12 families which Rousseau visited 'almost half claimed to be marens, but people said that some self-styled marens were hipuys. Only three households admitted to panyin status' (n.d.:18).

Rousseau's remarks on the Kayan hipuy are directly relevant to the Maloh pabiring. He stated that the existence of a middle rank 'makes it possible to regulate the size of the dominant group without endangering the ideology of stratification' (n.d.:19; 1979:232). In other words, in the case of the Maloh (and Kayan), an intermediate category maintained the distance between samagat and banua. If Maloh aristocrats could become banua and vice versa in a relatively short period of time, then this might have led to a questioning of an ideology which made it appear as if samagat were sacred and intrinsically different from banua.

Since pabiring mixed with banua economically, it was not unnatural

that they should increasingly intermarry with them. Aspiring banua would also tend to marry with pabiring as a means of mobility. According to my informants it was very rare in the past for a banua to marry a samagat.

d. Banua

Certain features of the banua rank can also be understood in terms of social mobility in an ideally rigid ranking system. Banua formed the bulk of any long-house or village population. They were independent cultivators, subject to corvées and tribute. Aristocrats controlled their physical movements. As a result of this control banua were also referred to as ulun, which in Malay means 'slave'. In Maloh it did not have this meaning, and instead could be broadly translated as 'dependent'.

There were internal divisions within the banua rank. A small number were considered to be 'true', 'pure', 'superior' or 'good' banua (ulun mām). In conversation Maloh would describe ulun mām as being of 'unmixed' blood. This was a misnomer. What was meant was that unlike 'inferior' or 'bad' banua (ulun ajau), the ulun mām had not inter-married substantially with slaves.²⁵ The missionary records gave the case of Jairandin, who wanted to marry a woman, Ilam, of ulun mām status, from the village of Bukung. The latter's parents refused because Jairandin's grandmother had been a slave (A.S. 26 April 1922). Some ulun mām could also trace certain descent lines or at least claim descent from pabiring, and by extension samagat.

25. See Rousseau (1974:389) for the similar Kayan distinction between panyin jia (superior panyin) and panyin ji'ek (inferior panyin) and Whittier (1973:72) for the division between 'good' and 'bad' panyin among Kenyah.

Again claims to ulun mām rank were rationalized in terms of 'blood' and marriage, but, as with samagat, one's status as an ulun mām was ultimately dependent on the performance of political roles and on wealth. The majority of 'big men' were of ulun mām rank. The most prominent of them was termed the mantri or panyokung samagat ('the support of the headman') or in sagas ulun panyokung barau (lit.: 'the commoner who supports the tiger' [i.e. samagat]). The mantri was the main representative of the freemen in their relations with aristocrats; it was he who executed the decisions of the council of elders and carried out some of the organizational tasks in large ceremonies supervised by samagat. His apartment was usually located near the long-house entrance ladder and he was responsible for the security of the long-house by raising the ladder and putting down the trap-door at night.

Just as the samagat tutu and samagat rá did not constitute separate ranks defined in the same terms as samagat, pabiring, banua and pangkam, neither did internal banua divisions. Ulun mām and ulun ajau were not defined by regulations specific to them, by the formal rule of rank endogamy or by specific symbols or rituals. Nor were they separate politico-economic classes. As Rousseau indicated for Kayan panyin jia, their position was 'based on performance' (n.d.:13). Their position was largely achieved. Those ulun mām who were 'big men', wealthy and rubbed shoulders with samagat and pabiring in village politics might attempt to raise the rank of their descendants. They would emphasize descent links with ancestors of high rank and try to marry upwards. However, as banua overall were the majority in the long-house or village, they tended to marry within the community, and it is said that they preferred village endogamy.

e. Pangkam

Slaves were never called 'ulun'. They were referred to as 'pangkam' which in Maloh was used to mean 'anything which is owned'.²⁶ They were coerced into labour on behalf of aristocrats and treated as 'instruments of production'. I have already indicated that there were two main types of slave - 'house-slaves', usually comprising war-captives, and 'field-slaves', normally derived from those who had fallen into debt. Kayan also recognized these two categories of slave but they were either captives or hereditary slaves. Apparently there were no Kayan debt-slaves and no possibility of a slave freeing himself (Rousseau, 1974: 383-6).

Among Maloh there was no specific adat governing slave marriage and bridewealth; there were no special rituals for birth, marriage and death. They had no mythical origin, nor were they included in the Maloh classification systems. Members of other ranks would only marry a slave as a last resort.²⁷ As far as I can determine, until the abolition of slavery by the Dutch in the 1890s, marriages between banua and pangkam were infrequent. If a banua man married a field-slave girl and moved in with her, it was certain that the man's household was poor materially. He would place himself effectively under the control of an aristocrat, and while not theoretically a slave himself, in practical terms he would be required to perform services for the aristocrat at his whim. His children would be born slaves. Bridewealth would be minimal. There was the possibility of a banua buying the freedom of a female debt-slave by

26. Watson (1980:1-15) stated that one of the main defining features of slavery is that it is a form of bondage in which humans are a form of property or chattels and treated as 'things'. See also Turton on Thai slavery (1980:251-92).

27. See Watson (1980:6 seq.) on the 'marginal status' of slaves.

paying bridewealth, usually one *garantung rá*, to the aristocratic owner and taking the woman to his own residence. In practice the aristocrat could fix the amount paid, and this was generally high because the aristocrat stood to lose her services and those of her offspring. For this reason this kind of marriage was rare (cf. Rousseau, 1979:228). A little less rare was the marriage of a male debt-slave to a *banua* woman. If he could afford the bridewealth of one *kalétau* plus an amount to buy his freedom from his master, he could then establish uxorilocal residence.²⁸ Slaves living in an independent dwelling could more easily accumulate the resources to contract this type of marriage, since male house-slaves would have to depend entirely on bridewealth from their master, and aristocrats were extremely reluctant to lose female house-slaves.

As we have seen slaves were defined in negative status terms; they were without status or, at the most, of low prestige. They were mainly demarcated economically - they were the main labour resources of the aristocracy - and politically - they were dominated and had no political voice in village affairs.

f. Conclusions

Certain important points about the Maloh ranking system in former times should be emphasized before moving on to the consideration of contemporary Maloh society. They are first that Maloh social stratification comprised four status levels, three economic classes, three political strata and two symbolic classificatory categories. Secondly, there was a broad correlation between positions of class, status and power. Thirdly, the system before Dutch intervention appears to have been remarkably

28. Kenyah slaves could buy their freedom if wealthy enough (Whittier, 1973:72) as could those of the Melanau (Morris, 1978:50).

stable (see Chapter 8). Fourthly, behind the ideal system of rigid ranks there was, in practice, scope for individual social mobility. Fifthly, this mobility was accommodated and expressed within the system, particularly by the intermediate rank of *pabiring* and by internal rank gradations. Finally, with Dutch colonialism came marked changes in the traditional system which I have described in this chapter.

CHAPTER 5 HOUSEHOLD, KINSHIP, DESCENT AND RANK

a. Introduction

My study of contemporary Maloh society begins with an examination of the household, kinship and descent. This is intended to provide basic ethnographic and statistical material, some of which is necessary to understand the analysis in Chapters 6 and 7.

In 1972-3 Maloh villages exhibited a larger variety of forms than the traditional village of one or more long-houses. Some contemporary communities consisted of one long-house either built in a style which approximated to the high, large, impressive houses of the past such as Sungai Ulu' on the Palin river, or more modest in size and less solidly constructed like Tanjung Karaja in the Palin. Other villages had more than one long-house such as Bakul in the Leboyan. The establishment of law and order has meant that long-houses no longer serve a defensive need. The decline in the power of aristocrats, the spread of Christianity and Islam, and the Indonesian government's anti-long-house policy have also resulted in the abandonment of long-house domicile in some areas. In 1972-3 settlements such as Bukung in the Embaloh comprised individual family houses, while a few Taman villages such as Siut on the main Kapuas river were made up of a hotch-potch of independent family dwellings inter-mixed with long-houses of different size and architectural design.

All these settlements were still called banua or increasingly by the Malay term 'kampong'. The village was still defined principally by the criterion of territory and was not considered as a kinship unit. Every village household had equal rights of access to unclaimed resources within its boundaries, and outsiders had to secure the permission of the headman, usually in consultation with the elders, to exploit any of these resources or to settle in the village concerned.

My detailed information on Maloh society was taken from four villages comprising a total of 119 households with a total population of 752. These were Belimbis (30 households) and Keram (22) in the Embaloh, Nanga Nyabau (41) in the Palin, and Ukit-Ukit (26) in the Leboyan. Belimbis was made up of separate household dwellings, although some houses of closely related kinsmen were connected at the front by a raised, covered plankwalk. Keram consisted of wholly independent family houses spread over several hundred metres. In both cases the long-houses had been abandoned in the 1960s, and both had separate and little-used village halls for communal meetings. Nanga Nyabau corresponded closely to the traditional long-house. It was about 185 metres long. The house floor was approximately 5.5 metres from the ground. Ironwood support posts and heavy planks for walls and floors were used for many of the 41 apartments. Finally, Ukit-Ukit was a modest long-house about 74 metres long and 2 metres off the ground. It utilized the immense ironwood posts of the previous house which had been on the same site as the present one. It had 21 apartments, while an additional five separate households were located on the opposite side of the shallow Leboyan river. Unfortunately I was unable to study a village of more than one long-house since there were none in my limited fieldwork area. In any case, as I indicated in Chapter 4, differences between single and multi-long-house villages were not marked.

b. The Household

In long-houses the family group (kaiyan) occupying one of the separate apartments (tindoan) of the house, constituted a household, and was one of the most important social units in Maloh society. The term tindoan was also applied to the family group dwelling in the apartment. Thus residence and family were closely identified and household members

recognized their unity and common bonds of residence and kinship in the expressions Ikam satindoan ('We are of one tindoan') and Ikam sakaiyan ('We are of one family'). Even in villages of individual family houses, the members of each separate dwelling constituted a household which was also called tindoan/kaiyan.

The long-house apartment was made up of a number of sections. There was a living and sleeping area, also known as tindoan. A kitchen (biringapi/biringdár) at the back of the house was divided off from the main area by a thin bark wall. At the front a covered verandah (tanga' sau) was separated from the living room by a solid plank wall. The verandah itself comprised two parts - one section was used as a 'street' giving access to every apartment and to the house entrance ladders, the other provided space for people to sit and chat or undertake chores such as repairing agricultural equipment and fishing nets, and weaving mats and baskets. The apartment had a loft (tago) for storage purposes. In the Palin there was a platform on stilts (ando) below the long-house on which stood the rice storage bins (tarinoan). Finally, the apartment included its support posts (pakayu). Members of the tindoan collectively owned the apartment and its constituent parts. One exception was the row of main ironwood support posts running the whole length of the verandah which were owned by various kapulungan (see below). Certain households also co-operated together to build separate platforms on stilts (damoran) at the front of the house for laying rice out to dry.

The ando were characteristic of the Palin. In the Leboyan and Embaloh people preferred to build separate huts on stilts (jurung) in the vicinity of the main village or long-house in which the rice bins and agricultural equipment were stored (cf. Enthoven, 1903:59, 61, 68). Occasionally a few closely related households elected to build a common jurung, though normally these were owned by individual households.

The break-up of long-houses in the Embaloh has led to the emergence of a variety of house-types. A long-house imposed a certain uniformity in residential plan and style on the constituent apartments. Once abandoned, individual initiative came to the fore. In the Embaloh some individual houses on stilts resembled the former long-house apartments in plan, while others dispensed with the outer verandah or the loft, or the kitchen was separate and connected to the living room by a covered passageway. Some houses were large and constructed from heavy sawn planks with ironwood roof shingles. Others were small and hastily put together with split bamboo, tree bark and palm leaves. Furthermore, although some households preserved their physical position relative to one another from the former long-house, there was increasing residential intermixture. Nevertheless, as with the long-house apartment, the members of a separate house owned the structure in which they lived as a group. Variations in the quality and size of dwelling in the Embaloh were, to a certain extent, indicative of differences in wealth. It was noticeable that local traders, school teachers and some, but not all government employees had impressive houses. Some samagat also had large houses, but a significant number did not.

The household owned as a group not only its dwelling, but also various other items of property. Again household possessions provided clues to the relative wealth of the household in question. Some had pieces of furniture such as chairs, tables, chests of drawers, iron bedsteads and other modern accoutrements like sewing machines, radios and outboard motors. Some of the more wealthy households, especially those of aristocrats, had managed to hold on to certain heirlooms.¹ Other

1. Some items were owned independently by the household, but valuable pieces would usually be owned by a kapulungan.

households (some of them samagat) possessed very little furniture, and their members sat, ate and slept on rattan and split bamboo mats. Nearly all households owned a large wooden chest containing clothing and adornments worn on ceremonial occasions. In the Palin, traditional clothing was still worn regularly but in the Embaloh and Leboyan it was gradually being replaced by Western dress.

The household may have held rights as a group in farm land, animals, fruit trees and rubber gardens obtained during the lifetime of its adult members, either through inheritance or their own efforts. However, its members might have also shared with closely related members of other households (within the same kapulungan), rights to land, fruit trees and long-house ironwood support posts (where they existed).² On the other hand, the yields of food and other goods obtained by household members from the activation of their rights in kapulungan were shared by the household as a unit.

Certain kinds of property were owned by individuals (hak diriam/kuasa diriam). Of course, some resources accumulated by individuals were channelled into household property, and it was often difficult to distinguish communal from personal property. An individual usually had rights of disposal over items of clothing, jewellery and other bodily adornments. Women might own exclusively objects of particularly fine quality such as mats and baskets which they had made themselves; and men might retain weapons such as bush-knives and spears. If a child married and seceded from its natal household some of these items would be taken. On the death of an individual his (or her) personal goods might be divided between children and become their exclusive property, or become household

2. Contrast the Melanau where land and tangible property rights were held individually by household members (Morris, 1976:116).

or kapulungan property.

The household was also a domestic unit. Its members shared a common meal and females in particular undertook everyday chores such as cooking and minding small children for the benefit of all. All members slept in the same residence, although in the long-house young bachelors tended to sleep outside on the verandah, or formerly in the loft.

The household was the basic economic unit in Maloh society. The tindoan supported itself by cultivating a rice farm and fruit, vegetable and rubber gardens. Products from hunting, fishing and gathering went into a common pool. From these resources the household fed its members, and met most of the expenditure which its members were likely to require at birth, marriage, death, and in sickness. Participation in co-operative work groupings was calculated and undertaken on a household basis (see Chapter 6).

Finally, the household was a political and religious unit. It would sometimes engage in legal proceedings as an independent entity, represented by the household head, usually a male (toa tindoan);³ it enjoyed compensation due to any of its members, and met fines, as a unit. The tindoan carried out its own agricultural rites; it sponsored and supervised rituals associated with life crises; it observed taboos collectively; and it possessed its own charms (kúnti) and magical stones to protect its rice (batu karué).

There is a problem in defining the household statically because it constantly changes in form and personnel. As a result of the process of 'partition' whereby a junior branch of the household (i.e. a married

3. If a female was household head she would usually be called toa biringapi (lit.: 'elder of the kitchen').

child and spouse) gradually separated from the parental branch, it might be difficult to decide whether, at a given time, one is dealing with two partially distinguishable segments of the same household or two separate households. For example, in my sample there were two households in which the junior branches within them had been farming independently for more than two seasons. During the busy periods of the agricultural year when most households lived away from the main village in farm-huts (kadampé) or field-houses (pambutan), the junior branch in each of these two households took up separate residence from the senior couple. Thus, at certain times, the junior conjugal pair formed a separate residential, domestic, economic and ritual unit, and both couples concerned were attempting to accumulate resources to finance their eventual separation. Nevertheless, they still continued to use the same residence as their parents in the main village, and as their partition was not complete I decided to categorize these transitory forms in the sample as two and not four separate households.

The tindoan was a genealogically simple and numerically small unit. Maloh were generally monogamous and the key relationships within the household were those between conjugal pairs. In my sample of 119 households the number of occupants ranged from 1 to 16 with an average of 6.32 persons per household. The mean varied from 5.5 persons per household in Nanga Nyabau to 7.34 persons in Ukit-Ukit⁴ (Table I). These figures accord broadly with data from other Borneo societies. Average Maloh household size was slightly higher than Freeman's Baleh Iban sample, but lower than those of the ranked societies such as the Baluy Kayan (8.2 persons per household) (Rousseau, 1974:218) and the Long Nawang Kenyah (7.8 persons) (Whittier, 1978:104). The lower Maloh figure might indicate

4. These figures relate to the period Nov. 1972-June 1973, when surveys were taken. Any members temporarily absent were not included in the statistics.

TABLE I NUMERICAL COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY VILLAGE

		Number of Persons Per Household																Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
Number of House- holds	Nanga Nyabau	1	3	7	4	6	6	4	4	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	41
	Ukit-Ukit	-	1	4	2	3	1	3	1	4	2	1	3	-	-	-	1	26
	Keram	-	1	4	2	1	3	2	4	2	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	22
	Belimbis	1	1	2	3	3	3	8	4	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	30
	Total	2	6	17	11	13	13	17	13	11	8	2	5	-	-	-	1	119

that household size has declined with the movement into separate dwellings and more modestly built long-houses.

Statistics for samagat, pabiring and banua households in each of the four villages reveal a slightly different picture. In the early 1970s it was forbidden by Maloh adat to refer to someone as a slave or cast aspersions on someone's ancestry. Samagat no longer kept slaves. As it was difficult to determine exactly which households were of slave rank, particularly because slaves had increasingly married with ordinary villagers and identified themselves as banua, they are lumped together with banua in my statistics. In making these rank distinctions, I should point out that their significance and characteristics were naturally rather different in 1972-3 from what they were traditionally.

TABLE II NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS⁵ BY RANK AND VILLAGE

	Samagat	Pabiring	Banua	Total
Nanga Nyabau	3	4	34	41
Ukit-Ukit	2	4	20	26
Keram	2	2	18	22
Belimbis	2	3	25	30
Total	9	13	97	119

Out of the 119 households nine were samagat (7.56% approximately) with an average of two samagat households per village; 13 households were pabiring (11% approx.) averaging about three households per village. The bulk of the village households (97 instances), comprising about 81.4 per cent of the sample, were banua. Given the absence of slave house-

5. Because of the smaller number of samagat and pabiring households in the sample, they are not strictly statistically comparable with those of banua.

holds, which were formerly probably not very numerous, this distribution by rank is likely to be similar to the distribution in the past. Taking the numerical composition of households by rank, we can pick up certain differences between ranks.

TABLE III NUMERICAL COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY RANK AND VILLAGE⁶

	Number of Persons			Total
	Samagat	Pabiring	Banua	
Nanga Nyabau	19 (3) (6.3)*	24 (4) (6)	184 (34) (5.4)	227 (41)
Ukit-Ukit	11 (2) (5.5)	41 (4) (10)	139 (20) (6.95)	191 (26)
Keram	18 (2) (9)	11 (2) (5.5)	115 (18) (6.4)	144 (22)
Belimbis	17 (2) (8.5)	18 (3) (6)	155 (25) (6.2)	190 (30)
Total	65 (9) (7.2)	94 (13) (7.2)	593 (97) (6)	752 (119)

* Number of households in first brackets, and average number of persons per household in second brackets.

In general, the number of persons per household was slightly higher for the samagat and pabiring than for the banua, though there was variation between villages. Overall samagat households had about 7 persons per household, but this varied from 9 persons in Keram to 5.5 persons in Ukit-Ukit. The average figure for the pabiring households was also 7, but this was partly the consequence of an unusually high number of people in the pabiring households in Ukit-Ukit. Allowing for this high figure then pabiring households in the other three villages had a slightly lower average number of persons per household than those of the samagat. Generally, banua also had a slightly lower number of residents per house-

6. For convenience all the members of a given household are assumed to be of the same rank. In practice, some households contained members of different ranks.

hold than those of the samagat rank.

One or two tentative conclusions can be drawn from these figures. As in the past samagat, and to a certain extent pabiring households contained more members than those of the banua, but not significantly so. Some samagat households in the villages which I studied were still relatively wealthy. They could therefore support more residents, and large households gave prestige. Command over resources, especially rights in land, meant that samagat (and pabiring) parents could retain some control over their married children and prevent them from separating from the household for some time. Children were reluctant to move from their natal household until they had guaranteed access to their parents' property. Most samagat (and pabiring) parents still tried to restrict their children's freedom, and arrange suitable marriages for them to retain rank status.

A breakdown of population according to age and sex reveals that the bulk of the inhabitants were below 19 years of age (53.7%) while only a small percentage (3%) were 60 years and above (Table IV). There was a recognizable excess of females (402) over males (350) in the sample, particularly in the case of Nanga Nyabau and Ukit-Ukit. In these villages a number of males were away from the village either at school or on labour migration. My census also reveals that the main burden of a household's economic activity had to be shouldered by comparatively few individuals. Taking as very rough age limits about 10 years and under and 65 years and over as defining those people who did not participate fully in productive activities, I calculate that 32% of the population (242) were either too young or too old to work. Households had on average a work-force of about four persons, and some of these (e.g. some between 10-19 years) would not be full adult workers. This placed certain limitations on the scale of agricultural and other economic activity. Therefore, in the past, it

TABLE IV AGE AND SEX OF POPULATION BY VILLAGE

		Nanga Nyabau			Ukit-Ukit			Keram			Belimbis		
		m	f	total	m	f	total	m	f	total	m	f	total
Age in years	Below 10	31	36	67	25	25	50	25	22	47	32	31	63
	10 - 19	13	21	34	20	38	58	16	15	31	30	24	54
	20 - 29	16	17	33	12	19	31	9	8	17	13	18	31
	30 - 39	15	20	35	8	11	19	8	11	19	10	10	20
	40 - 49	15	10	25	8	9	17	9	8	17	5	10	15
	50 - 59	10	13	23	4	8	12	3	3	6	3	2	5
	60 - 64	3	1	4	1	-	1	1	1	2	-	1	1
	65 & above	3	3	6	1	2	3	1	4	5	-	1	1
	Total	106	121	227	79	112	191	72	72	144	93	97	190

was essential for aristocrats to rely on slaves and *corvéés* to release them from production and produce a surplus.

It remains to consider differences in Maloh household structure. In anthropological literature on societies like those in Borneo, there have been many different classification systems adopted for household types. For example, Freeman used a useful long-hand descriptive system with eight categories to classify Iban households. To my mind, a less complex, short-hand notation could have been used to eliminate such categories as 'great-grandparent, children (and spouses), grandchildren (and spouses) and great-grandchildren'.

Another scheme is that of Murdock who adopted a four-fold division of 'small families' into 'nuclear family', 'polygamous family', 'stem family' and 'lineal family' (1960:3-4). He attempted to simplify matters by constructing a static typology of standard kinds of household, but as Smart has correctly observed the 'four types do not provide a comprehensive framework within which all the households present in a particular bilateral society may be classified' (1971:74), nor do they allow for changes in the developmental cycle of households (*ibid.*:77-81).⁷ Smart proposed a different classification designed to take into account the structural priority of the conjugal pair in his Karagawan Isneg study. He argued that Murdock's system overemphasized consanguineal links between parent and child. Using the conjugal pair as a 'pivotal focus' Smart regarded unmarried consanguineal kin within the Isneg household as 'dependents' of a husband and wife, because affiliation with a married couple constituted the only culturally approved residential alternative to marriage (*ibid.*:150-1, 223). Smart's classification of Isneg house-

7. A further problem with Murdock's work was that he tended to confuse the three concepts of 'family' (a kinship unit), 'household' (a residential unit) and 'domestic group' (a functioning unit sharing certain tasks). These are not necessarily synonymous (cf. Smart, 1971:81-5; King, 1978b:12).

holds into three types viz. 'amalgamated household' (consisting of two or more conjugal pairs with or without dependents), 'conjugal unit household' (comprising a single conjugal pair with or without dependents) and the 'non-conjugal household' (made up of unmarried individuals not residentially affiliated to a conjugal pair) also presents problems. Despite the importance of the conjugal pair for Smart, six households (10%) in his sample were negatively defined as 'non-conjugal households'. In my Maloh sample 16.8% (or 20 instances) of households had no resident conjugal pair. Smart's emphasis on the marital tie at the expense of the parent-child bond also tended to gloss over the fact that the relationship between spouses is significantly affected by and very much dependent on the birth of a child.

An important consideration which Smart failed to take up was whether the household could effectively support itself, particularly whether it had the labour power, both in quantity and kind, to produce enough to feed its members. In these terms households without conjugal pairs could be viable productive units and if they were, among Maloh at least, no real pressure was exerted on household members to marry, re-marry or affiliate themselves with conjugal households. Furthermore, it is misleading to designate unmarried individuals as 'dependents'. In Maloh society 'dependency' between kinsmen was a complex phenomenon. For example, married couples equally 'depended' on resident unmarried individuals to carry out certain productive tasks, and in rice agriculture these were often crucial contributions.

In summary, I suggest a modified version of Murdock's framework to permit the convenient description and analysis of Maloh households.⁸ I

8. Hudson's classification of Ma'anyan households more or less followed these lines as well (1967:324-66).

do not single out any one relationship at the expense of others. I use the broad terms 'nuclear', 'stem', 'sibling' and 'extended' households.⁹ However, although I have isolated household types in a static classification, I do not see this as a substitute for the analysis of the developmental process which generate these types (cf. Fortes, 1958: 4-5), nor do I see Maloh households operating in a vacuum. For example, Maloh households varied in structure not only in response to the biological processes of birth, the length of female fertility, aging and death, but also in relation to the particular cultural rules which ensured the physical reproduction of household members, such as those governing marriage arrangements, post-marital residence, adoption, inheritance and access to productive resources. A key factor in the maintenance of certain Maloh household types was the ability of their members to support themselves or call on assistance from outside.

In the Maloh sample, the statistically most common type of household comprised a two-generation nuclear family, consisting of husband and wife and unmarried children.¹⁰ There were 42 instances (35.3%), and it was referred to by the Maloh as panakanak, stressing the parent-child tie (see Table V). This category itself tells us nothing about the variations between nuclear family households, and perhaps it is useful to indicate the problems of static categorization by selecting a few examples of this type. One case comprised a husband and wife, 45 and 43 years of age respectively, and five unmarried children, the eldest of whom was 18. The parents had lost two children through out-marriage. At two stages in its

-
9. Unfortunately Murdock was not consistent in his use of the term 'extended family', and his classification has engendered a degree of confusion (cf. King, 1978b:12).
 10. Contrast Rousseau's findings among the Kayan where the 'stem family' is the most common type (1978:82).

development this household had constituted a stem family when its two married children had, at separate times, resided with their parents before eventually seceding.

Usually all children, except one, ultimately seceded from their natal household to set up residence elsewhere. The child who remained to carry on the household (anak panuntui toa) invariably became the custodian of the undivided estate (toa kapulungan) passed down from the parents. Property such as personal belongings, clothes, less valuable jars and gongs and other equipment were divided between all the children, though the custodian acquired the largest share.

In another case the husband and wife, 33 and 22 years of age respectively, had only just set up independent residence. Their only son was born in 1972 after two years of marriage. Yet another nuclear family household (of pabiring rank) had a rather different history. The husband was 37 and the wife 41. The wife had been married before, her first husband having divorced her after she had failed to produce children. A younger man married her and they adopted two children, aged 10 and 8 from the wife's sister. Finally, in another case, a woman had children from a first marriage, married again and took her children with her. She then had more children from her second marriage.

There were also sub-types of the nuclear family household proper (18 instances, 15.12%), and together with the latter category, amounted to about 50.4% of the total sample. Of these, four households consisted of a conjugal pair without other residents. Two of these conjugal pairs had not yet had children. This was rare because, in normal circumstances, a married couple without children would reside with one of the spouse's parents until a child was born, or until they could adopt one. In these two cases both couples had been married for some time, remained childless,

TABLE V HOUSEHOLD TYPES BY VILLAGE

	Nanga Nyabau	Ukit-Ukit	Keram	Belimbis	Total	%
Nuclear	11	8	9	14	42	35.3
Nuclear Sub-types	6	5	3	4	18	15.12
Sub-total	17	13	12	18	60	50.42
Stem	7	5	4	1	17	14.3
Stem Sub-types	15	3	5	8	31	26.04
Sub-total	22	8	9	9	48	40.34
Sibling						
a. Junior/Unmarried	-	2	-	2	4	3.36
b. Senior/Married	1	-	1	1	3	2.52
Sub-total	1	2	1	3	7	5.88
Extended	1	3	-	-	4	3.36
Total	41	26	22	30	119	100

and, for various reasons, had been unable to adopt children. The third couple without children were Iban from the Upper Embaloh who had left their married child's household in the Iban village of Sadap, and had temporarily moved to Keram, where the headman, a friend of these Iban, had lent them land for cultivation. The last household comprised a married couple in their late 50s whose only son had gone to live in Pontianak and married a woman there. The couple were strong and active and did not feel the need to adopt another child. Occasionally they received help from the husband's brother's son in agricultural work, but they were thinking of bringing one of the husband's sibling's grandchildren to live with them to take over heavy farm work.

In 12 cases of nuclear sub-types in the sample the nuclear family had been reduced by one of the spouses leaving the household either through death or divorce. This was a viable unit provided the remaining spouse was equipped to carry out agricultural tasks, and he (or she) had unmarried children old enough to assist in production. These requirements were fulfilled in eight cases; of these, there were seven instances in which the wife was left behind with unmarried children, and one in which the husband was the surviving spouse.

There were four other cases out of the 12 in the sub-category above. In one a divorced husband lived with his elder unmarried sister and an unmarried daughter. In another, a young divorcee lived with her younger brother and her teenage son and daughter. In both cases the household formed a viable economic unit. In the third case, a widow lived with her 21 year-old son and the adopted son of her son-in-law's brother. Finally, there was an unmarried woman with two illegitimate children (anak lawan). Illegitimacy was rare among Maloh since if a young girl was impregnated her parents usually compelled the guilty youth to marry her and legitimize the child. In the above case the father of the first

child was an Iban who had fled. The woman subsequently became pregnant again. Having an illegitimate child already resulted in a local man taking advantage of her. She gained economic assistance from a brother and chose to remain independent.

A nuclear family might be reduced to such an extent that there was only one spouse remaining with no children. If this happened the surviving spouse normally moved into the household of a married child. However, sometimes the individual elected to retain his (or her) independence. There were two examples of this in my sample. Both households comprised widows, who had each had children whom they had lost in infancy, and had then lost their husbands before they could have more children. The widows were in their late 40s and still active. In one case the woman was assisted by a teenage nephew, and in the other the widow sometimes co-operated in farming with the members of her younger brother's household, and, at other times, farmed independently with assistance from them.

Aside from the nuclear family household, the stem family (and its variants) was the second most common type of household in the sample, accounting for 48 instances (40.34%). The stem family proper (17 instances) consisted of a husband and wife with or without unmarried children, plus a resident child and spouse with unmarried children. It is called by the Maloh pampuampu, stressing the three-generational span from grandparents to grandchildren. This type resulted when a child married and continued to reside with his (or her) parents. This could be a temporary arrangement, or permanent in the case of one child chosen as the anak panuntui toa. At a given point in time two or more married siblings might reside in the same household, but this was very temporary because tensions and quarrels soon became intolerable.¹¹

11. See also Rousseau on the Kayan (1978:83-4) and Whittier on the Kenyah (1978:105).

The reasons for the location of post-marital residence were multifarious, but they partly revolved around the economic needs of both parental households, at least, in the immediate future. I came across no cases of a couple after marriage immediately setting up independent residence. In general, there was a marked preference for initial post-marital uxorilocal residence since the son-in-law was often expected to perform bride-service as part of the bridewealth. If he did not, then compensation was demanded by the girl's parents in the form of extra wedding gifts. What is more there was a tendency for more females than males to remain permanently with their parents.¹²

Within the stem family category proper there were 15 instances of a married daughter residing with her parents, and only two cases where married sons were resident. Of these two, one was a samagat household. The son had resided for seven years with his wife's parents and returned to his village to succeed his father as village headman.

There were also 31 instances (26% approx.) of sub-types of the stem family. There were five cases of households which comprised a senior conjugal pair (with or without unmarried children) plus a previously married resident child (with children) who had lost a spouse through death or divorce. In four of these five cases the remaining spouse was a woman. In two of these, the husbands were 'strangers' (one was an Iban, the other a Kantu') who had both divorced their wives. The other two cases (of the five) were both divorced women whose husbands had gone to Sarawak and remained there. The final example was somewhat anomalous. An old man, who had been married three times and recently stricken with leprosy, lived with his third wife and his daughter by his first wife.

12. See King (1978b:16-18) for a discussion of the problems of household continuity among Borneo peoples.

The daughter was simple and had had an illegitimate girl by a man in the same village who had refused to marry her.

A further variant of the stem family was that of a surviving spouse, and a married child with spouse and unmarried children. There were 24 of these in the sample, and of these 18 cases in which the surviving spouse was a woman. The prevalence of women in the senior generation, all of whom were over 40 years of age, appears to be the result of three main factors. First, Maloh men customarily married women younger than themselves. Women usually married between about 15 to 20 years of age, while men might marry at any age from about 20 to 35. Men were expected to travel and gain experience before settling down. Furthermore, it was appropriate that women marry young to capitalize on their child-bearing abilities. Out of the 175 marriages in my sample, in only six cases was the husband younger than the wife. Excluding these six, the mean age differential of the spouses was 5.19 years. Thus, it is likely that married men, being generally older than their wives, might die first.

The second factor is a biological one. Out of the 23 individuals in the sample over 60 years of age, 13 were women, and of the 69 people over 50 years of age, 39 of them were females (see Table IV). Not only did women show a tendency to live longer, but they also remained more active economically in later life.¹³ This was partly due to the fact that in the sexual division of labour, men's agricultural tasks were usually heavy (e.g. felling trees), while a woman could still carry on such tasks as harvesting. Thirdly, in the case of divorce it was the man who usually moved out. This was a direct result of the preference for uxori-local residence and the fact that men were geographically more mobile than women.

13. See Hudson for similar findings among Ma'anyan (1967:349).

A final variant of the stem family was where there was only one surviving spouse in both the senior and junior generations. There were two cases in the sample. In one of these (a pabiring household) there were three females - an old woman, her step-daughter and the latter's adopted daughter. They maintained an independent farm, but co-operated in agriculture with the senior woman's sister's household.

There were 11 households (9.24%) which did not conform to the two main categories above, and which I have grouped into two types - 'sibling' and 'extended'. The sibling household (pariari) was represented by seven cases. In four cases, which I term 'junior/unmarried sibling', the parents had died leaving unmarried children (i.e. siblings). In the remaining three cases - 'senior/married sibling' - the households comprised two or more married siblings (with or without children).¹⁴

In two of the 'junior/unmarried sibling' households, the eldest child was a mature unmarried daughter, and, in one of these, which was a samagat household, the female, in her early 20s, was aided in agriculture by her three mature brothers, aged 20, 18 and 17. In the other case, the eldest daughter was 27 and was living with two brothers aged 21 and 19, so that again the household was a viable economic unit. In one of the two remaining cases, the eldest child was a 21 year-old male residing with two teenage sisters. Finally, there was a unit which had no male members. The eldest daughter's husband had died. She had no children and lived with two sisters. They were helped in heavy farming tasks by a maternal uncle and a male cousin from a maternal aunt's household.

14. Murdock initially termed this type of structure a 'lineal family' and later an 'extended family' (1960:4) because he argued that this family organization is based on a lineal principle. To my mind this is a misleading characterization, and his terminological usage is itself confusing.

In all three cases of 'senior/married sibling' households there were two co-resident married sisters with husbands and unmarried children. In each case the sisters had been living as such for three years or more, sharing the same dwelling in the village and co-operating in farm work.

Finally, there were four cases of extended family households. I have suggested that this type of household, composed of parents and two or more married children (with or without unmarried children) were probably not infrequent in the traditional Maloh long-house. But in 1972-3, with the physical and social constraints on partition having been largely removed, there were only four cases. Three of them comprised a senior married couple with two resident married daughters and their children. The fourth was made up of a widow with two resident married daughters. The eldest had no children and was about to adopt one; the youngest daughter had one child.

Overall there were only seven cases in the sample in which married siblings/resided in the same household. These households were exceptional and at best temporary arrangements of convenience to meet particular circumstances.

By way of conclusion let us look at the relationship between household type and rank. In general, there was no significant difference of household structure between ranks. Of the nine samagat households, two were nuclear, six were stem (or variants), and one was a sibling (junior/unmarried) household. The 13 pabiring households had a somewhat similar distribution. There were five nuclear (or variants) and eight stem (or variants) households. All the examples of extended households and the majority of sibling households (6 out of 7) were found in the banua rank. The only difference between samagat and pabiring households on the one

hand, and those of banua on the other, was that among the former there was a tendency for there to be more stem families (14 instances or 63.4%) than nuclear families (7 instances or 31.8%). While in the overall figures for household types there were proportionately more nuclear families (50.4%) than stem families (40.3%). This might support my earlier observations on the numerical composition of households, that samagat (and pabiring) parents tried, where possible, to hold on to married children for a longer period of time (thus forming stem families), and control their movements and marriages, to maintain their rank position and keep estates and property intact.

c. Household Recruitment

There were three main ways in which an individual acquired membership in a particular household - by birth, adoption or marriage. Here I propose to consider birth and adoption, while only briefly dealing with marriage. A detailed examination of marriage and affinity is given later in a separate section, because many features of rank relate to the institution of marriage.

(i) Birth

A Maloh could be a member of either his father's or his mother's household, but not both at the same time.¹⁵ However, as well as being able to claim membership of either the father's or mother's residential unit, a child theoretically became a member of all the kapulungan to which both his mother and father belonged. As a result of the preference for both initial and permanent uxorilocal marriage the majority of children were born into their mother's household. Out of the 147 unmarried children

15. Freeman coined the term 'utrolateral' for this system. I prefer the more generally used term 'ambilateral'.

in my sample, 103 had membership in their maternal household, while only 44 were affiliated to their father's tindoan.

In practice the situation was complicated by the fact that some parents did not remain in only one household in the years following their marriage. Some married couples set up neolocal residence after a period of time with one of the sets of parents; some also moved from uxorilocal to virilocal residence or vice versa. Therefore, one would find that children born to a given marriage might have been born in different residences. In cases in which a couple resided neolocally, the affiliation problem was resolved by the ruling that children born to them during this time claimed membership in their mother's household if the couple had resided uxorilocally immediately prior to partition, or affiliated with the father's household if residence had been virilocal prior to separation. In most cases affiliation was clear-cut since there was no movement of married couples after marriage, and where neolocal residence was established this was usually in the same village as the parental household from which the young couple had seceded.

Freeman did not make it clear whether Iban household affiliation followed the above patterns. He indicated that every individual was born into either his mother's or his father's birth group (1970:14), and, although membership was theoretically dependent on descent from a conjugal pair, 'the fact of local residence ... ultimately determines the group to which a child belongs' (ibid.:15). However, Freeman noted that new households did form through partition, and it is unclear what the residential status was of children born to newly-established units.

Despite the fact that a Maloh child could only belong to one household, it did not necessarily mean that kin ties with other households were allowed to lapse. For example, a child resident in and a member

of his mother's household still attempted to maintain links with his father's kinsmen. The extent to which he could do so depended primarily on the physical distance between this individual and his paternal relatives. In a number of cases, particularly among those of banua rank, the parents of both husband and wife resided in the same village, and this meant that children of these couples could maintain relations with both sets of kin. Even in inter-village marriages within the same river system, communities were not great distances apart, and a child could sustain at least some contact with parental kinsmen who lived elsewhere. Usually when two individuals from different river systems married, and this happened most frequently with aristocrats, their children might be practically forced to neglect one side of their kinship circle.

(ii) Adoption

Adoption (Emb. mambo anak; Palin, mako anak) occurred in two main circumstances. First, if a man and woman failed to produce any children after a number of years, they usually sought to adopt one from close kin of either the husband or wife. This was to ensure the perpetuation of the household and guarantee care for the couple in their old age. Secondly, a husband and wife might already have one or more children, but feel they have the ability to care for another, or perhaps have sons and would like a daughter or vice versa. A close relative of either husband or wife might have an excess of children or more than enough of one sex, and allow one to be adopted by a kinsman.

Although adoption was a perfectly acceptable practice, it appeared to be less common among Maloh than among Iban. Freeman found 53 cases of adoption (8.6% of individuals) in 39 households (36.4% of households). This was primarily related to a comparatively high incidence of childless

marriages and the need to ensure the independent and future existence of the household and its property. In my Maloh sample there was not such a high rate of childlessness. Of the 165 women in the sample, who were alive and married, 16 were childless (9.7%). There were 15 adopted individuals (anak ambu) or about 2% of the people in the sample. These were found in 11 (or 9.24%) of the 119 households (Table VI).

TABLE VI INCIDENCE OF ADOPTION BY VILLAGE

	Number of Adoptions			Number of Households
	Male	Female	Total	
Nanga Nyabau	1	5	6	5
Ukit-Ukit	2	2	4	3
Keram	1	2	3	2
Belimbis	1	1	2	1
Total	5	10	15	11

Girls were preferred for adoption. Daughters were considered a greater asset than sons because they helped in domestic chores and were less likely to travel and leave their parents. The adopted child was formally and partially severed from its parents' household in a public ceremony (manjarumang mambu anak) attended by representatives of the two households concerned, the village headman and elders. At this time it was acknowledged that the child was legally transferred from one household to the other.

Children were invariably adopted from close kinsmen. Out of the sample of 15 adopted children, 12 adoptions were transacted between siblings. Nine of the children were adopted from the wife's siblings, three from those of the husband. Two more were taken from the wife's

cousins (one a first cousin, the other a second cousin). The last was an adopted grandchild (i.e. the son of a son). Maloh preferred to adopt from close relatives, not only because parents were more willing to let a child go to someone whom they trusted and could approach more easily, but also because they usually knew more about each other's personal socio-economic circumstances, and they might share rights in some of the same areas of land and in certain items of property (i.e. they belonged to the same kapulungan).

In contrast to the Iban, not all the adopted Maloh child's ties were severed from the natal household. The child received sustenance and support from his adoptive parents and his (or her) productive efforts were for their benefit. But since some or all of the parents in both households might belong to the same kapulungan, the adopted child might still share rights in property with his (or her) siblings proper. However, his (or her) claim to that property would be less strong than that of his (or her) siblings resident in their natal household. Transference of children between close kinsmen meant that rights in land, in particular, were kept within the same circle of kin. On the other hand, the child did not inherit or take with him (or her) any of the parents' movable or divisible property.

In relation to the ranking system, there were comparatively more adoptions among samagat and pabiring households than among banua. Of the 15 adopted individuals, nine were transferred between higher ranking households - one child (male) between samagat households and eight (six females, two males) between pabiring households. This may have been related to the need on the part of households of high rank to maintain their rights in property, and their desire to have heirs to carry on their name, and, on the odd occasion, the need to have a son to succeed to an

office. Some childless banua couples did not feel the need to adopt children because sometimes there was less property to pass on.

In cases of adoption between strata, which were in any case rare, the child legally belonged to the adoptive household,¹⁶ but as with inter-rank marriage, he (or she) would not change rank. The child would be in an ambiguous position, although, unlike an in-marrying household member of another rank, he (or she) could lay a more successful claim to the rank of the household in which he (or she) resided. In my sample there was only one inter-strata adoption. A pabiring woman took a samagat son from her samagat cousin. The woman had fallen in rank because of her father's marriage into a pabiring household.

A practice which approximated to informal, temporary adoption, was that of 'guardianship'.¹⁷ In this case a child might be sent for a period of time to live with a relative, usually a grandparent. This frequently occurred when the household of the relative concerned had been deprived of certain of its members, rendering it economically unviable. The period of residence might simply cover the busy agricultural season.

(iii) Marriage

An individual could establish household membership through marriage. An in-marrying affine became a legally recognized member of that household, though he (or she) retained links with the natal household. In cases of divorce the in-marrying spouse normally returned to his (or her) natal household. If we take the 69 households permanently established (i.e. those which had not recently set up independent residence), then out of a total population of 432, there were 77 affines (17.8%), and of those

16. See Rousseau for the same rule among Kayan (1974:236).

17. See also Morris on the Melanau (1953:124-5).

about two-thirds were males, reflecting the marked tendency for post-marital uxori-local residence (Table VII). This figure does not give a true impression of the importance of affines in established households, because being adults they comprised about one-third of the active work force. Maloh subsistence economy, particularly rice agriculture, was based on a fairly sharp sexual division of labour and therefore a given household needed both adult male and female members. In most circumstances the full complement of workers was achieved by reliance on affinal members, and, in some cases, an affine was the only one available to bear the burden of particular processes in the agricultural cycle. Furthermore, it was likely that in-marrying males would eventually occupy the position of household head, since this position was usually reserved for males.

TABLE VII NUMBER OF IN-MARRYING AFFINES IN HOUSEHOLDS BY VILLAGE

	Number of Households	Number of Individuals	Number of Male Affines	Number of Female Affines	Total
Nanga Nyabau	28	170	23	12	35
Ukit-Ukit	14	101	12	5	17
Keram	9	57	9	2	11
Belimbis	18	104	8	6	14
Total	69	432	52	25	77

d. Consanguineal Kinship

Maloh kinship is cognatic. A given individual recognized a universe of consanguineal (and affinal) kin. Kinsmen were reckoned on both the father's and mother's sides and ideally equal weight was given to social relations with paternal and maternal relatives. The kinship or relationship terminology indicated that affinal reference categories were lineally and laterally less extensive than those of consanguines (Figs. I and II). There were two main structural components within this categorization - genealogical level and collateral distance.¹⁸ Kin terms were differentiated according to genealogical level and, in ideal terms, this principle embodied notions of deference and respect of junior toward senior generations. In return lower generations received protection, help and advice. In this respect there was a symmetry between kinship and rank relationships. Although those of higher rank might not be related to those of lower rank, given the ideal rule of rank endogamy, relationships between ranks were often conceptualized in kinship terms. Aristocrats were likened to 'kinsmen' of the senior generation who should be respected, and they were sometimes addressed in Maloh as 'grandfather', 'grandmother', 'father' or 'mother'. Aristocrats talked of their villagers as 'our children' (anakka banua) or 'grandchildren' (ampuka). Despite changes in the traditional ranking system, I heard these terms used in describing or addressing those of other ranks, though my general impression was that in the Embaloh, in particular, people of low rank were reluctant to employ terms of deference to aristocrats. Only those aristocrats who had retained their prestige were addressed in these terms. Nevertheless, in conversation with me aristocrats tended to support notions of their own superiority by referring

18. These are common principles of Borneo kinship terminologies (cf. King, 1978b:10-11; Leach, 1950:57-60).

to other villagers as 'our children'. What is important is that we should not confuse the basis of rank relations (i.e. social inequality) with the idiom or ideology in which these relations were sometimes expressed or talked about (i.e. kinship).

Within generations patterns of superiority and inferiority, though milder in form, were regulated by the principle of relative age, and expressed in the distinction between kaka' (eB, eZ) and adi'/ari' (yB, yZ). Children were also distinguished according to birth order, viz. anak danginan (eldest child), anak lambutan (middle child) and anak mundi (youngest child). The hierarchical generational segments were preserved by the lateral 'extension' of particular reference terms and by the ideal rule that these terms were never used outside their own generation. Furthermore, teknonymic designations reinforced these asymmetric social categories. When a married couple of any rank had their first child they assumed the title Ma' in the case of the father and Indu' in the case of the mother, plus the name of the child. On the birth of their first grandchild they usually resumed their personal name with the designation Baki' (grandfather) or Piang (grandmother).¹⁹ Most people in the village, even close kinsmen, would use teknonyms in address. This system would seem to be, in part, an additional mode of designating status in a society in which relations of superiority and inferiority were a constant pre-occupation.²⁰ Teknonyms indicated that a person had become an adult, entitled to participate in village meetings.

As well as demarcating relations of respect and patronage between generations, genealogical categories, especially in the case of collaterally

19. Maloh did not exhibit the complex system of patronyms, teknonyms and death names of the Kenyah (Whittier, 1973:81-4).

20. This would not seem to apply to the Kayan since Rousseau remarked that if an individual did not possess a teknonym it was not considered shameful; and death names merely marked a person's position in the life-cycle (1974:349-51; 1978:89, 91).

close consanguines, provided a guide to sexual accessibility. A given individual, on pain of a fine and the need to sacrifice an animal, was not allowed to indulge in sexual relations with or marry an individual from the reference categories kamo', ampe', baki', piang, and kamanakan. Inter-generational sexual relations were termed tutulan silaloan (lit.: 'disagreement in descent line'), and the fine incurred, with its expiatory rite, was called sigilingang (lit.: 'to turn categories around', i.e. to override the prohibition against sexual relations between different genealogical levels). If the kinship relation was close (i.e. within three degrees of cousinship), then sex between people from different generations was 'animal custom' (adat inatang).²¹ These regulations applied despite the fact that two people from different genealogical levels might be of approximately the same age. Maloh society would therefore be an exception to Needham's generalization that in cognatic societies the principle of relative age overrides that of genealogical category (1966:1-35). Although within generations relative age was a partial guide to behaviour.²²

The second principle underlying categorization was that of differentiation according to collateral distance. The categories F, M, B, Z, S/D were distinguished terminologically from collateral relatives such as PZ, PB, PBS, PBD, PZS, PZD, ZS, ZD, BS, BD, PBS, PBSS, PZSD, PZSS. Sexual relations between any individuals in the categories F, M, B, Z, S/D had potentially disastrous supernatural consequences. There was no collateral differentiation in the grandparental generation and above, and in the grandchild level and below. Obviously collateral distinctions were more elaborate in the genealogical levels closest to ego, particularly in ego's

21. It could result in natural disasters such as storms, floods and petrification (cf. King, 1975c:115-16).

22. It may be that all ranked cognatic societies are exceptions to Needham's hypothesis.

Figure I Maloh Relationship Terminology - Consanguines

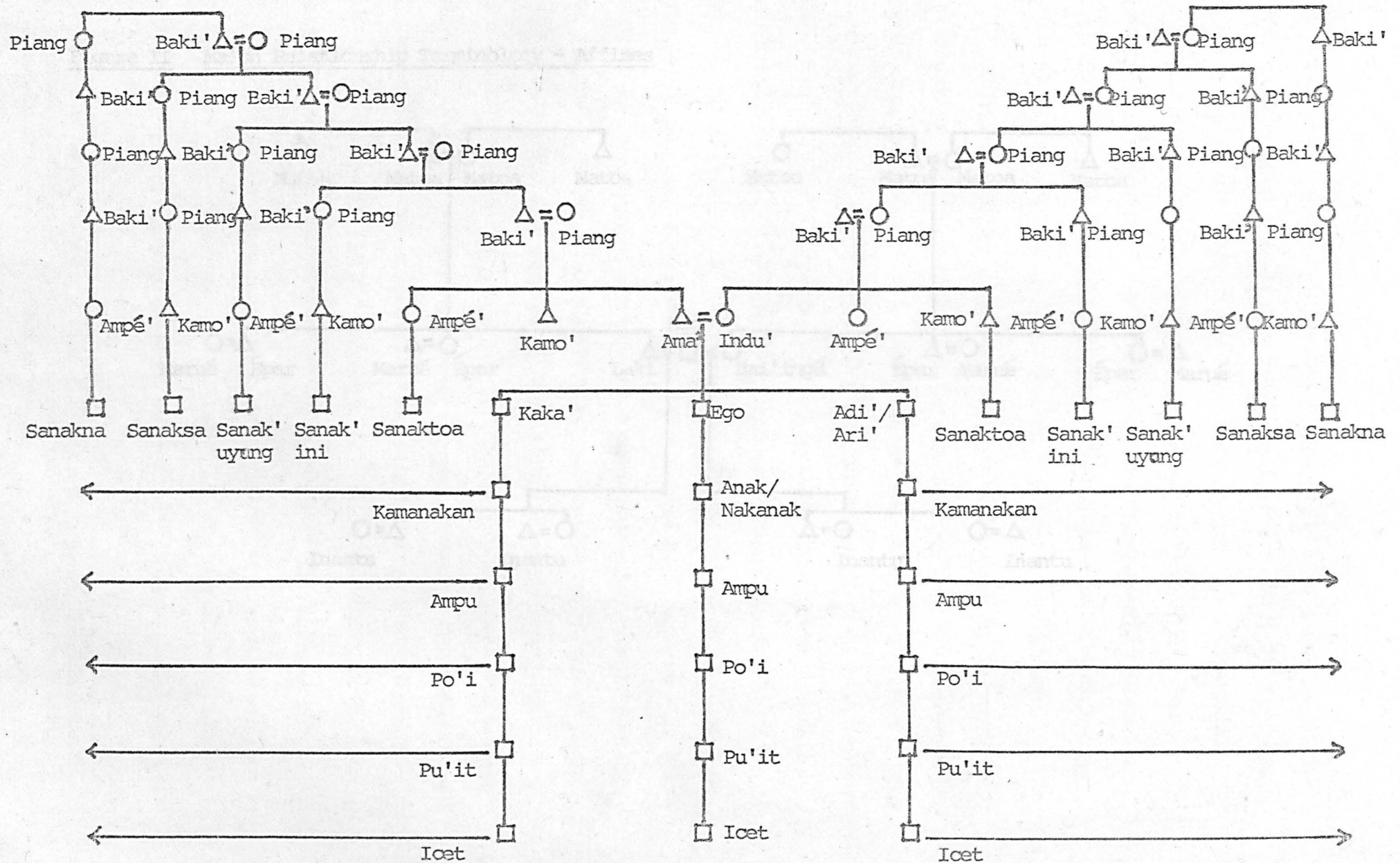
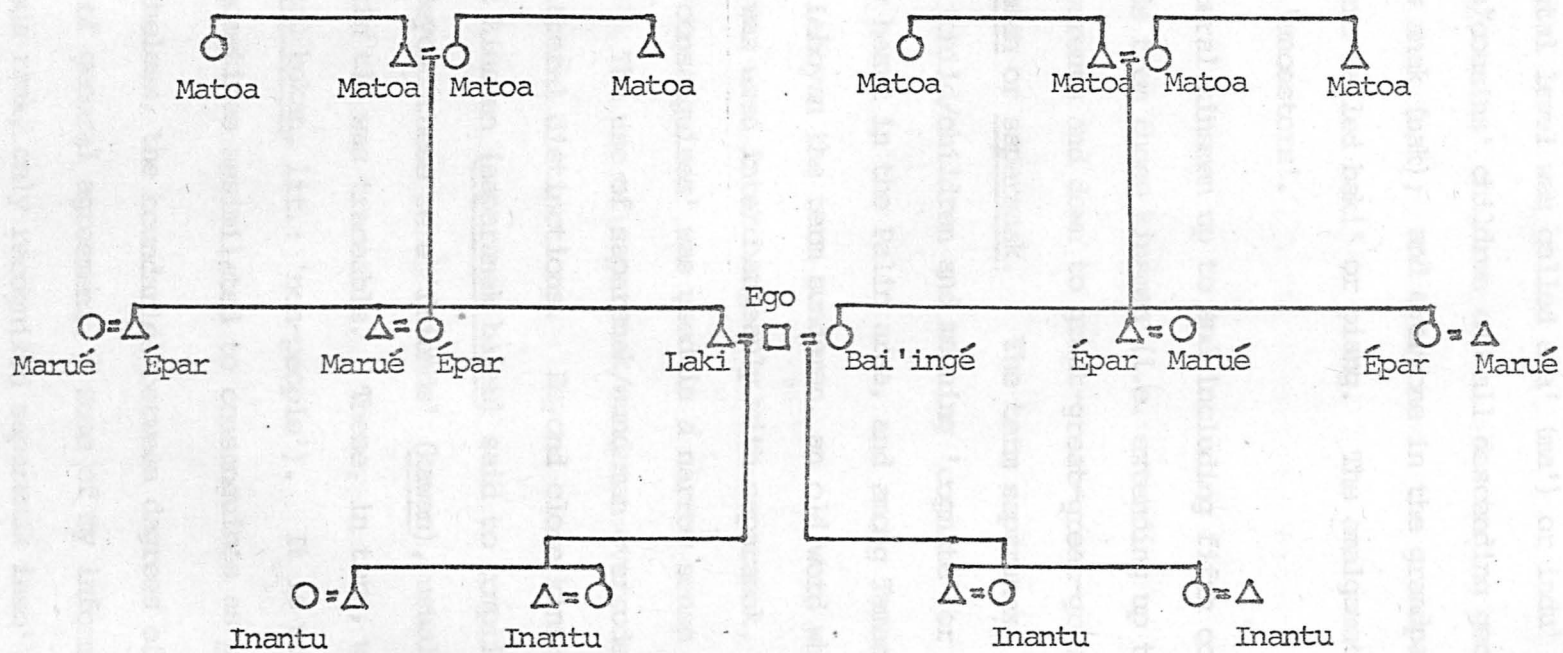


Figure II Maloh Relationship Terminology - Affines



own generation. However, in terms of address, all siblings and cousins of all degrees were addressed as kaka' (ka') or adi' (di');²³ everyone in the parental level was called ama' (ma') or indu' (du'); children and siblings'/cousins' children and all descending generations were addressed as anak (nak); and everyone in the grandparental generation and above were called baki' or piang. The amalgamated term baki'-piang referred to 'ancestors'.

Collateral kinsmen up to and including fifth cousins, and upwards and downwards from those kinsmen (i.e. extending up to great-great-great-great grandparents and down to great-great-great-great grandchildren) were termed sundaman or saparanak. The term saparanak, derived from the root word 'anak' (child/children and meaning 'cognate' or 'related children'), was commonly heard in the Palin area, and among Taman, whereas in the Embaloh and Leboyan the term sundaman, an old word which occurred in oral literature, was used interchangeably with saparanak. Saparanak as well as meaning 'consanguines' was used in a narrow sense to refer to siblings and cousins. The use of saparanak/sundaman overrode genealogical and certain collateral distinctions. Beyond close kinsmen (saparanak inso') were distant kinsmen (saparanak bajau) said to comprise sixth and seventh cousins. Beyond these were 'friends' (kawan), usually close neighbours, to whom no kin tie was traceable. These, in turn, were marked off from strangers (tau bokan, lit.: 'non-people'). It is worth noting that even kawan were sometimes assimilated to consanguines as kawan saparanak.

Nevertheless, the boundaries between degrees of closeness were not the subject of general agreement. Some of my informants, especially from the banua rank, only recognized saparanak inso' up to fourth cousins,

23. Even in the reference system siblings and cousins could be lumped together as sairun (lit.: 'those of one womb') which in a narrow sense referred to siblings only.

and particularly in the Embaloh, some individuals gave the outer limit as third cousins. Interestingly I found that samagat and some pabiring generally claimed that close kinsmen did indeed include fifth cousins. Perhaps this was not surprising given the samagat practice of maintaining elaborate genealogies, and the fact that, despite a decline in the importance of rank, older aristocrats still attempted to find partners of equivalent rank for their children. Furthermore, distant kinsmen if residing near a given individual could be a greater social asset than a close kinsman living elsewhere. Flexible boundaries facilitated the assimilation of distant kin to the category of close kinsmen and the application of the appropriate relationship term.

Collateral distinctions were a guide to marriage preference. There was an expressed ideal, which was noticeable in practice, for marriage with close kinsmen up to third cousins, though not with kaiyan/tindoan members. Marriage with strangers was disliked but sometimes contracted for practical and economic reasons, and, in the past, was occasionally undertaken by aristocrats for considerations of prestige, alliance and political power. Among banua, and especially among those in the Embaloh and Leboyan, there was a strong disapproval of first cousin marriage. Perhaps this was partly a result of Catholic influence in the area, but it was also a product of rank distinctions. As a consequence of a lack of suitable partners, aristocrats sometimes married first cousins and did not generally disapprove of it. I came across several examples of aristocratic first cousin marriage even within the Embaloh and Leboyan. Furthermore, some aristocrats said that they positively favoured first, or at least second cousin marriage because it kept valuable property together and resulted in its circulation among a small circle of close kinsmen.

The consanguineal category focused on a given ego and called

saparanak or saparanak inso' appears at first sight to be equivalent to the anthropological term 'kindred' as defined by Freeman. On the other hand complications arise in the Maloh case because Maloh used the term saparanak for all categories of affinal kin as well. There was no specific reference term to cover all affines, as distinct from consanguines.²⁴ Maloh agreed that terminologically they distinguished certain categories of close affinal kin from consanguineal relatives, but generally in terms of behaviour and obligations affines were treated like consanguines, and were addressed by the terms which I have translated as 'father', 'mother', 'brother', 'sister', 'child', 'grandfather' and grandmother'. Moreover, it was only close affinal kin (parents-in-law and their siblings, siblings-in-law and their spouses, and children-in-law) who were specifically referred to by affinal terms distinct from consanguineal reference terms. There were no reference terms for affinal kin beyond these, and certain affinal categories were referred to by the appropriate consanguineal term (e.g. PZH = kamo'; PBW = ampe'; BSW/ZSW/BDH/ZDH = kamanakan; PPZH = baki'; PPBW = piang).

The tendency to assimilate consanguines and affines can be explained in two ways. First, Maloh conceptualized a conjugal pair as 'becoming one' after marriage. The rationale was Namin siala lakunyai sama diri (lit.: 'After marriage husband and wife are the same [as one]'). This entailed that on marriage a man entered his wife's kinship circle and vice versa. In this context, one could argue, as Smart did for the Isneg, that the conjugal pair, as well as a given ego, should be seen as a descriptive and analytical focus of kinship categories and networks. Hudson pointed to the same feature among Ma'anyan. He stated that after marriage 'the kindreds of both spouses become merged' (1972:112) and 'kindred relationships are clearly extended to include affines' (1967:289-

24. Firth called consanguines and affines together a 'universe of kin' as distinct from the consanguineal 'personal kindred' (1963:22-3).

90). Secondly, the conceptualization of affines and consanguines as in some sense equivalent should be seen as partly the product of relationships of rank and their associated ideology. In other words, the principle of rank endogamy which naturally led to intermarriage between close kinsmen, and the conceptualization of the members of one's own rank as 'kinsmen', resulted in the playing down, but not the elimination of the distinction between consanguines and affines. This was expressed in terminology. The Maloh word for rank is ranakan from the root word 'anak' and is therefore etymologically related to saparanak ('kinsmen'). The important distinction was not so much between consanguines and affines but between members of different ranks. It may well be that as traditional rank continues to decline in importance, differentiation between consanguines and affines may take on greater significance, but I was not aware of this during fieldwork. For example, an individual Maloh did not act in markedly different ways towards his father's brother's wife and his father's sister, nor was his behaviour different in relation to his wife's brother, his own brother and his male first cousin. Of course, initially the relationship between ego and certain of his affinal kin might be awkward, particularly with parents-in-law, but this was a normal part of the process of creating a relationship, and I did not detect any avoidance behaviour between affines.

Affines such as siblings- and parents-in-law might be called on for assistance and might co-operate together with ego in agricultural work, or in hunting and fishing, or in making a canoe. They might also contribute to a fine which ego had to meet, or offer financial help or labour in ceremonies which ego organized.²⁵ This was not surprising

25. Deraedt pointed out that sometimes in Buwaya Kalinga group formation (especially in vengeance groups) 'affinal ties were even stronger than blood ties' (1969:39).

because obligations were met not by individuals but by households as units, and in relation to a given ego a household usually contained both consanguines and affines. Indeed intermarriage between close consanguines meant that the new affinal ties reinforced the already existing consanguineal ones.²⁶ In any given task grouping one would often find both consanguines and affines of a given ego, and some of these might be both a consanguine and affine of ego. Members of a cooperative grouping might also have been offering help or working together for any number of reasons (personal, social, economic, political, residential), although the fact that they were usually co-villagers meant that propinquity (or residence) significantly influenced group formation. For the above reasons it makes no sense to me to use Freeman's concept of an ego-based consanguineal kindred underpinned by a special morality or obligation to analyse Maloh social groupings in action. I see no value in analysing action groups in terms of ego-focused consanguineal networks and demarcating sub-sets of consanguines and affines (see below and Chapter 6). This would tend to assign an anonymity or, at the very least, a subsidiary role to affinal relationships and to imply a qualitative difference between consanguineal and affinal ties. Yet even Freeman noted for the Baleh Iban that 'affinal kin are of great consequence in the kinship structure of Iban society' and that generally 'affinal relationships may be said to reduplicate in their significance the basis cognatic relationships of Iban society' (1960:84).

As I have pointed out certain obligations stemmed from relations between kinsmen, both consanguines and affines. However, outside the immediate circle of grandparents, parents, siblings, children and close in-laws there were no recognizable jural norms or strong sanctions under-

26. In contrast Freeman stated that close intermarriage between consanguines had no bearing on the Iban distinction between consanguines and affines (1961:201).

lying kinship obligations. Rather participation in the activities of a kinsman depended very much on personal inclination and residential propinquity. An individual did not have a right to demand assistance from a kinsman outside his immediate family. Furthermore, the refusal to co-operate with a kinsman was not automatically greeted with social opprobrium.²⁷ Again I would not see a special obligation marking off consanguines from affines among Maloh which Freeman appeared to detect in his Iban study.

My argument with Freeman is concerned with the whole problem of the relationship between terminology and category on the one hand, and action and behaviour on the other. Although distinctions in Maloh kinship terms tell us something about relations between seniors and juniors and act as guidelines to sexual accessibility, they may not necessarily be a guide to other spheres of action and behaviour. In this regard Needham's observations are clearly relevant when he noted that, in the interpretation of relationship terminologies, one cannot infer anything about the degree of significance that a category may have nor can one assume a necessary correspondence between category and social action (e.g. 1973:177). These considerations may call into question Freeman's emphasis on indigenous terminological distinctions in the construction of analytical concepts (i.e. the kindred) which are used to examine social relations and action.²⁸ The problem with indigenous or 'folk' models is that they often have functions other than the provision of an exact or complete description

27. This is not to say that strong obligations between kinsmen were not present in the past when fortified villages were socially more cohesive and when people depended on kin for security and for seeking vengeance against enemies.

28. What is puzzling in this regard in Freeman's analysis was his exclusion of all affinal categories of kin from the kindred concept. He claimed that terminologies were a reflection of or functionally consistent with social obligation and behaviour. Yet the affinal categories PEW and PZH were designated by consanguineal reference terms (1960:77).

of particular social patterns and modes of behaviour. We have seen this in the analysis of Maloh rank. The four semantic and ideational rank categories which find expression in the Maloh language do not adequately illuminate all the characteristics of Maloh hierarchical divisions, and, in fact, Maloh ideology 'disguises' certain dimensions of social inequality.

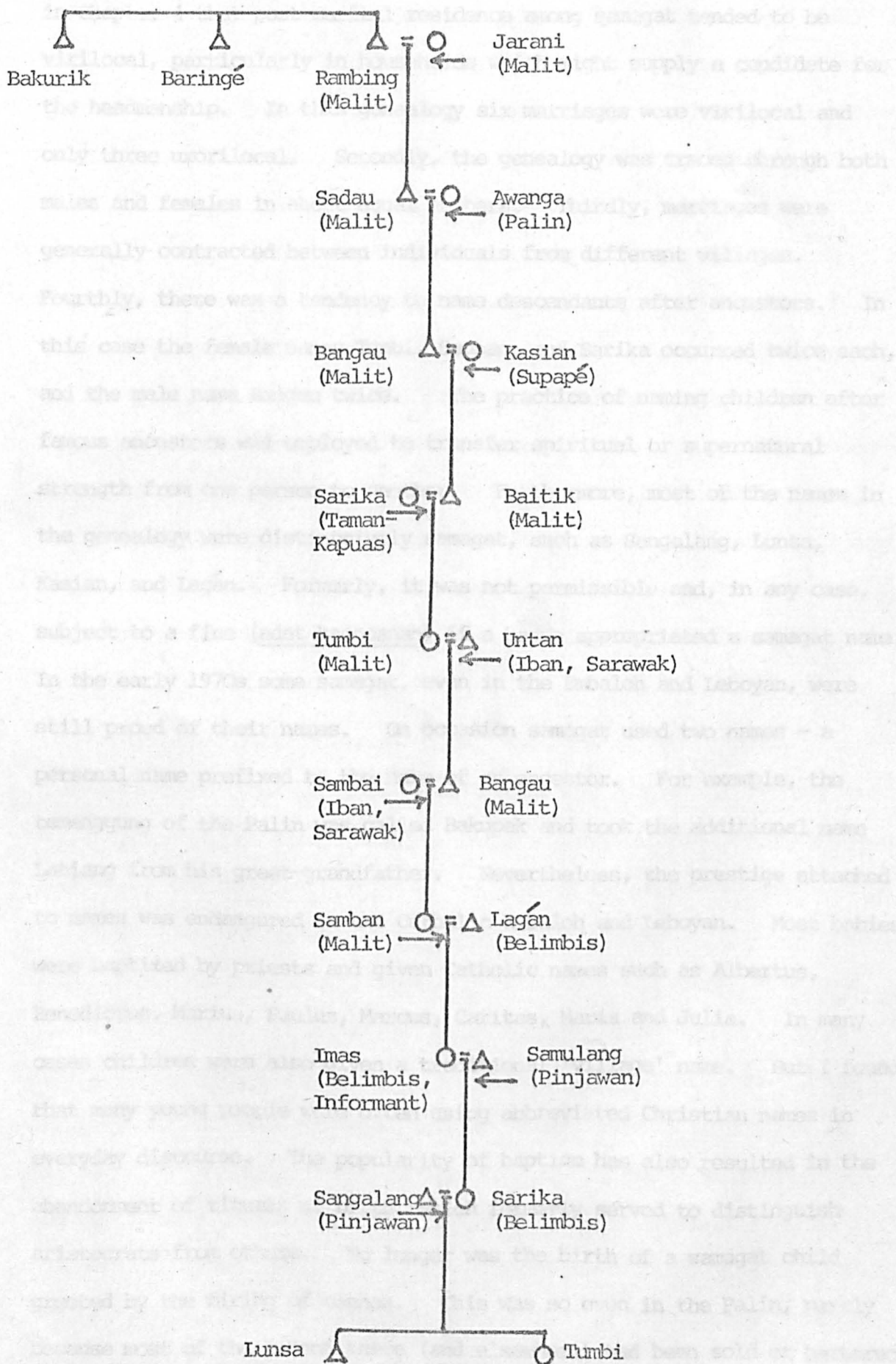
e. Descent

Descent was used as an organizational principle among Maloh and it was intimately related to kinship and rank. Despite the decline in the significance of rank up to the 1970s, samagat, in particular, still attached considerable importance to the preservation of their genealogies.²⁹ Aristocratic pedigrees, often associated with sagas, were still remembered with pride by older Maloh in the Embaloh and Leboyan, though young Maloh were losing interest in them and many were unfamiliar with the poetic language in which they were delivered. In the Palin this oral tradition was alive and still of relevance to many young people. Genealogies were an element in the maintenance of aristocratic status.

Maloh descent was ambilineal in that at a given genealogical level a descent line could be traced through either a male or a female. In my four fieldwork villages the samagat there could trace their descent from certain ancestors who had performed great deeds. For example, Imas, the samagat wife of the headman of Belimbis, claimed descent from Raming, a samagat tutu of the former Upper Embaloh village of Malit who had killed the man-eating giant Renté (Fig. III). Ten genealogical levels were recalled, though Imas admitted that some levels had been forgotten. The

29. Cf. Geddes, who noted for the Bidayuh that genealogies might have been remembered more fully if there had been a strong rank system (1954a:59).

Figure III Descent from Raming



genealogy in Figure III was instructive on a number of counts. I noted in Chapter 4 that post-marital residence among samagat tended to be virilocal, particularly in households which might supply a candidate for the headmanship. In this genealogy six marriages were virilocal and only three uxorilocal. Secondly, the genealogy was traced through both males and females in about equal numbers. Thirdly, marriages were generally contracted between individuals from different villages. Fourthly, there was a tendency to name descendants after ancestors. In this case the female names Tumbi, Samban, and Sarika occurred twice each, and the male name Bangau twice. The practice of naming children after famous ancestors was employed to transfer spiritual or supernatural strength from one person to another. Furthermore, most of the names in the genealogy were distinctively samagat, such as Sangalang, Lunsa, Kasian, and Lagán. Formerly, it was not permissible and, in any case, subject to a fine (adat kasopanan) if a banua appropriated a samagat name. In the early 1970s some samagat, even in the Embaloh and Leboyan, were still proud of their names. On occasion samagat used two names - a personal name prefixed to the name of an ancestor. For example, the temenggung of the Palin was called Bakupak and took the additional name Latiang from his great-grandfather. Nevertheless, the prestige attached to names was endangered in the Catholic Embaloh and Leboyan. Most babies were baptized by priests and given Catholic names such as Albertus, Benedictus, Marius, Paulus, Marcus, Caritas, Maria and Julia. In many cases children were also given a traditional 'village' name. But I found that many young people were often using abbreviated Christian names in everyday discourse. The popularity of baptism has also resulted in the abandonment of rituals of birth, which formerly served to distinguish aristocrats from others. No longer was the birth of a samagat child greeted by the firing of cannon. This was so even in the Palin, partly because most of the cannon there (and elsewhere) had been sold or bartered.

Finally, the Raming genealogy provided evidence of 'mixed' marriages. Tumbi, a female samagat, had married an Iban from Sarawak, and their son Bangau also married an Iban. Imas and her mother Samban claimed that the Iban concerned were from 'leading families', paid bride-wealth according to adat samagat and resided in samagat households. Therefore, theoretically their descendants were still entitled to claim samagat rank. This mixed ancestry, however, could engender much argument in marriage negotiations. Indeed some present-day Maloh in Belimbis and elsewhere asserted that Imas was not really samagat, but pabiring, because of her Iban 'blood'. Nevertheless, she had managed to secure bridewealth appropriate to a samagat from her pabiring husband Samulang. Samulang traced descent from samagat tutu but unfortunately his great-grandfather had 'married down' into a pabiring household. Imas' daughter, Sarika, had contracted a samagat marriage with Sangalang, a second cousin of Samulang from Pinjawan, but from a samagat branch of the family.

The genealogy from Marung of Pinjawan, the samagat tutu who had killed the were-tiger Tingang, reveals the close connexions between samagat households from different villages, particularly Belimbis, Keram, Pinjawan and Bukung (Figs. IV and VI). It also indicates the samagat preference for close cousin marriage. Imas' brother, Luju, married Rumbi, a samagat from Keram, and resided uxorilocally. Rumbi was the sister of Sabina, who had married Pilok, a pabiring from Teliai. Sabina and Pilok were second cousins and the parents of the samagat headman of Keram. Sampé Bodon, a samagat from Belimbis, married Giri, a samagat from Keram and the daughter of Rumbi. Bodon's maternal great-great grandfather, Tuba, was the brother of Luat, who was the great-great grandmother of Giri on the paternal side. Bodon and Giri were therefore fourth cousins. Bodon's mother, Kumang, was also the first cousin of Kasso, the former headman of Bukung and the ex-temenggung of the Embaloh. Kasso and Kumang were

Figure IV Descent from Marung

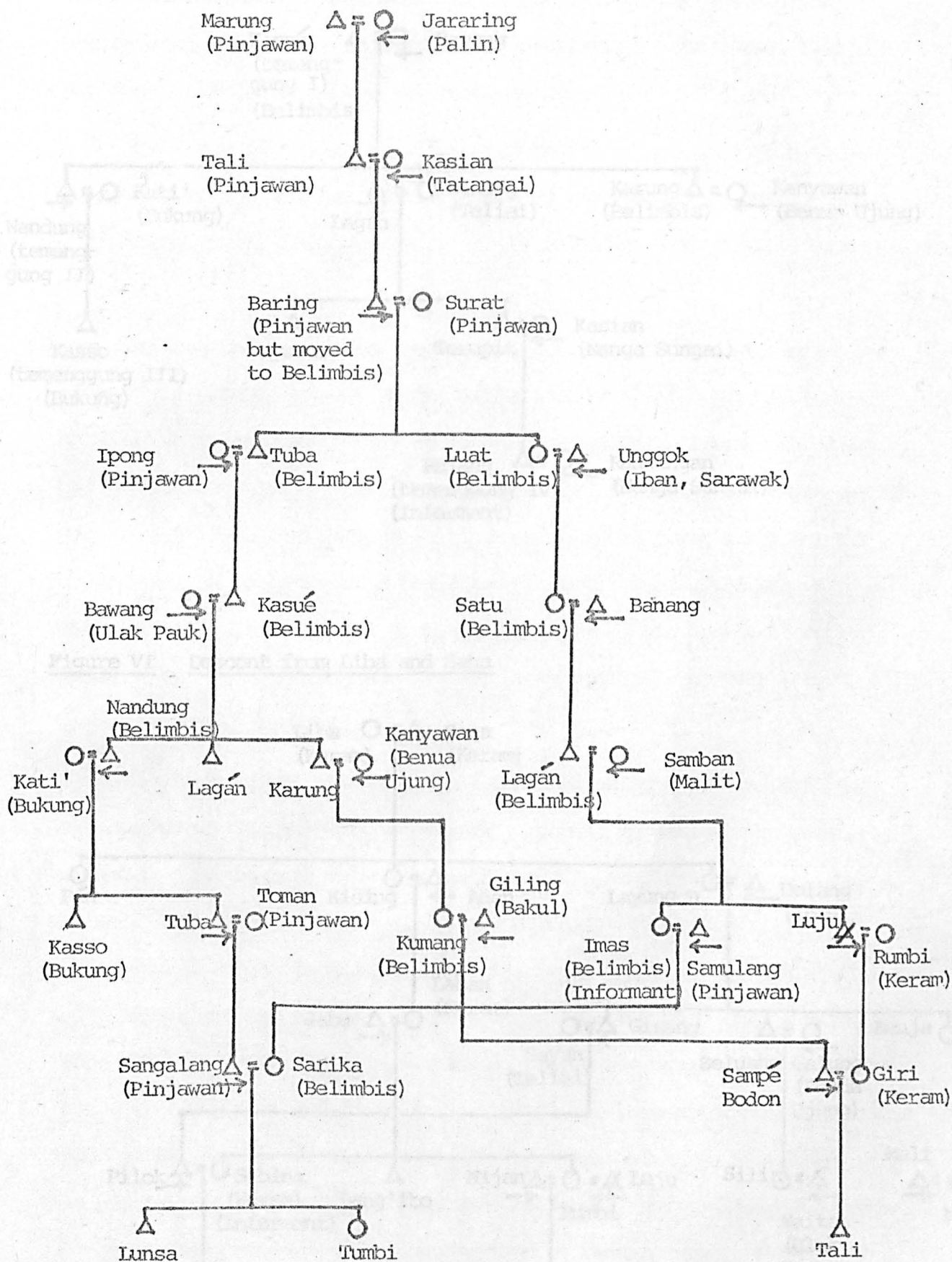


Figure V Descent from Kasué

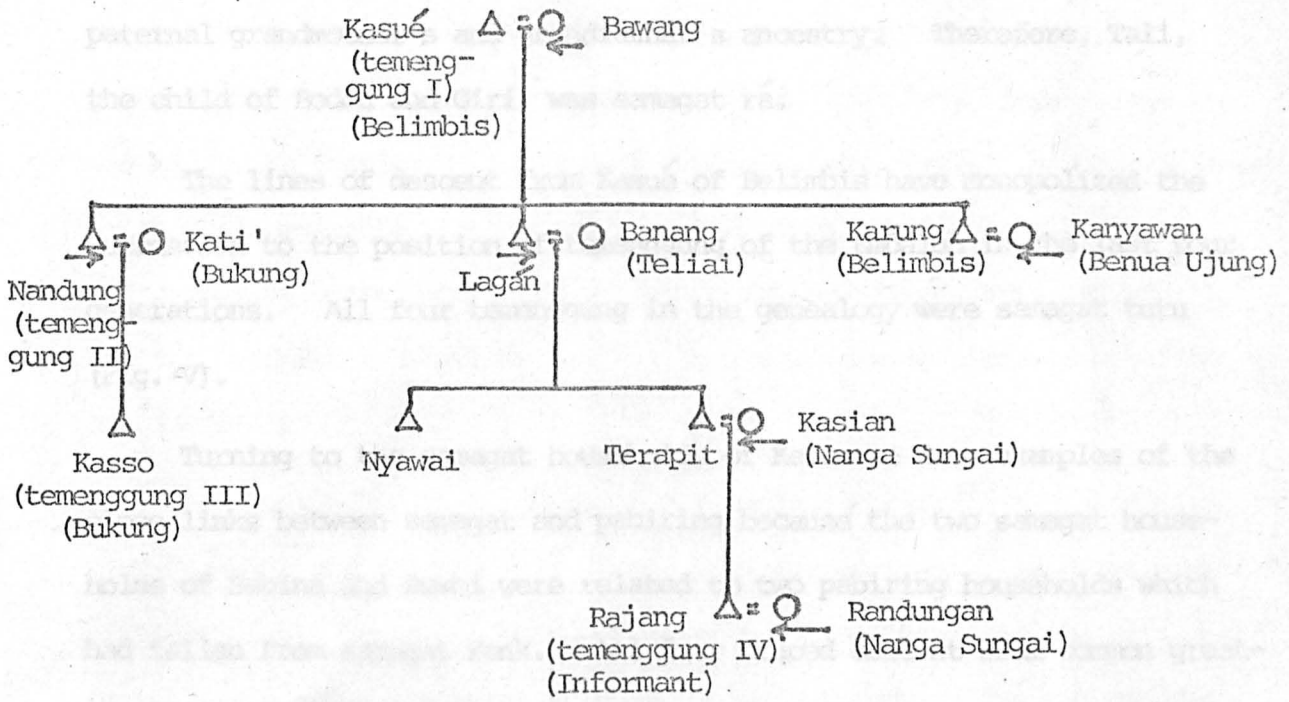
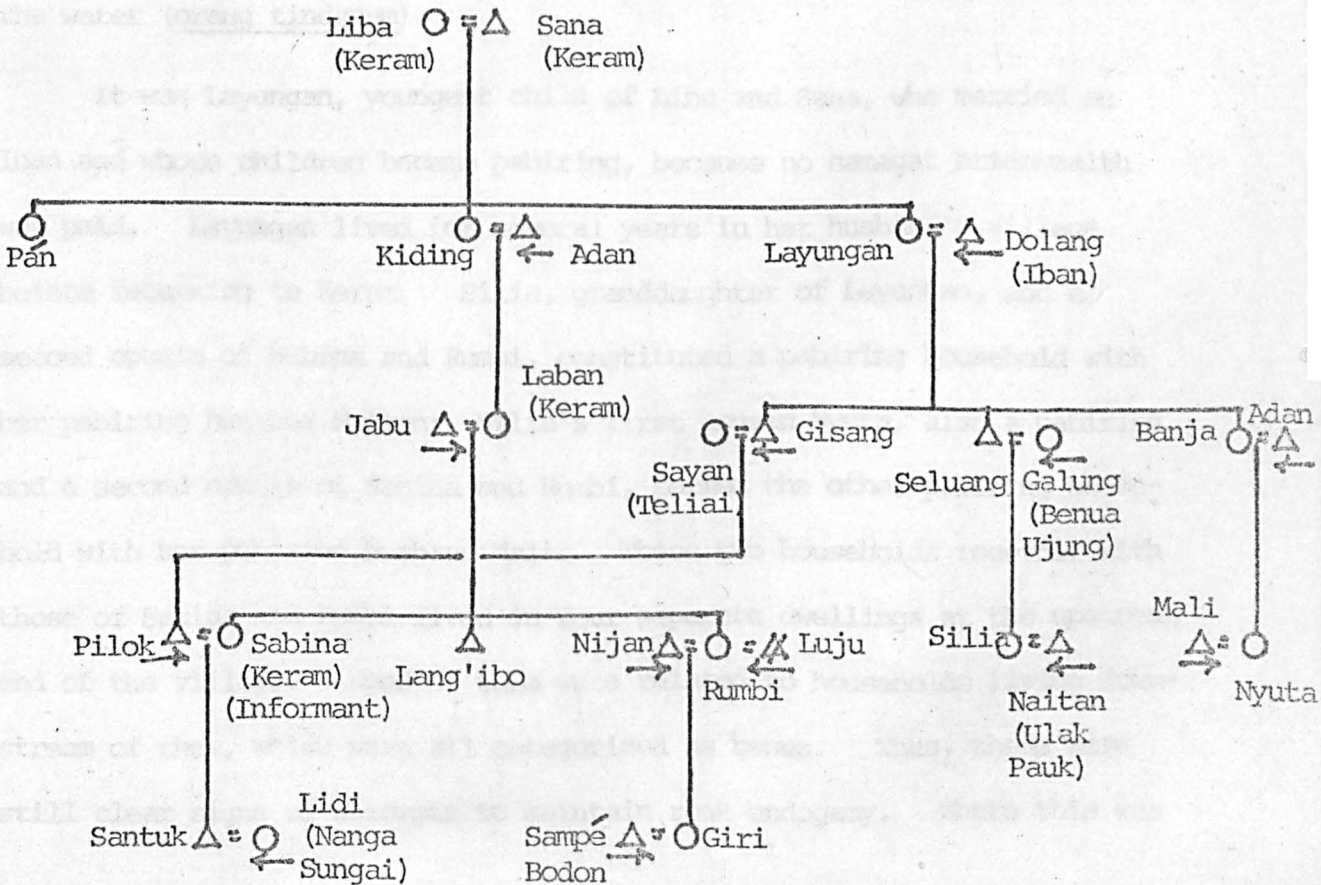


Figure VI Descent from Liba and Sana



samagat tutu as was Bodon, but Giri was samagat rá by virtue of her mixed Iban-Maloh descent through her father's side, and through her paternal grandmother's and grandfather's ancestry. Therefore, Tali, the child of Bodon and Giri, was samagat rá.

The lines of descent from Kasué of Belimbis have monopolized the succession to the position of temenggung of the Embaloh in the last four generations. All four temenggung in the genealogy were samagat tutu (Fig. V).

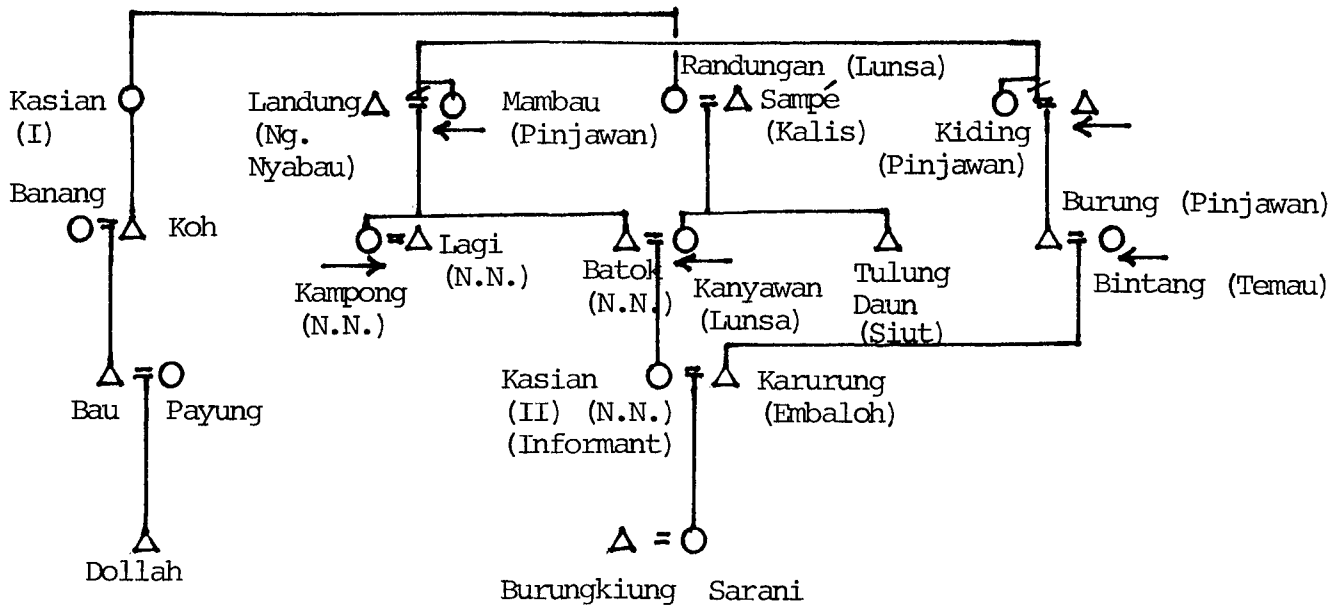
Turning to the samagat households of Keram we have examples of the close links between samagat and pabiring because the two samagat households of Sabina and Rumbi were related to two pabiring households which had fallen from samagat rank. All four traced descent from common great-grandparents, Liba and Sana (Fig. VI), and Liba, in turn, was connected through twelve generations to the famous ancestor Ambau, the son of a Malay ruler. Ambau's great-grandson Ambau Réang, who was destined to become a great war-leader, was brought up by spirits who dwelt beneath the water (orang tindanum).

It was Layungan, youngest child of Liba and Sana, who married an Iban and whose children became pabiring, because no samagat bridewealth was paid. Layungan lived for several years in her husband's village before returning to Keram. Silia, granddaughter of Layungan, and a second cousin of Sabina and Rumbi, constituted a pabiring household with her pabiring husband Naitan; Silia's first cousin Nyuta, also a pabiring and a second cousin of Sabina and Rumbi, formed the other pabiring household with her pabiring husband Mali. These two households together with those of Sabina and Rumbi lived in four separate dwellings at the upstream end of the village. None of them were related to households living downstream of them, which were all categorized as banua. Thus, there were still clear signs of attempts to maintain rank endogamy. Where this was

not possible then samagat contracted marriages, not with banua, but with closely related pabiring. The samagat in Keram also retained control of the headmanship. Santuk, Sabina's son, was the samagat headman, but he had married a pabiring, Lidi, from Nanga Sungai, who was his fifth cousin. Another of Sabina's sons, Paulus, had established uxori-local residence with Gerarda, an Ulak Pauk pabiring. They were third cousins since Sabina and Gerarda's father, Patán, were second cousins. Patán was Nyuta's brother and resided with Tibai, a pabiring of Ulak Pauk.

The samagat in Keram found it difficult to contract marriages with other samagat and often had to choose pabiring spouses. In comparison with some other Keram households they were not particularly wealthy, and Santuk was not a convincing or conscientious headman. The two samagat households were in danger of eventually becoming pabiring. Indeed, certain Embaloh samagat tutu with whom I talked, dismissed the households of Sabina and Rumbi as pabiring. With some justification Sabina and Rumbi both claimed samagat rank, but their close relations with pabiring did not endear them to the majority of samagat, who were not interested in marrying into these Keram households.

Finally, let us look at the samagat households of Nanga Nyabau, and then consider Ukit-Ukit in the context of pabiring households. The headman of Nanga Nyabau, Karurung, was a samagat rá from the Embaloh. He had married Kasian (II), who was his second cousin and a Nanga Nyabau samagat tutu, and established uxori-local residence (Fig. VII). Two out of the three samagat households in Nanga Nyabau were linked by the ties between Kampong and Kasian (II). Kampong was the sister of Batok, Kasian's father. Batok himself no longer resided in Nanga Nyabau, having converted to Islam. The third samagat household of Bau and Payung had moved from Tanjung Karaja because of a disagreement between Bau and the headman of

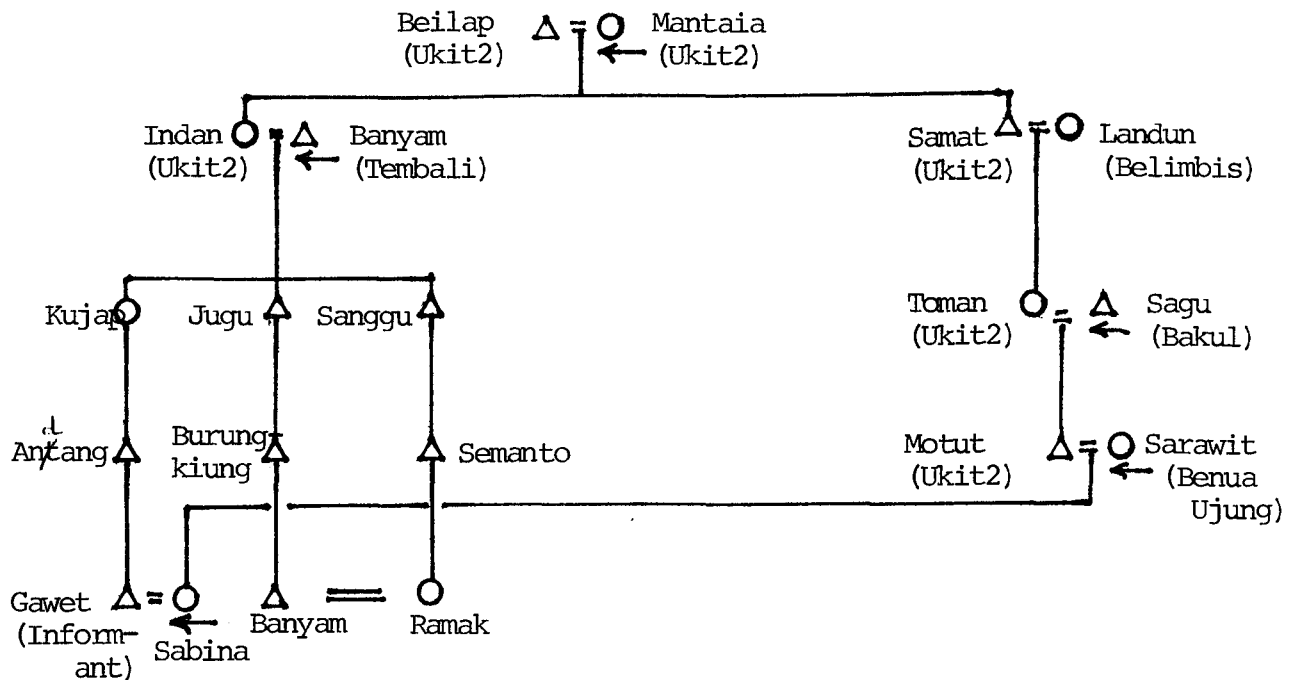
Figure VII Samagat in Nanga Nyabau

that village. Bau was a second cousin of Kasian and took advantage of this to attach himself to Nanga Nyabau.

Naturally the few samagat households in a village were closely related through consanguineal and affinal ties, and linked to a network of aristocrats in other villages. As a consequence of the relatively small number of samagat households and the maintenance of elaborate genealogies, aristocrats could usually specify exactly the kin relationships that existed between them.

Pabiring, who were closely related to samagat, could also recall lengthy genealogies. But some pabiring, such as those in Ukit-Ukit, had more tenuous links with samagat. The four relatively wealthy pabiring households there had managed to secure the headmanship. They had influence with the Catholic mission since one of their number had become a 'bible teacher' (guru injil) and the priests from Martinus usually stayed in one

Figure VIII Pabiring in Ukit-Ukit



of the pabiring households on their visits to the Leboyan. The pabiring traced their descent not so much from samagat but from successful ulun mam who had risen in rank. Indeed they were not interested in establishing kinship links with the Ukit-Ukit samagat, who had declined appreciably in importance. Kuda, the senior male samagat had a weak personality; he was an unskilful orator, poor materially and he had suffered continuously from ill-health. He himself had married a pabiring from Bakul. The four pabiring households did not maintain extensive genealogies, though they could easily trace the close consanguineal connexions between themselves. A few individuals also had samagat names (e.g. Toman, Sabina, Sagu) (Fig. VIII). Gawet was the pabiring headman of Ukit-Ukit. He had married his own third cousin, Sabina, daughter of Motut, and they occupied an apartment in the long-house below that of Kuda. Burungkiung, Gawet's father's first cousin, occupied the adjacent apartment. Semanto, Burungkiung's and Andang's first cousin, had the next apartment. Semanto's daughter Ramak resided with him along with her husband Banyam, her second

cousin and the village guru injil. Motut lived in the apartment downstream of his second cousin, Semanto.

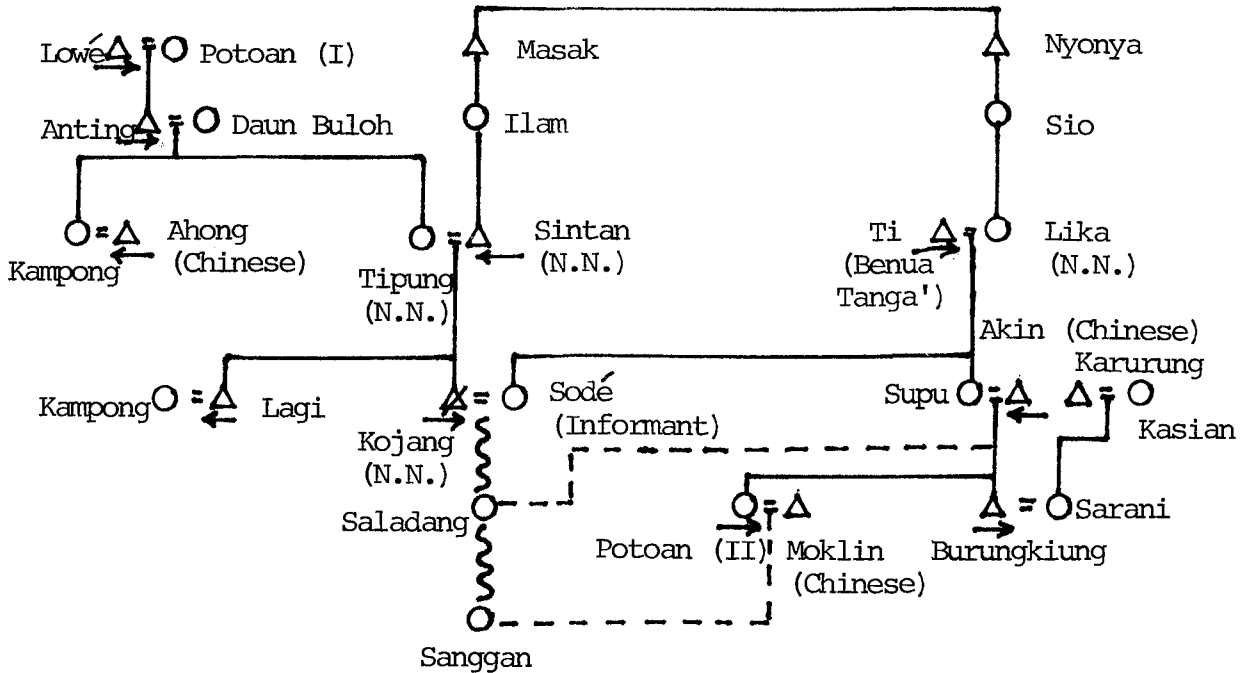
Part of the explanation for the position of prominence of the four pabiring households was that they were wealthy, kept their wealth intact by close intermarriage and were important 'activists' in the Catholic church. They placed little store on the importance of traditional rank status and they claimed that they had no desire to intermarry with samagat. They also asserted that their close intermarriages were not designed to maintain pabiring rank endogamy (though I suspect that it was part of the reason) but merely to keep property together.

In contrast, pabiring in Nanga Nyabau had not lost interest in acquiring samagat status, and some still tried to marry into aristocratic households. For example, the son of Supu, a pabiring, had married Sarani, the daughter of the samagat headman Karurung, and taken up uxori-local residence. Lagi, the third cousin of Supu, and also a pabiring had married Kampong, a samagat, and resided in her household (Fig. IX). Both had paid bridewealth according to adat samagat, but, at the time of fieldwork, neither had yet delivered the extra amount to secure their children's entitlement to samagat rank. Interestingly the pabiring households were of some substance and had also contracted marriages with Chinese traders, two of whom went to live in Nanga Nyabau.

Among the Nanga Nyabau pabiring, there were a number of personal names which samagat would also employ such as Saladang, Sanggan, Potoan, Lagi and Kampong. These pabiring also had kinship links with some individuals of banua rank. For example, Lowé was an ulun mām who had resided with his pabiring wife Potoan (I).

Both Supu and Potoan (II) married Chinese and gave girls to Sodé and Saladang for adoption. Sodé and Supu had separate households.

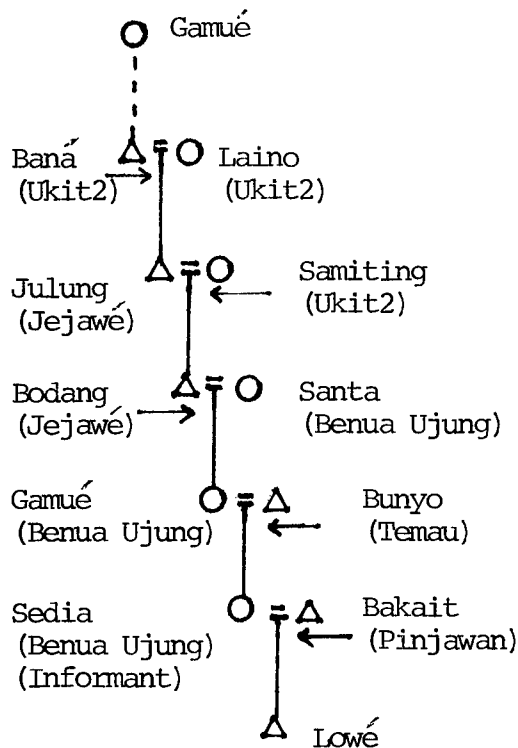
Figure IX Pabiring in Nanga Nyabau



Tipung formed another pabiring household. The fourth household was that of Kampung, Tipung's eldest sister, who had also married a Chinese.

Finally, let us turn to the banua rank. It was unusual for banua to keep lengthy genealogies. At most they could trace descent back some six generations. One exception was the ulun mām or 'true banua', some of whom could apparently trace pedigrees back to prominent 'big men', or mantri or balian. Typical ulun mām names for males were Raran, Sami, Jelayan, Mando, Bagé, Banyam and Kolop, and for females Gamué, Santa, Samiting and Laino. However, I did not meet any present-day ulun mām who could provide long genealogies like those of samagat. The nearest was that given by Sedia, the mother of Lowé, a teacher at the school in Benua Martinus. The genealogy was from Gamué, a famous balian, but many genealogical levels were missing (Fig. X).

Although banua did not generally preserve long genealogies, they did recognize kinsmen laterally up to about fourth cousins. Banua house-

Figure X Descent from Gamu'é

holds in a village were also often closely related and there was a tendency to marry within the village. For example, in Nanga Nyabau, out of the 34 banua households, ten adjacent apartments were linked by consanguineal and affinal ties traced back only three genealogical levels to a pair of siblings, Lowé and Kinang.

Having examined descent lines and genealogies, it remains now to consider descent categories and the formation of descent groups. I pointed out above that samagat still kept long genealogies, so to a certain extent did some pabiring and ulun mam. Those that did also tended to recognize descent categories based on property and form groups, partly on the basis of descent. However, not all Maloh acknowledged descent categories nor did all descent categories, in practice, give rise to groups.

If a Maloh cleared virgin forest to establish perpetual rights in land, planted fruit trees, accumulated valuable heirlooms and erected iron-

wood support posts for the long-house apartment, then, on his (or her) death, rights to this property were ideally transferred undivided (sama mamiara) to all the children (both male and female), and, in turn, to their descendants and so on. In practice, the inheritance usually came from a married couple who had participated together in accumulating property. The individual, whether male or female, who remained in the parent's household permanently, invariably became the custodian of the undivided estate (toa kapulungan). Although the estate was looked after by the child who stayed in his (or her) place of birth (datuntuani kuléa anakka yang alako'en dibanuán), other items of property were divided amongst all the children (itawa pawáng); the custodian received the biggest share.

Those that inherited from a given ancestor were called collectively kapulungan (from pulung - 'to collect together'). Theoretically an individual belonged to as many kapulungan as he had propertied ancestors, but as these descent links (tutulan) were numerous, only certain lines were remembered, acknowledged and activated in practice.³⁰ Selective recognition of tutulan was determined by a number of factors, some of the most important of which were personal advantage, the rank of the ancestor concerned, residential location and the amount and kind of non-partible property involved.

It appears that only in certain circumstances did kapulungan as descent categories in ideal terms give rise to corporate descent groups in practice. The theoretical sharing of rights in property did not necessarily lead to the regular coming together of kapulungan members, nor did it follow that the membership would develop common aims and a sense of identity. This was primarily because a given individual might well belong

30. See Hudson for a confusion between ideal and practice in his concept of a 'bilineal descent group' among the Ma'anyan (1967:367 seq.).

to a number of different kapulungan and, in consequence the acknowledgement and activation of rights in the estate were dependent on a range of considerations not deriving directly from a relationship of descent. First, claims on an undivided estate, especially land, varied in strength, since opportunities to exercise rights were influenced by place of residence, though this in itself did not serve to divide off members from non-members. In other words, the custodian had prior use rights, another child still living in his natal village had secondary rights, and a child who married into another village had tertiary rights. Demands on kapulungan were minimized, because, at any one time, some members lived elsewhere and some had left for Sarawak and coastal towns and did not activate their rights.³¹ Secondly, on marriage a man acquired usufructory rights in the property of his wife's various kapulungan, and if he married into her village he would normally take advantage of these (dampai kakuasana arasuang kaiyan bai'ingénlakén, lit.: 'to obtain rights by virtue of membership in one's spouse's family'). An in-marrying female would also gain rights in her husband's kapulungan property. However, a man could become both custodian of a kapulungan and the head of a household if he remained in his natal household, while a woman resident in her parents' household, although eligible to become a toa kapulungan, was usually represented by her husband as the household head (toa tindoan). The two offices were not necessarily occupied by the same person. Thirdly, for reasons of personal advantage, an ambitious person might decide to stress his links with a particular ancestor at the expense of others. This was especially so in the past when an individual of low rank was hoping to marry someone of higher rank. As a consequence of inter-rank marriage, a person in one rank might well have descent links with people

31. In the past aristocrats, in particular, sometimes attempted to restrict claims on an estate by means of abortion (maunjang anak) or infanticide (King, 1976c:195).

of another rank. The tendency was to allow links with lower ranks to lapse and emphasize genealogical connexions with higher ranks. Fourthly, since an individual belonged to many kapulungan he could not possibly remember nor maintain ties with all of them. Over time a given individual might co-operate with different people from different kapulungan in different farming areas. For example, in an extreme case a banua couple in Belimbis, who were residing in the wife's parents' village, were farming three plots of land in 1972-3. Rights to use these came through three different descent lines - for one field from the wife's maternal great-grandfather, for another from the wife's paternal great-grandfather, and for the third plot from the husband's father. Therefore, a given ego often shared rights with some individuals in one estate and with other individuals in another estate. Ego, then, might find difficulty in deciding whether to join in a dispute with other kapulungan members against outsiders involving the property of one of his kapulungan. Even those who did engage in the dispute did not share equally in the fruits or losses of any settlement.

Some kapulungan did not bear the name of the ancestor who founded the estate. In some cases this was forgotten, though samagat and some pabiring and ulun mam normally attached an ancestral name to particular property because they kept detailed genealogies. Among banua a person might indicate, on occasion, that he had rights in land originally cleared by a named ancestor. But more frequently he asserted a link with the present custodian or someone in the immediate genealogical levels above the custodian. I noted that among banua, in particular, there was more interest in the lateral spread of kinship connexions than in in-depth genealogical ties. For banua, kapulungan were defined not so much by reference to vertical lines, but in terms of kinsmen traced laterally outwards. For example, second cousins would not normally be traced through

a common great-grandparent but would be identified as the children of one's parents' first cousins.³²

For the reasons above, I would be wary, in general, of designating the collection of individuals who come together sporadically to activate rights in kapulungan property as 'descent groups'. However, among samagat in particular, and to some extent pabiring and ulun mam, the term might be warranted. Samagat kept genealogies; they had accumulated resources over a long period of time, and regularly practised close inter-marriage which served to reconsolidate kapulungan property.³³ If a samagat married out of a village he (or she) would try and get a child or grandchild to marry back into it. The few samagat households in any village were invariably closely related, co-operating together frequently. Formerly, at least, they also had a common interest in maintaining political power. In practice, samagat in a village would therefore seem to take on the characteristics of a localized corporate descent group. However, especially in the past, I would argue that common interests and co-operation stemmed more from shared rank affiliation and the need to maintain ranks than from common descent. Descent was an expression of and a way of talking about relations of rank and property ownership. I therefore question the utility of a descent ideology in analysing actual Maloh social relations, particularly when this ideology was part of, or more exactly subordinated to an ideology of rank and social inequality. However, this position is in no way designed to understate the role of descent as one mechanism in maintaining a ranking system.

As a result of changes over the last 60 years or so, it is problematical to label all contemporary kapulungan as corporate descent

32. See Hudson (1967:278-9, 372) and Freeman (1961:207) for the same process among the Ma'anyan and Iban respectively.

33. Kemp (1978:66 seq.) has examined the way in which marriage between close cognates in cognatic societies 'can create increasingly corporate social groupings' especially in 'elite' circles.

groups in practice, even for certain samagat. In the past, there were great variations in the amount and kinds of property, especially land, actually controlled by different kapulungan. Aristocratic estates were usually more substantial than those of pabiring and banua, though some pabiring might also claim rights in samagat land and use this if no samagat had need of it (mainjamai tana'). As a consequence of samagat inter-village marriage, a large number of samagat households scattered throughout Maloh country shared rights in the same land, but because each household had more than enough land in its own village, there was little pressure on resources. For example, Karurung, the present headman of Nanga Nyabau, had rights in land through his father in at least six villages in the Embaloh that he could remember. He also claimed land rights in two Palin and four Taman villages through his mother. He could also use land through his wife who had inherited rights in land from her father, especially in Nanga Nyabau.

The main reason for substantial samagat land ownership was that formerly aristocrats had the labour resources to open virgin forest, and they could accumulate other property through trade and raiding. However, in a subsistence economy land was not an asset unless one had labour to work it, and with the abolition of slavery and the decline in compulsory labour services, aristocrats were in a predicament. There was no sale of land in my fieldwork villages, and over time large areas of land were gradually transferred from samagat to members of other ranks. For example, former slaves who were freed, still continued to cultivate aristocrats' land, and over time assumed rights over it. Other samagat land which was left fallow for a very long time was cleared and taken over by other ranks. Some virgin forest areas were also still available. More recently aristocrats in Belimbis and Keram turned over some of their land to others for wet rice cultivation and rubber gardens. However, in

general, they retained much of their best land, particularly that near rivers. Again they could not work all of this themselves and in 1972-3 I noted that some land was rented to others for a small rent, usually four to eight gantangs of unhusked rice per annum (see Chapter 6). Overall, this has meant some equalization of rights in land and a declining commitment on the part of aristocrats to the retention of large estates.

In the early 1970s pressure on Maloh land resources was not yet serious, though in certain restricted areas the fallow period between cultivation cycles had been shortened. Disputes over kapulungan land did occur, but because people had many options open to them, these disagreements were limited. Where a plot of land was claimed by two members of the same kapulungan the custodian was called in to resolve the dispute and he (or she) might be aided by the village headman and other elders. The fact that not all the nearby kapulungan members who could have participated in a dispute did so, also argues for a lack of pressure on resources, and again indicates that some kapulungan did not, in practice, develop strongly corporate characteristics. Households were also usually alone responsible for informally selecting and activating rights in the kapulungan land of their members. There was no general meeting of kapulungan members organized by the custodian to parcel out land.

Interestingly some households did not even pass on undivided rights in land for dry rice cultivation. This was particularly so among some banua and those of slave descent. Instead rights were divided amongst one's heirs. There were precedents for this, and it is pertinent that former slaves, in particular, began to assume ownership of land for dry rice cultivation at the same time that rubber gardens were being established in Maloh country. Occupation of rubber land was upwards of 40 years.

Replanting also took place on the same land. When a man wished to plant rubber he sought permission from the custodian. However, once a plantation was set up, individuals considered it as their property and passed it on exclusively to their children.³⁴ Rights in rubber were either divided amongst heirs, if they were resident nearby and could activate these rights, or the child who remained with his (or her) parents inherited the garden en bloc.

This also seems a likely future pattern for the inheritance of wet rice land, but by the time of fieldwork in 1972-3 no paddy land had yet been passed on by Maloh. Wet rice had only been planted in certain areas in the villages of Belimbis, Keram and Benua Martinus for the previous five years or so. As with rubber, continuous use of land may well remove it from the kapulungan inventory and give rise to individual ownership. This contrasts with rice cultivated on a shifting basis which can provide a reasonable number of kapulungan members with the opportunity to use a particular tract of land.³⁵

What I am arguing is that, on balance, changes in crop cultivation and a decline in samagat land-holding seem to work against the formation and maintenance of descent groups.³⁶ The other forms of kapulungan property such as fruit trees were less important than land; and heirlooms and long-house support posts have declined very appreciably in significance.

Fruit from trees provided variety to the Maloh diet. It could also be exchanged or sold locally. Generally Maloh did not deliberately plant

34. See Geddes (1954a:61-2) for the same situation among the Bidayuh.

35. See Morris on this point (1953:72) in his discussion of permanent sago cultivation among the Melanau.

36. Hudson noted a degeneration of the Ma'anyan descent group structure with 'modernization' (1967:367-8, 443-51).

fruit trees. These usually sprung up near farm-huts and field-houses where the occupants had dropped fruit seeds; or fruit trees were claimed when an individual came across them growing naturally in the forest. Households, however, did set out small gardens in the vicinity of their dwelling to plant vegetables and fruit such as banana and papaya. Fruit trees were useful indicators of former village, farm-hut and field-house sites. An individual could often determine the general area in which he had land rights if he knew where his parents' or grandparents' fruit trees were located.

Again, ideally all the descendants of a particular person who planted or claimed trees had the right to collect fruit. But various factors limited the number of people who harvested the fruit. For instance, individuals farming in a particular area usually picked fruit there, and it was taken on a piecemeal basis as it ripened. It was not seen as a scarce good; individuals were happy to share their fruit with others. There was no regulation which stated that produce had necessarily to be divided amongst various kapulungan members in fixed proportions. It was also difficult to prevent outsiders from picking fruit from one's trees, particularly when they were located in deep secondary forest. Iban were notorious for taking fruit illicitly from Maloh trees.

Species of non-fruit bearing trees, which were nevertheless part of the kapulungan estate, were the lalau or honey trees (akat madu). These tall trees were favourite nesting places for the honey bee (muanyi). If a person found a lalau he usually cleared the undergrowth around it and fenced it off. As with fruit trees, it was up to kapulungan members to activate their rights by collecting the produce. Normally a party of men would go honey-collecting and share the produce equally, with a bonus

for the climber who risked his life ascending the immense trees at night. Honey was eaten as a sweetener with boiled roots; beeswax was used for sealing canoes, staining wood and candle-making.

In the past, households often accumulated a quantity of objects - gongs, jars, plates, brassware - some of which were divided between a married couple's children. These divisible items were the main source of bridewealth and adat payments. Only a few valued items were kept as kapulungan property. Over time these often acquired magical properties associated with ancestral spirits. They were never used in bridewealth or other payments unless absolutely necessary. If presented with offerings they could bestow health and good fortune on the descendants of the original owner, but as far as I could ascertain the objects were never the focus of an ancestral cult as such. The custodian of the heirlooms or pusaka might make offerings, but this was not an occasion for the gathering of a significant segment of kapulungan members. A few residentially close households might also present gifts to the pusaka from time to time, but these occasions did not necessarily coincide with those of the custodian. Certain objects such as special naga jars could also be given offerings in village-wide ceremonies such as the ceremonial inception of a new long-house.

A large number of the pusaka have gradually been disposed of by sale or barter in exchange for modern consumer goods. Certainly the divisible property always served as a means of storing wealth which could be converted into other goods such as rice or money should the need arise. The decline in traditional religion in the Embaloh and Leboyan has also meant that many of the sacred kapulungan objects have disappeared. This process accelerated with the increasing availability of radios, outboard motors and other goods. When kapulungan property was disposed of theoretically the proceeds were divided between all members prepared to

activate their rights in it. But the custodian often got the lion's share, and occasionally sold objects and pocketed the gains himself.

In the Palin, which has been less influenced by missionary activity, some very valuable objects still remained in 1972-3. The quantity did not compare with the wealth of objects which Enthoven reported there in the 1890s (1903:60). Even Palin people had succumbed to the temptations of modern goods. Interestingly Enthoven visited the headman of Nanga Nyabau and saw there a valuable jar called 'surat Lakian' ('naga design'), which was said to be valued at 8,000 Malay dollars. In the same household he counted ten additional jars, 60 large gongs, a number of small ones and four cannon, which were together worth well above 20,000 dollars (ibid.:69). I found the 'surat Lakian' in the household of the samagat Kampong in 1973, and it was still considered to have magical properties. Much of the remaining property had disappeared.

Formerly, samagat owned most of the valuable items and this property enhanced the sacred status of aristocrats, and contributed to the corporate characteristics of their kapulungan. These items were not only a focus of samagat interest but were also of concern to the whole village since the health and fortune of the upper class was thought to be linked to the general well-being of the village. The disappearance of much of this property has led to a decrease in samagat sacred status and the removal of one of the *raison d'être* of kapulungan.

The last items of the kapulungan estate were the large ironwood supports of the long-house situated along the gallery of the house. Other posts at the front (pakayu dapan) and back (pakayu balakang) of the house were smaller, and not part of kapulungan estates. Special ceremonies were associated with the erection of the main posts, and formerly a slave was sacrificed and the head placed in one of the holes for the headman's

posts.³⁷ Some, but not all of the ironwood posts were believed to be inhabited by named spirits (antu pakayu) which guarded the house and revealed themselves to humans in dreams (mui). Those of the samagat posts were considered the most powerful. They were not ancestral spirits.

The disappearance of long-houses in the Embaloh has meant that these posts no longer formed part of the estate, and the spirits inhabiting them were not given offerings. Some of these posts were still standing in the vicinity of Embaloh villages, and near Belimbis, for example, four samagat posts, called Donga, Sunti, Soa and Marai'i, were hidden in the forest some 30 metres from the present dwellings.

While houses were occupied, the posts were periodically presented with offerings by the respective toa kapulungan to ensure that the apartments in question remained 'cool'. Again offerings were not provided in the context of a specific kapulungan ceremony. However, the samagat posts, like their heirlooms were a village focus. Even when the house was rebuilt no one was allowed to tamper with or remove these pakayu, and the headman could fine anyone who did so.

Pakayu continued to be included in kapulungan estates in the long-houses of Nanga Nyabau and Ukit-Ukit. But in Ukit-Ukit where Catholicism was strong, villagers did not present offerings to house posts. In the more traditional Nanga Nyabau, pakayu, especially those of the headman, were still a focus of ritual interest. Several of the main posts had small offering trays suspended from them.

Overall I would argue that Maloh kapulungan were, in ideal terms, descent categories which, under certain conditions, gave rise, in practice,

37. After the abolition of slavery and human sacrifice animals were used as sacrificial substitutes and sometimes heirloom beads (manik sarung) were dropped into the house-post holes.

to localized corporate descent groups. An understanding of the structure of kapulungan demands both an historical perspective, and attention to the relationship between descent and rank. In the past, and arising from considerations of rank, samagat kapulungan did exhibit corporate characteristics, and so probably did some of those of pabiring and ulun mam. This supports Schneider's contention that 'house owning groups' or core households in a village may, in certain cases, be designated 'descent groups'. On the other hand, I am reluctant to label all descent units, in practice, in traditional Maloh society as corporate descent groups. In any case, by the very nature of cognatic descent it is often difficult for descent groups to emerge given an absence of closure rules and the multiple membership of descent categories for a given individual. More recently with the decline in long-house domicile, traditional religion, heirloom property and aristocratic monopoly of political office, and with the introduction of new crops and a diminution of samagat land-holdings, the number of corporate kapulungan and their degree of corporateness appear to be decreasing.

f. Marriage

I have already indicated the close connexion between rank and marriage both in maintaining ranks through rank endogamy and the use of rank symbols, and also in aiding social mobility through inter-rank marriage.

In the early 1970s the ability to choose one's marriage partner though increasing was still restricted to a degree by parental control, particularly over daughters. This partly explains the significant number of marriages contracted within ranks up to 1972-3.³⁸ Most children

38. The former practice of marriage arrangements being made by two sets of parents before their children were born to them, or while the mother was pregnant (sitaju ilam unting), no longer pertained in the early 1970s.

were still economically dependent on their parents, although usually parents were not unsympathetic to their children's desires. Some young people went against their parents' wishes, but these were mainly sons who had employment opportunities outside farming. A classic case was a young educated samagat tutu from Benua Martinus who opposed what he called Maloh 'feudalism'. He had a government job and defied his parents and married a banua woman without paying bridewealth. Many young Maloh felt that bridewealth should be abolished. The Catholic church had also set itself against this institution and arranged marriage, refusing to marry a couple if there was evidence of parental compulsion. Of course, much deception went on, and this was evident from the prior marriage negotiations which I witnessed.

An important circumstance often resulting in parental intervention to force a marriage was that of pre-marital pregnancy (bunting lawan). In general, Maloh still had casual attitudes towards pre-marital sexual liaisons, and this partly stemmed from their belief that conception required frequent intercourse. An institutionalized occasion for courting was that in which bachelors visited unmarried girls in their apartments at night (mainjami). Visits were carried out with the full knowledge and consent of the girl's parents, and frequent visiting by one youth might lead to the parents' expectation that a marriage could be forthcoming (provided they approved of the youth). Intercourse was not an automatic result of mainjami; this occurred only if the girl consented. Meetings between a young couple might also take place during the day in a secluded spot in the forest. Very rarely did members of the opposite sex touch each other affectionately or intimately in public, though flirting was a common sign of physical attraction. Relationships were generally considered to be best carried out in private.

In the 1970 Embaloh adat conference it was ruled that mainjami be abandoned. It was considered a 'primitive' custom out of step with Christian mores. The 'new adat' tried to discourage it by introducing a fine payable to the headman of Rp 1,500. On the evidence the threat of a fine had had very little deterrent effect in 1972-3, because mainjami was still widely practised.

If a single girl became pregnant her parents usually managed to arrange a marriage because, in most cases, the youth responsible was well-known. Pre-marital pregnancy was also considered a possible harbinger of misfortune such as crop failure or sickness. Even Catholics frequently sacrificed a chicken to appease harmful spirits. If a husband was not forthcoming, particularly if the girl refused to name the guilty youth, the parents might expect incest. In these cases a large sacrifice was required and various taboos surrounded the girl. For example, she was not allowed to enter another household's farm-hut, canoe or dwelling on pain of a fine (manitang).

I observed different stages in three marriages - one in the Palin at Nanga Nyabau and two in the Embaloh. In each of the Embaloh marriages there was both a church and a 'village' ceremony. In all three, pre-marriage negotiations were conducted between the two households which were party to the marriage. Representatives of the prospective bridegroom had to make a formal request for the bride's hand. A delegation of close relatives of the groom, excluding his parents, went to the girl's parents to ascertain whether the girl was free to marry and whether they approved of the match. If there was agreement then there was a preliminary discussion of the demands and wishes of the two households involved with the aim of broadly settling any differences which might exist.

In discussions in Nanga Nyabau the important issue was the relative

standing of the two prospective spouses in terms of their wealth and rank. The marriage involved a pabiring male from Sungai Ulu' and a banua woman from Nanga Nyabau. The resolution of the rank status of the individuals concerned largely determined the amount of bridewealth payable. In a discussion lasting some three hours both sides attempted to recall their ancestral descent lines to justify the marriage and the level of bridewealth they were demanding. There was a good deal of accusation and counter-accusation as the two parties selected certain descent lines at the expense of others. There was disagreement about the names of ancestors, their genealogical sequence, rank and other factors such as their political offices or other positions they had occupied. It was noticeable that representatives from the woman's side attempted to assert links with various pabiring ancestors, and the man's party tried to deny these.

After preliminary agreement had been reached there was a discussion of the possible timing of the bridewealth payments. Very rarely was bridewealth delivered in full at the time of marriage. It was normally phased over a number of years. In this case, the pabiring representatives wanted to defer any payment for at least a year after the marriage ceremony, until bridewealth had been accumulated. This was a perfectly reasonable demand and it was agreed to by the bride's side. The couple could then live together in the bride's parents' household (patindo'). This was still considered as a marriage bound by customary law, but it was not a full marriage (siala tatap) until bridewealth had changed hands.

In the pre-marriage negotiations of the two Embaloh cases which I observed (both of them between individuals of banua rank) there was little discussion of rank, descent or bridewealth levels. Informants said this was no longer necessary after the 1970 adat conference which decided to abolish rank differentials in bridewealth and the additional payments to

'buy rank' in inter-rank marriages. All bridewealth payments, irrespective of rank, were standardized at four kalétau or Rp 6,000.³⁹ In addition, the kalengkong and the bakamlama, which were specific to the pabiring and banua ranks respectively, were no longer to be used as adat payments. These recommendations had not been accepted by Leboyan and Palin people. Obviously this ruling meant that it would be of much less concern for Embaloh people to determine an individual's rank and bridewealth levels. Unfortunately I did not witness any pre-marriage negotiations in the Embaloh involving samagat or inter-rank marriages, so I cannot say whether discussion of rank and related matters was still important in these cases.

In all three of my fieldwork cases attention was paid to the question of post-marital residence, and in each, uxori-local residence was eventually adopted and the husband had to complete a period of bride-service for his wife's parents. Furthermore, in each case the day of the engagement (panaju) was arranged and the agreements sealed by the chewing of betel quids (paminangan). I observed the engagement ceremonies in the three case-studies, but I only attended the two Embaloh wedding ceremonies. The Palin marriage took place after my departure. On average the engagement ceremony was conducted some two months after the paminangan. The two Embaloh marriages were contracted between individuals from the same village. Again close relatives of the two parties concerned attended, and also the two sets of parents, but not the prospective bride and groom. The atmosphere of the two meetings was informal. The Nanga Nyabau ceremony involved two different villages and there a delegation from the

39. In 1952 one kalétau became equivalent to Rp 1,500, a garantung rá equalled Rp 750, a garantung rá lolóé Rp 600, a kalengkong Rp 450 and a bakamlama Rp 300.

prospective groom's village of Sungai Ulu' arrived by boat. The representatives comprised the groom's parents, two paternal uncles, the groom's eldest brother, a first cousin, and two unrelated but respected men in the village. They were greeted formally and given food, drink, betel and cigarettes before the proceedings got under way. This etiquette was not observed in the two Embaloh cases.

As far as I could ascertain it was not specified which individuals should make up the two parties to the meeting, other than that the two sets of parents should attend with some close relatives. Nor was it compulsory for certain categories of kinsmen to be present. It was customary for the groom's party to go to the bride's household, but normally in inter-rank marriages delegates from the lower rank would be expected to go to the higher ranking household, irrespective of whether the marriageable individual from the high rank was male or female. In the case of the pabiring groom from Sungai Ulu', his household was considered to be relatively poor and it was decided that the custom be waived. In the Embaloh it was no longer observed anyway.

Engagement gifts were transferred from the prospective groom's side to the representatives of the future bride. In the Palin there were two kinds of gift - first, items of traditional clothing such as the short skirt with a central band of beads (kain lekok), a beaded jacket (sapé manik) and a headband decorated with gold thread (datulu rombé amas); second, two bead bracelets made of valuable beads such as the lozenge-shaped red bead called manik tolang tanjung and the spherical red bead (manik kasa'/manik sarung), and also a bead necklace (kalung manik). The girl's side in turn delivered a bead bracelet. The bead adornments were symbolic of long life and instrumental in binding the two people together. The gifts were presented on a brass tray (par) lined with a bed of rice, a

symbol of fertility. In the two Embaloh ceremonies silver rings were exchanged, and in one case the groom's side presented a pair of gold earrings. No traditional adornments were transferred. I was told that in the Palin a samagat engagement would have ideally involved the exchange of finely-made and expensive items of female clothing. However, in the Embaloh it was apparently forbidden for samagat to display ostentatious gifts, although my aristocratic informants claimed that it was appropriate for them to offer engagement gifts in line with their high rank.

In all three cases the engagement ceremony was a formal expression of the positive intentions and promises of all concerned for the forthcoming wedding. At this time the wedding date was fixed. This set into motion certain legal sanctions if either side reneged on the agreement. The intended couple could no longer associate intimately with members of the opposite sex.

The engagement can last for anything from two months up to one year. Both Embaloh weddings were held soon after the panaju in March 1973, shortly after the rice harvest. I was informed that the number of guests invited, the amount of food and drink supplied and the duration of the festivities depended on the wealth of the households concerned. In the past samagat weddings were expected to be impressive ceremonies, and Palin aristocrats still tried to conform to this ideal. In the Embaloh I was told that these differentials had been largely eliminated. The increase in church weddings had had a levelling effect on the scale and length of marriage ceremonies. Most 'village' ceremonies lasted about the same time, though more wealthy (not necessarily samagat) households would attempt to supply a lavish feast. In the past, one of the main indicators of rank in marriage rituals was the amount and type of bridwealth. However, in the Embaloh these differentials had been abolished, and although

they still existed in the Palin and Leboyan, their symbolic efficacy had gradually diminished with the increasing use of cash for bridewealth. In the Embaloh Rp 6,000 was the standard payment. In the Palin and Leboyan the distinctions were as follows:-

- Samagat marriage - 4 kalétau or Rp 6,000
- Pabiring marriage - 2 kalétau or Rp 3,000
- Banua marriage - 1 kalétau or Rp 1,500

If a banua wished to 'buy' samagat rank he still had to find an additional Rp 12,000 (i.e. 8 kalétau); if a pabiring wanted to marry a samagat, or a banua marry a pabiring, this required a further Rp 6,000. As a consequence of the scarcity of traditional items of bridewealth such as gongs and jars, money payments were fairly common in all three Maloh areas.

In the two Embaloh weddings a short church ceremony, performed in the morning by the priest with guests from both bride's and groom's sides, was followed by festivities in the village, commencing in the afternoon and lasting until late into the night. This latter consisted largely of eating, drinking, dancing and singing, but in both weddings a ceremony took place which had links with traditional Maloh marriage rites. Before the feasting began in earnest, the bride and groom were seated on a raised wooden dais with their feet on a whetstone. Formerly, two gongs would have been used for the dais. The bride sat on the left of the groom. Then two old people, who had been materially successful and had had many children, conducted a small rite called manjarati ikat (lit.: 'to tie the cords'). The old man addressed himself to the bride, and the old woman faced the groom. Four beads on a plate of rice, and a bowl of coconut oil (inyak) were placed before them. The old man took a bush-knife (basi) and bit the blade. The old woman did likewise. Then the man placed the blade on the forehead and chest of the bride who, in turn, bit the blade. The old woman and the groom followed suit. Coconut oil was rubbed on the

chests of the young couple, and a little rice placed on their heads. Finally, the beads were tied to their wrists using tough fibrous cords (tali tanang). Two lozenge-shaped 'male' beads were tied, one each, to the right wrists of the bride and groom, and two spherical 'female' beads were fastened to their left wrists.

These procedures and ritual items were to ensure either long life (beads, fibrous cords, biting and touching iron, sitting on a gong, placing feet on a whetstone) or fertility (rice and coconut oil). The tying of beads also symbolized the binding together of male and female. The ritual processes, the objects used and their meanings were described and explained in chants delivered by the old man and woman during the ceremony. After the rite the bridewealth was transferred. In both cases the amount (Rp 6,000) was paid in full. The couples were then considered married.

For the Palin I had to rely on verbal descriptions of the marriage ceremony since I did not observe one. I was told that the bride's household supplied the bulk of the food and drink for the festivities, but that all invited guests were expected to bring small amounts of refreshments with them. Larger portions were normally given by co-resident close kinsmen, and some of these and certain other fellow villagers helped in the preparations. This pattern was followed in the Embaloh.

Other than the bridewealth and possibly the scale of the feasting, there were no specific procedures or ritual items which differentiated individuals by rank. On the day of the wedding the groom's party went to the girl's village by river, if the prospective partners lived in different villages. If the bridewealth was in kind, and certain items were to be given over that day, they would be carried in the groom's boat (mántat kéningko). The boat was adorned with dried palm leaf decorations

(tanduk tuak) and small red and yellow flags (també daun unti).⁴⁰ In the centre of the boat a large pennant (també laki, lit.: 'the husband's flag') was placed, coloured black and edged with red, yellow and white material. Formerly, samagat canoes were painted with designs appropriate to the husband's rank, but this practice had apparently been discontinued. A marriage between two people of the same village would not, of course, demand this elaborate transport. Guests from other villages also came in decorated boats or on foot.

Any guests who arrived had to be greeted at the long-house ladder and served with rice wine. That evening there would be feasting and a special ceremony called jantang tali. This was still performed in the Leboyan, though not in the Embaloh. Several lengths of material (tali), normally used for male ceremonial loincloths, were stretched across the covered long-house gallery between the door of each apartment and the fencing at the outer edge of the gallery. A respected elder took a plate of rice and slowly walked from the upstream to the downstream end of the house. All the women stood in a line along the gallery to his left, and the men in a line to his right. At each apartment the man paused, accepted a little rice wine from its occupants, threw a handful of rice in the air (mamborang baras), and then undid the tali. This rite signified that each household was in full accord with the marriage and prepared to participate in the ceremony.

The following morning the manjarati ikat was performed, as I have described it for the Embaloh, and in the afternoon a pig or goat, or perhaps a cow was provided by the bride's parents and sacrificed. Blessings were asked from the ancestors of the bride and groom, and from

40. Apparently red and yellow flags were flown irrespective of rank, whereas formerly yellow was an aristocratic colour and red a banua colour.

Maloh deities of the sun, moon and stars, and Sangyang Burong. Finally, the bridewealth was formally transferred to complete the contract, and feasting lasted into the night. At this time the bride and groom were allowed to sleep together and acknowledged as married.

In terms of the bridewealth and pre-marriage discussions in the Palin there were still some distinctions based on rank. From interview material this differentiation would also seem to hold for the Leboyan. Nevertheless, the increasing use of money for bridewealth has considerably undermined the formerly marked symbolic differences between ranks. In the Embaloh discrimination in bridewealth has been abolished altogether and church weddings have become popular.

It remains to examine material relating to marriage and post-marital residence in relation to rank, although my statistical data cover not only recent marriages but those contracted up to about 40 or more years ago (i.e. the 1930s). In other words the statistics have been derived from all the marriages contracted by all the married or formerly married individuals in my household survey. I took information on 175 first marriages distributed between households of different ranks. Of the 175 marriages, 26 (about 14.86%) were inter-rank contracts (Nanga Nyabau 9; Ukit-Ukit 4; Keram 5; Belimbis 8). This figure would have been higher if I could have determined exactly the number of marriages between members of former slave households and those of other ranks. I did estimate that there had been about 16 marriages between slaves and others which would increase inter-strata unions to approximately 42 instances (24%).⁴¹ Of the 26 inter-rank marriages eight were between samagat and pabiring, and

41. Among Uma Bawang Kayan cross-strata marriages (including those of slaves) comprised 29% of the sample (Rousseau, 1979:220-1), while in contrast to both Kayan and Maloh, stratum exogamous marriages among the Melanau, who had been subject to dramatic change, were about 50% of the marriages in the sample (Morris, 1953:61).

18 between pabiring and banua. Despite a not inconsiderable number of inter-rank marriages these were all contracted between members of adjacent ranks. There were no cases of samagat-banua unions in the sample, though I did come across isolated examples in other villages. It seems likely that cross-strata marriages are destined to increase, but to date the ideal of rank endogamy was followed in about 85% (149) of the cases. However, of the 26 inter-rank marriages 19 of them were between people who were below 40 years of age in 1972-3 (i.e. they were the more recent marriages). The number of rank endogamous marriages were distributed between ranks and villages as follows:

TABLE VIII NUMBER OF RANK ENDOGAMOUS MARRIAGES BY RANK AND VILLAGE

	Number of Marriages			Total
	Samagat	Pabiring	Banua	
Nanga Nyabau	2	5	51	58
Ukit-Ukit	2	6	27	35
Keram	2	3	21	26
Belimbis	3	2	25	30
Total	9	16	124	149

In Chapter 4 I noted that the principle of rank endogamy, the number of potential samagat spouses available and considerations of political alliance resulted in samagat usually contracting marriages outside their village. Out of the total 175 marriages, 109 (62.3%) were inter-village unions.⁴² There was, however, some variation between villages (Table IX).

42. This contrasts markedly with Rousseau's Kayan sample in which only 37% of marriages were between spouses of different villages (1978: 84). This indicates the relative isolation of Kayan villages in contrast to those of Maloh.

TABLE IX NUMBER OF INTER- AND INTRA-VILLAGE MARRIAGES BY VILLAGE

	Number of marriages		Total
	Inter-village	Intra-village	
Nanga Nyabau	26 (38.8%)	41 (61.2%)	67
Ukit-Ukit	31 (79.5%)	8 (20.5%)	39
Keram	22 (71%)	9 (29%)	31
Belimbis	30 (79%)	8 (21%)	38
Total	109 (62.3%)	66 (37.7%)	175

Nanga Nyabau came close to the Uma Bawang Kayan percentage of intra-village marriage. Nyabau was the largest village in the sample and so statistically more conducive to contracts within the village itself. More importantly Palin settlements were more isolated one from another than those in the Embaloh and Leboyan, where it was common for young people from different communities to be in close and frequent contact.

Marriage patterns did vary somewhat between ranks. All of the nine rank endogamous samagat marriages were contracted between individuals of two different villages (100%), while 12 out of 16 pabiring (75%) and 70 of the 124 (56.45%) banua marriages were inter-village contracts.⁴³ As one might expect samagat marriages were inter-village unions, while a greater percentage of pabiring and banua individuals found spouses within the village. Nevertheless, with the exception of the banua in Nanga Nyabau, individuals from the banua rank also showed a tendency to marry outside their village, though usually they sought spouses in nearby communities.

43. To avoid complications I have not included inter-rank marriages in these figures. Of the eight samagat-pabiring contracts five were between individuals from different villages, and of the 18 pabiring-banua marriages 13 were inter-village unions.

Secondly, aristocrats clearly preferred to marry close relatives (see Chapter 4). All of the nine rank endogamous samagat marriages were between individuals within the range first to fourth cousins. Of the 16 pabiring marriages 10 (62.5%) fell within this range, while 78 banua marriages (62.9%) were contracted within this kinship circle.

Thirdly, there were no appreciable differences in the age differentials of married couples between the three ranks (see Chapter 4), although samagat couples on average differed slightly more in age than pabiring and banua. The mean age differential in samagat rank endogamous marriages was 5.5 years, while for pabiring it was 5 years, and for banua 5.07 years.

Thus, there were still some slight differences in marriage patterns between samagat and the other two ranks, indicating a certain continuity with traditional Maloh patterns, though there was little significant variation between pabiring and banua. The final area of difference might be in post-marital residence. I noted in Chapter 4 that traditionally some samagat couples, as a result of political and prestige considerations, preferred to contract virilocal marriage.

In 1972-3 there were two types of initial post-marital residence - uxori-local (alau arai'ingé) and viri-local (alau alaki). Having settled in uxori-local residence, for example, which was the most frequent option, the couple might then decide to move to the husband's natal household (molé alaki) or, if viri-local, there might be a shift to uxori-local residence (molé arai'ingé). These last two options were rarely followed. A further possibility, which was more common, was the establishment of independent neolocal residence after a period with one set of parents.

Decisions about the location of initial post-marital residence were normally decided in pre-marriage negotiations, and the two parties were

guided by four main factors. First, the sex of the child was considered. In normal circumstances a male had to complete a period of bride-service for his wife's parents (malola arai'inge), but this could be reduced or dispensed with by the payment of an additional sum as part of the bride-wealth. Parents were usually keen to have a married daughter reside with them because girls were considered more loyal, helpful and home-centred than boys. The second factor was the respective household labour-forces, which were, in turn, partly determined by the number of children successfully raised, their ages and the stage of the household developmental cycle (cf. Whittier, 1978:115). If, for example, a son, who was to be married, was a crucial component of household labour, the parents might want to retain him. Thirdly, the amount of land in which each household had rights would be taken into account. If one set of parents were generously endowed, then the young couple might reside with them.⁴⁴ Fourthly, the rank of the prospective spouses might be important. Some samagat parents still preferred post-marital virilocal residence; it was considered prestigious because more bridewealth was demanded. In inter-rank marriage, a man of lower rank marrying upwards might prefer uxori-local residence. For example, in seven of the eight samagat-pabiring marriages in my sample a lower rank man resided uxori-locally with his samagat wife. Sometimes a samagat household which could not afford a samagat marriage for a son might encourage a lower ranking woman to establish virilocal residence (cf. Whittier, 1978:115). Conversely, a high ranking household which had declined considerably in wealth and political position might be forced to allow a daughter to take up virilocal residence, or a son uxori-local residence.

44. These factors would not apply to such an extent, or sometimes not at all, to mature divorced or widowed people who wished to remarry.

Recent changes affecting post-marital residence have been the decline in long-house domicile, and, to some extent parental control, especially over sons. Junior conjugal pairs could more easily and quickly set up neolocal residence, after residing with one set of parents.

The ultimate reasons underlying the preference for and common practice of both initial, and indeed permanent uxori-local residence are difficult to determine.⁴⁵ It was said that bride-service was a recognition that the male was privileged in being given access to a woman's sexual and reproductive services. A reason voiced by some Maloh was that the strength and affection of the mother-daughter tie meant that daughters stayed close to their parents. However, this 'sentimental' explanation needs to be set in its socio-economic context. The sexual division of labour rendered males more mobile and therefore more able and willing to move than females; males hunted, fished and went off to find paid work and adventure. Formerly, many were silver-smiths. On the other hand, the female anchorage to the home and domestic chores ensured that parents would be cared for in their old age. In a very real sense, the daughter, while still young, was trained as a substitute for the mother to free the latter for productive work in agriculture, and subsequently to assist in key farming operations such as weeding and harvesting.⁴⁶ Of course, difficulties in reaching decisions relating to post-marital residence were lessened when two individuals from the same village married.

45. The Baluy Kayan (Rousseau, 1978:85), Melanau (Morris, 1978:48) and Kajang (de Martinoir, 1974:270), all showed a clear preference for uxori-local residence.

46. Contrast Appell's statement that 'economic factors cannot be considered to effect residence among the Rungus' (1966b:299). He stressed the 'affectionate' mother-daughter tie (ibid.:286-7; cf. Smart, 1971:74).

TABLE X INITIAL POST-MARITAL RESIDENCE BY VILLAGE

	Number of Marriages		Total
	Uxorilocal	Virilocal	
Nanga Nyabau	44 (65.7%)	23 (34.3%)	67
Ukit-Ukit	32 (82.05%)	7 (17.95%)	39
Keram	22 (70.97%)	9 (29.03%)	31
Belimbis	27 (71%)	11 (29%)	38
Total	125 (71.43%)	50 (28.57%)	175

Of the total sample of 175 marriages, there was a clear preference for initial post-marital uxori-local residence (Table X). Initial residence was uxori-local in 125 cases (71.43%), and viri-local in 50 cases (28.57%). There were no recorded instances of initial neolocal residence. Nanga Nyabau was the only village which had a rather high percentage of viri-local marriages. This might be related to the fact that individuals there contracted a higher percentage of intra-village marriages. In Nyabau 17 out of 23 viri-local marriages were within the village, so that the wife was still near her parents and the husband could perform bride-service. The statistics reveal that overall only 28 females initially moved out of their home village on marriage, while 81 males did so.

If we now look at initial post-marital residence by rank we see that the general picture did not change much because in all ranks males were liable to bride-service (Table XI).

A different picture emerged in analysing residential movements after the initial period of post-marital residence. Of the 175 first marriages, 55 of the couples subsequently moved (Nanga Nyabau 17; Ukit-Ukit 12; Keram 14; Belimbis 12) and 120 couples (68.6%) did not move at all. For those who moved the mean number of years for their first period of residence

TABLE XI INITIAL POST-MARITAL RESIDENCE IN RANK ENDOGAMOUS MARRIAGES
BY RANK*

	Number of Marriages		Total
	Uxorilocal	Virilocal	
Samagat	7 (77.77%)	2 (22.22%)	9
Pabiring	11 (68.75%)	5 (31.25%)	16
Banua	88 (71%)	36 (29%)	124
Total	106 (71.14%)	43 (28.86%)	149

* The inter-rank marriages also conformed fairly closely to these figures. Of the samagat-pabiring contracts, seven out of eight (87.5%) were initially uxori-local, and of the pabiring-banua contracts 12 out of 18 (66.66%) were uxori-local.

was 2.3 years. Most couples established neolocal residence after initially residing uxori-locally (39 cases, 70.9%), reflecting the fact that after the completion of bride-service some couples could set up an independent household. The average period of uxori-local residence for the 39 couples was 1.84 years. Out of the 11 viri-local marriages which ended in neo-local domicile, most were the result of the couple initially living with the husband's parents to provide additional but temporary labour. These 11 couples resided viri-locally on average for 3.4 years. Aside from the 50 couples who eventually formed independent households, three more moved from uxori-local to viri-local residence and the remaining two moved in the opposite direction. This small number (five couples) was mainly the result of the fact that at the pre-marriage negotiations it was more or less decided which form of permanent residence was to be adopted and who was to look after the parents in their old age.

TABLE XII RESIDENTIAL LOCATION OF MARRIED COUPLES AND SURVIVING SPOUSES IN 1972-3 BY VILLAGE

	Residential Location			Total
	Uxorilocal	Virilocal	Neolocal	
Nanga Nyabau	34	20	13	67
Ukit-Ukit	22	5	12	39
Keram	12	6	13	31
Belimbis	17	9	12	38
Total	85 (48.6%)	40 (22.9%)	50 (28.6%)	175

The establishment of an independent household did not mean that the couple thereby severed their parental ties and moved to a different village. In the 39 cases of initial uxorilocal marriage, which subsequently became neolocal, 31 of the couples set up their own household in the wife's village, and of these 31, 14 had both sets of parents resident in the same village. Of the remaining eight couples, the majority were anomalous in some way. For example, four couples in Keram were involved with the school, church or government offices in Martinus and had moved closer to their place of work. One other couple had moved to Ukit-Ukit because one of the spouses taught in the Catholic school there. In all the 11 cases of virilocal residence which subsequently became neolocal, the couples remained in the husband's village, but in five of these the parents of the wife also dwelt there. Even after taking into account subsequent movements we find overall that a remarkable number of daughters either established residence in their parents' household and/or in their parents' village. Of the 175 females 136 (77.7%) remained in or close to their parents' household.

Taking subsequent movements by rank in the rank endogamous marriages

we find that samagat and pabiring couples were residentially stable. Only one samagat and one pabiring couple moved after initial post-marital residence. The samagat moved from uxori-local to neolocal residence and the pabiring from uxori-local to viri-local residence. The greatest number of shifts took place among banua (35 uxori-local and 9 viri-local to neolocal; 1 uxori-local to viri-local and 2 viri-local to uxori-local) (Table XIII). Thus, in the early 1970s, there was no clear evidence for a general practice of viri-local residence among samagat. Of the nine samagat couples, two-thirds of them were residing uxori-locally, compared with 62.5% of pabiring and 43.5% of banua couples. This may have been the result of the samagat's declining interest in village headmanship and politics (see Chapter 7) which meant that some sons were no longer urged to remain in the household.

TABLE XIII RESIDENTIAL LOCATION OF MARRIED COUPLES AND FORMERLY MARRIED SPOUSES IN RANK ENDOGAMOUS MARRIAGES IN 1972-3 BY RANK*

	Residential Location			Total
	Uxori-local	Viri-local	Neolocal	
Samagat	6	2	1	9
Pabiring	10	6	0	16
Banua	54	26	44	124
Total	70	34	45	149

* Of the cross-strata marriages, among the eight samagat-pabiring couples one shifted from uxori-local to neolocal, and another from uxori-local to viri-local residence, resulting in 5 uxori-local, 2 viri-local and 1 neolocal. Among the 18 pabiring-banua couples two moved from uxori-local to neolocal and two from viri-local to neolocal residence, resulting in 10 uxori-local, 4 viri-local and 4 neolocal.

g. Divorce

Up to now I have largely been concerned with household recruitment and the formation of relationships based on kinship, descent and marriage. I want to turn briefly to ways in which relations were severed. In my sample 18 individuals (15 women and 3 men) had been divorced (sarakan) from the 16 marriages which had ended in divorce.⁴⁷ Three of the divorced women and two of the divorced men had remarried. Normally in divorce the in-marrying spouse moved out. All 15 of the divorced women were already resident in their parental village or natal household and their husbands had moved out. The level of divorce was not particularly high among Maloh. Only 8.7% of the marriages in the sample had ended in divorce, and of these only one samagat marriage had resulted in a separation, the remainder were banua divorces. This situation contrasted markedly with the high divorce rate among the Baluy Kayan (Rousseau, 1978: 84). An important factor there seems to be the isolation of villages, which in inter-village unions resulted in the in-marrying spouse feeling lonely and ill-at-ease. Among Maloh, especially in the Embaloh and Leboyan, villages were close together and those who moved on marriage could usually keep in touch with their home village.

In cases where there were children to the union, relatives would usually try to keep the marriage together if separation was imminent. Furthermore, those who married in the Catholic church could not divorce, and religious pressure was applied. If the spouses wanted to separate they usually made recourse to village adat. They then went through a village wedding ceremony if they remarried. In these cases the Church register recorded any subsequent union as 'concubinage'.

47. These marriages were taken out of a sample of 184 marriages. The nine additional unions (on top of the 175) were second and third marriages.

In divorce a fine had to be paid to the injured party if it could be determined who was at fault. If the husband was found guilty he had to forfeit the bridewealth and pay a fine of twice the value of the bridewealth. If the wife was at fault she had to return the bridewealth and pay a fine equivalent to the bridewealth. The rationale behind the man's larger fine was that he was the one who took the initiative in seeking a marriage partner.

The majority of divorces (eight) were the result of the husband's desertion for more than two years, usually as a consequence of labour migration. Maloh were ideally monogamous, but married men sometimes took an Iban wife while away in Sarawak. Up to 1952 the adat stated that if a man left his wife to work away and did not return, they remained married. Even after a long absence, the husband's kinsmen could fine the wife for adultery (siukan) if she had sexual relations with another. In 1952 the regulation was changed so that after two years, and provided the husband was not sending 'maintenance payments' to his wife, nor keeping in contact with her, she could seek a divorce and remarry if she wished. She had to return the bridewealth to her husband's household, but no fine was attached to it. I was informed that this alteration in customary law had led to an increase in divorce, but I have no accurate figures to support this statement.

Divorce draws attention to one of the consequences of male mobility in Maloh society, and there were five additional divorces also directly or indirectly related to male mobility. Three were the result of the wife committing adultery while her husband was away from the village. In the other two cases the husband had married into a community at a great distance from his homeland, had been unhappy and returned home. Of the three remaining cases, two were the consequence of personal incompatibility, and the last was the result of a childless union.

h. Partition

Households were also divided by the process of partition (silán tindoan), whereby married children moved out of the parental household to set up an independent residence. One child remained to care for the parents and become the custodian of the kapulungan estate, if there was one. The successors to the parental household were mainly female, following the Maloh preference for post-marital uxorilocal residence.

Of the 69 cases in which the household had been firmly established for a long period of time (i.e. excluding the 50 neolocal households), 47 females remained in the parental household (68.1%). Of these, 26 females were the eldest children in their respective households.⁴⁸ In a further six cases the custodian was also the eldest daughter because older sons had moved out. Taking these 32 instances, then 46.3% of the households had the eldest daughter as the anak panuntui toa. Out of the 22 males permanently resident in the parental household 12 were eldest sons. Thus, there was a clear preference for eldest children to remain as custodians, and especially eldest daughters.

Dividing the figures according to rank the distribution between male and female custodians was roughly the same as the above. Of the seven samagat households, five custodians were female, two male; and six of them were eldest children. There were ten females and three males comprising the 13 pabiring custodians, and eight of these were eldest children. Of the 49 banua households, 32 had female custodians, 17 male, and altogether 21 of these were eldest children.

If a child married out to reside permanently in the household of his (or her) in-laws, then once the marriage seemed stable, usually after the birth of a child, his (or her) parents settled some items of property on

48. Of the 47 cases, 11 had to be daughters because there were no male children.

the couple. However, most of the property came from the parents in whose household they were resident. For the child chosen as custodian he (or she) had to wait until one or both the parents died before inheriting the largest share of the divisible property, though, being resident in the parents' house, he (or she) had access to and use of some of this property. It was the parents' decision when they divided their moveable property, and they tended to hold on to it as long as possible to retain some control over their children.

Finally, there were the children who established neolocal residence. The separation from the parental household and formation of an independent household is what I term 'partition', following Freeman's usage. In the Iban case 'what happens is the division of a bilek into two distinct parts ... each part ... is a completely independent entity, and not merely a constituent segment of some wider corporate group' (1970:41). For the Maloh there was a difference. Partition resulted in the creation of a separate residential unit, and some of the moveable property was ultimately devolved on the young couple by both sets of parents. Nevertheless, the new household might still be linked to the parental households in the context of kapulungan estates. In my sample 50 households were the result of partition, and of these 42 involved the secession of younger children.

i. Conclusions

This somewhat disparate chapter has brought together an immense amount of ethnographic data. It remains to draw out the features of the Maloh household, kinship, descent and marriage which relate specifically to rank. It is particularly noticeable that these characteristics are mainly linked to the status dimension of rank. First, status levels, in the past, were maintained by marriage rules, by the recognition that those

of the same rank (cognates and affines) were kinsmen opposed to others of different 'blood', and by allowing successful and unsuccessful people to move up or down the social scale through marriage. Secondly, traditional status was partly evaluated in terms of features which were part of the sphere of kinship and descent. These included the preservation of long genealogies, social origins, family names, differential bridewealth, the preference for virilocal residence and numerically large households. Finally, the demographic characteristics of rank, cultural rules attached to rank, and political considerations, influenced marriage patterns within ranks (e.g. samagat contraction of close cousin marriage, age differences between spouses, extra-village marriage) and the degree of corporateness of kapulungan.

There was evidence of both continuity and change in the contemporary situation. Up to 1972-3 the greatest number of marriages were still rank endogamous, and samagat attempted to maintain their status by marrying close relatives of the same, or at least an adjacent rank.⁴⁹ They also continued to contract marriages outside the village. In the Palin and Leboyan bridewealth differentials were observed. On the other hand, there were signs that in recent years more marriages were being contracted between ranks, despite the fact that a number of parents still tended to control their offsprings' marriages. The maintenance of status levels through marriage also seems to be endangered by changes in Embaloh adat which have removed rank differences in bridewealth, and therefore an obstacle which stood in the way of cross-strata marriage. There was evidence that some young educated Maloh were dissatisfied with arranged

49. In a recent article on Siamese and Malay society Kemp has pointed to the way in which marriage acts as a 'means of social closure' in the development and consolidation of boundaries between social strata in cognatic societies (1978:63-83).

marriage, and of an increase in church weddings. Even in the Leboyan and Palin the bridewealth symbols of rank and the difficulty of inter-rank marriage were being undermined by the increasing use of money for bridewealth payments.

For the pabiring households of Ukit-Ukit, for example, even the value of enhancing one's status by marrying into samagat circles was questioned. Traditional bases of status evaluation were gradually being replaced by new criteria such as education, white collar employment and new religious offices. However, this was not so much the case in the Palin area, and even in the Embaloh samagat continued to attempt to claim high status by emphasizing their social origins, family names and genealogical connexions. On the other hand, the younger generation was showing less interest in oral tradition, genealogies and the ancient language in which sagas were delivered. This was noticeable among the young Catholic Maloh of the Embaloh and Leboyan who sported Christian names. In the Palin traditional criteria still figured in status evaluation because Christianity and education had not made a significant impact.

With the decline in traditional long-houses and the abolition of slavery, samagat were no longer markedly differentiated in the numerical size of their households. There was an increasing tendency for young married couples to set up independent residence as soon as possible. Furthermore, there was no clear indication that samagat preferred and practised post-marital virilocal residence, nor did aristocratic married couples differ significantly in their ages when compared with other ranks, nor were there noticeable differences in household structure between ranks. A slightly larger household size and a greater percentage of stem families among samagat might indicate that aristocratic parents had

rather more control over their children, who therefore remained for a longer time in the parental household after marriage.

Changes in crops cultivated, the decrease in heirlooms and long-house domicile, and the decline in the economic and political position of samagat also affected the degree of corporateness of samagat kapulungan.

In this chapter I have alluded to some relationships between economic and political factors on the one hand, and kinship, descent and marriage on the other hand, in an examination of rank. For example, particular marriage arrangements were used to keep property and wealth intact among certain samagat households and among the pabiring households in Ukit-Ukit. It remains to look at the economic and political dimensions of Maloh social inequality, particularly in the context of the changing Maloh class structure and evaluations of status.

CHAPTER 6 ECONOMICS AND RANKa. Introduction

In Chapters 2, 3 and 4 two important features of Maloh economic affairs emerged. First, traditional Maloh social strata could be partly defined in economic terms. There were three classes - aristocrats were wealthy in land rights and heirlooms, were entitled to *corvées* and tribute, controlled slaves and did not work in the rice fields; commoners were substantially independent in production and controlled the major part of the product of their labour, but were tied to aristocrats and performed certain duties for them; slaves were owned by aristocrats.

Secondly, I claimed that over the past century the Maloh economy had not changed greatly. In the early 1970s Maloh were still basically subsistence agriculturalists. Their abiding interest was dry rice cultivation, though, of course, certain changes had occurred with the introduction of money and commercial crops such as rubber. The Maloh, to some extent, became involved in a wider Borneo and Indonesian economy, but this was not an entirely new phenomenon since Maloh had traditionally been involved in an extensive trading network. Nevertheless, they were not totally dependent on a commercial crop; debt was not a problem and the availability of money had not resulted in cash values being put on land. There was still considerable exchange and barter in kind. Commercial crops, increasing opportunities for paid work and the availability of a wider range of consumer goods have led to the emergence of a few prosperous Maloh entrepreneurs and some social mobility. However, I have argued that the undermining of the traditional class structure was more particularly related to the Dutch abolition of slavery and compulsory labour services, the establishment of European law and order and the removal of a number of aristocratic political and religious prerogatives,

rather than to changes in the Maloh economy.

As we saw in Chapter 5 aristocrats tried to maintain distinctions between themselves and others by recourse to certain status attributes. Some of them were successful to a degree, but status distinctions also depended on the maintenance of wealth and a particular life-style. Formerly aristocrats did not work with others in agriculture and they were clearly well-to-do. It remains now to examine the Maloh economy and its organization in relation to Maloh rank.

b. Rice Agriculture

(i) Introduction

A whole thesis could be devoted to this topic. I therefore intend to sketch out the main phases of the agricultural cycle and then examine the social organization and economics of rice farming.

The swidden cultivation of dry rice (maruma) constituted the main economic preoccupation of the majority of Maloh, though there was a significant amount of swamp rice grown, and limited experiments with irrigated wet rice. Rice agriculture absorbed the largest proportion of Maloh energies and was a common topic of conversation. The Maloh language was richly endowed with words relating to agriculture, in particular a bewildering number of terms to designate varieties of rice according to place of origin, colour, length of grain, length and width of stalk, taste, length of growing period and shape of ear. The most favoured were the quick-ripening rices such as barok, manjin, maraja and tutung adung, which had been handed down from ancestors.

There were three basic types of rice - glutinous (pulut), used mainly for making rice wine (baram) and cakes, non-glutinous dry rice (asé) and swamp rice (paya). Skill in rice cultivation and the ability

to secure regular surpluses were highly prized. Maloh repeatedly contrasted themselves with their footloose and prodigal Iban neighbours whom they considered to be inferior farmers. A full rice bin ensured physical well-being and gave personal satisfaction. Rice was the main component in every meal, and any scraps left over were fed to domestic animals. The first tasting of the newly harvested crop was an event eagerly awaited. Rice was consumed at all major feasts and was vital in the offerings presented to supernatural beings. Rice surpluses were frequently exchanged for other goods.

Even the diligence and skill of Maloh farmers were sometimes defeated by nature. High winds, heavy rain and flood could destroy a rice crop. Depredations by pests such as wild pigs, monkeys and rodents could leave a household with insufficient rice for the year. Fire was another hazard, sometimes damaging rice stocks stored in a farm-hut or in the house. In times of misfortune a household had to fall back on stocks accumulated from the past year, or exchange goods for rice, or find paid work. If rice was very short some Maloh might have to rely on wild sago and root vegetables such as cassava.

Maloh dependence on rice partly explains the reverence and care with which they cultivated and handled the crop. Natural problems such as bad weather were acknowledged when yields were low, but even these misfortunes were sometimes believed to be caused by supernatural agencies, even by the majority of Catholics. Furthermore, Maloh, like other Borneo agriculturalists, believed that their rice possessed a soul (sumangat asé). Most Catholic Maloh still held to this belief, though in casual conversation they vigorously denied it. They believed that while this spiritual essence resided contentedly in the rice then the crop would flourish. But if the rice soul and the guardian spirits of the rice (antu asé) were angered and they deserted the farm, usually as a result of unthinking and

offensive human behaviour, the rice would almost certainly wither and die, unless appropriate rituals were performed.

A marked difference between Maloh and Iban was that the former farmed comparatively flat or gently undulating land near river-banks (biring batang), whereas Iban cultivated hilly, sloping regions. Maloh recognized broad zones extending outwards from the river. Flat and fertile land (tana'mám) alongside water-courses, particularly on the insides of river meanders, was termed tana'ujung. It was subject to periodic flooding (tana' dasapui danum) and covered by a thick alluvial layer. These areas were sown to varieties of dry rice tolerant of slightly wetter soil conditions. It is said that flooding for one or two days was sufficient to restore soil fertility, though there were risks from farming there. The land liable to erosion in the immediate vicinity of the outside of a river meander (biring kabang) was normally avoided.

Further inland there was an area of slightly higher and gently sloping land (tana' ratán) which ultimately merged into low hill slopes (kaki ukit). The area was 'dry land' (tana' karing), relatively fertile, and sown to dry rice. But in certain especially dry areas (karing ator), the soil was hard, red in colour and subject to leaching. In some limited overfarmed spots there were signs of soil exhaustion and the growth of imperata grass (réa). Both tana' ujung and tana' karing were interspersed with low swamp (tana' paya) covered with coarse grass (mambalang), and used for swamp rice cultivation. No drainage or irrigation was undertaken there.

Areas were also classified according to vegetation cover. Virgin forest (toan) was usually distant from the main village, covering the higher watersheds and the hills at the edge of the flood-plain (tana' rawang bará). After the 1950s virgin forest was rarely cleared by Maloh.

Farms were found in a patchwork around the villages extending outwards to a maximum distance of about 12 kilometres. The vegetation which invaded a farm after the first year's farming was called béléan uma. A small section of the old farm would normally be cleared (manasap béléan uma) and planted to sugar cane (tanaman tebu). Rarely did Maloh farm a field for two years in succession.¹ Vegetation which had been growing over an old farm for three to four years was called timpungan, and for five to six years tana' lolo. The latter was still too young for clearing, but, in certain fertile areas regeneration was faster and this permitted a shorter fallow period. Where land was very dry even ten year old forest might not be ready for farming. Generally Maloh cleared vegetation on the flood-plain after at least an eight to ten year fallow period (tana' toa) (cf. Scheuer, 1932:21). In hilly areas land was left fallow for at least 15 years if possible.

Fertile, low-lying lands have permitted Maloh to establish relatively permanent and concentrated settlements, to respond to the migration into the area of other peoples and to Maloh population growth. However, increasing pressures have led to experiments in wet rice cultivation. Under government guidance Maloh in such villages as Belimbis, Keram and Martinus put down some land to wet rice in the late 1960s. They dug drainage and irrigation channels (parik) with equipment loaned by the government, and planted government-supplied high-yielding varieties of wet rice. The land was used every year. The wet rice plants were about half the height of traditional dry and swamp rice and therefore less susceptible to damage by wind, rain and flood.

1. Contrast the Long Nawang Kenyah who farmed two years in succession and planted cassava in the third year. Land was only left fallow for seven years (Whittier, 1973:90). This might indicate pressure on land resources.

A government agricultural officer resided in Benua Martinus and supervised these experiments, but he did not receive regular wages and spent much of his time cultivating his own rice in a field loaned to him. Maloh were left very much to their own devices. They considered wet rice less tasty and nutritious than dry rice. In threshing, Maloh separated the grain (banyia) from the stalk (érom) by trampling it with their feet, and they maintained that wet rice grains were more difficult to thresh in this way. Some Maloh also claimed that high-yielding rice seeds were not necessarily more productive than their traditional varieties. This was partly the result of problems of water-control in the area, with the incidence of flooding, irregular dry periods and fluctuations in the river level and water-table. For the best results wet rice also required the application of fertilizers and pesticides, and these were seldom available in interior Borneo.²

Wet rice farming had both advantages and disadvantages for Maloh. But many Maloh recognized that demands on their land would not diminish and Clause 33 of the 1970 Embaloh adat conference stated that

It has been suggested to the people that to raise the production of 'padi' in the Embaloh they should be more active in their fields. Because the product from dry fields may no longer be sufficient, places which are favourable are now used for 'sawah' projects, although simple cultivation methods are used.

Wet rice agriculture has mainly been adopted by progressive Maloh. In Martinus two local teachers (of ulun mām rank), two shop-keepers (one

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2. Overall I also found that labour requirements for wet and dry rice cultivation did not differ appreciably. I estimated, for a field of dry rice and one of wet rice in Belimbis, annual labour in-puts of about 78 man-days per acre and 75 man-days per acre respectively. Geddes found that labour expended on two Bidayuh dry rice fields was 46.8 and 102.8 man-days per acre respectively (1954a:68). Freeman had minimum labour requirements on Iban dry farms in secondary forest of 50 man-days per acre and maximum demands in virgin forest of 71 man-days per acre (1970:245-6).

pabiring and one ulun mām) and the educated ex-temenggung (of samagat rank) have all turned over some land to sawah. In Belimbis, the headman (a pabiring) and an ulun mām went on courses to the Agricultural School in Putus Sibau and distributed high-yielding seeds to each household in their village. Some seeds were sown along with swamp rice, but a fairly large area of land was laid out for wet rice cultivation.

(ii) The Agricultural Cycle

Use of Stars

All Maloh, whether Christian or pagan, used the stars to determine the times for commencing the agricultural cycle and sowing (cf. Freeman, 1970:171-2). The most important constellation was the Pleiades (bintang tuju).³ When it appeared on the horizon (biring suan) just before dawn, it was the approximate time to begin the initial rites of the new cultivation cycle. In Nanga Nyabau the headman held a small ceremony on the long-house verandah to ask blessings from the ancestors, the omen birds (burong beo), the spirits of the forest (antu toan) and earth (pari tana'), and Piang Ambong (see below). The ceremony, called balas jasa (lit.: 'repayment for justice'), was also held to thank the samagat for his role in upholding the law and settling village disputes in the past year. Formerly each household presented a gift of rice to the headman, but in Nanga Nyabau gifts were not transferred. The headman provided an offering for the small ceremony from his own resources. In the Embaloh and Leboyan this seasonal rite was no longer performed.

When the Pleiades appeared at its zenith just before dawn (tanga' balunus) dibbling (māsak) and sowing should begin. Maloh said the time was right when a man looked up to see the Pleiades and his hat fell off

3. The Pleiades was sometimes called balunus after the name given to the smallest star in the constellation.

(salaben ajau). However, dibbling could take place any time between tanga' balunus and the arrival of the constellation Orion (bintang talu) at its zenith.

Clearing the Undergrowth (May to June)⁴

Traditionally before clearing the undergrowth with bush-knives (malauang basi) a ceremony had to be held at the aristocratic headman's farm. Bird omens were taken to see whether the site was auspicious and offerings (pamindara) and prayers delivered by the headman to the spirits. Piang Ambong was the most important spirit invoked in agricultural rites. She was described as an old, grey-haired woman, the 'mother of rice', who wore a round sun-hat (saraung) and carried a harvesting basket and knife. She also had dirt or 'sleep' (tai'i mata) in the corners of her eyes. This fell to the ground and became batu karué (guardian stones) which were stored in rice bins to protect the rice grains from harmful influence.

Formerly each adult villager, with the exception of the aristocrats, was obliged to contribute one day's labour to clearing the headman's farm. No other household could start its farm until the opening ceremony had been performed and the corvées offered.

Before the undergrowth was cleared the headman erected an upright bamboo post (talaiyong) to support a small platform on which offerings such as boiled and glutinous rice, eggs, fish, sireh, tobacco and rice cakes, and bamboo containers (lumpung) of rice wine were placed. At this time bush-knives, axes and adzes were rubbed or 'fed' with coconut oil (maumpan basi) to 'strengthen' them before cutting the undergrowth. The following day other samagat entitled to corvées would be granted these for clearing purposes. All villagers then had to wait three days before

4. For a similar cultivation cycle among Kayan see Rousseau (1977:133-45).

clearing could begin in earnest. If anyone attempted to clear their farms before corvées had been contributed to the samagat they were liable to a fine of one gong (garantung rá).

In the early 1970s this ceremony, with its associated corvées, were no longer performed in any of the Maloh villages under study. In all three rivers samagat no longer controlled labour, and they had to clear their farms like everyone else. In the new Embaloh adat the custom of waiting for samagat farms to be cleared was discontinued (as it was in the Leboyan). In contrast Palin people still considered it unwise and inauspicious to commence clearing before aristocratic households had begun on their own farms. Instead of the communal ceremony supervised by the samagat headman, each household could take its own omens, if it so desired, and hold a small ceremony with offerings to Piang Ambong and other spirits. Many Catholics also presented offerings in their fields.

Both men and women, as well as teenage boys and girls, engaged in malauang basi. In tana' toa this process took anything from 20 to 28 days to complete. The duration of clearing depended on the amount and kind of labour employed, the size of the farm, and the age of the vegetation to be cleared. Clearing could be undertaken on a co-operative basis, but I noted in the Palin that a number of households preferred to work alone.

Felling Trees (end of June to July)

Felling large trees (manabang) was a heavy and arduous task and was normally undertaken by males using axes (kapak) and adzes (wasé). There were very few giant trees to clear since Maloh rarely cultivated in virgin forest. Felling took about two to three weeks on average. At this time long grasses in swamp areas were cut down by women in preparation for burning.

Cutting the Branches (end of July to August)

After the vegetation had been cleared, men proceeded to cut away the branches of any sizeable trees (manada' raba tabang). This debris (panada'an) was placed in piles for burning. It is said that the 'cleaning' operation greatly increased the chances of a good burn. It was done while the fallen trees (panabangan) and slashed undergrowth (paumanan) were drying out. If the weather was really dry before the burn, this secondary cutting probably made little difference because the farm would burn well anyway. But if there were rains then cutting branches aided the burn. It also provided a more even distribution of ash. Whereas Maloh were dutiful in this operation, the Baleh Iban were not. According to Freeman 'Such a subsidiary cutting over of the farm is onerous work ... involving long hours of precarious scrambling among tangled and splintered branches, and very few men tackle the job with thoroughness' (1970:77). The Iban task was made even more difficult because, unlike Maloh, they generally farmed in deeper forest where trees were larger and more numerous, and in hilly, steeply sloping terrain.

Firing the Farm (late August-early September)

It was said that if the weather was particularly hot and dry (musin sisiak) after clearing, then firing (manutung una) with bamboo torches (suloh) could be accomplished after two weeks. Maloh always hoped to fire by late August or early September. As September progressed rain became more frequent and Maloh became anxious if the farm was still not dry enough to burn. Firing required households farming adjacent fields to come together and burn their fields at the same time to avoid uncontrolled fires spreading to another's farm.

A good burn was not as crucial for Maloh as it was for Iban. Fertile soils in some Maloh areas reduced the importance of ash as a fertiliser.

Furthermore, one reason Maloh gave for their avoidance of virgin forest was that felled trees and debris there took a long time to dry and therefore risks of a bad burn increased. If Maloh farms burned badly then men and women collected unburnt and semi-burnt material (marapak), placing it in piles at fairly regular intervals (manduruk) for reburning.⁵ This was done even if much of the farm burned well. Maloh stated that the field should be as clean as possible to provide a large planting area and facilitate sowing and weeding. It seemed that only a bad burn would prompt Iban farmers to collect debris for burning (1970:182). I even saw Maloh spread ash by hand (malausi kutuan) as evenly as possible over the surface of the farm, while Freeman noted that for the Iban 'the effort involved in scattering ash over the ground is not deemed to be worthwhile' (ibid.:82).

Sowing (September)

Formerly there was a special rite performed at the farm of the samagat headman before sowing commenced. Like the ceremony prior to clearing the undergrowth, this ritual also involved the delivery of prayers and offerings by the headman. But traditionally there was one further ritual process. Maloh, like the Iban, possessed strains of sacred rice (banyia tutu). Every household had these, but those of the headman were considered the most powerful. They were planted in the centre of the main field (uma tutu). There was no need to make extra ritual sites in any other fields (kambar uma) possessed by a household. In the ceremony at the headman's farm a space (dudukan banyia), about one to two metres square, was carefully cleared for the sacred rice and bounded by bamboo laid on the ground. At the four corners of the square, sharpened bamboo

5. See also Rousseau (1977:141) for the Kayan, and see Miles' comments for the Ngaju (1976:12).

rods (baté tukak) were erected, sloping slightly outwards and supported at their base by small, splayed pieces of wood. Lashed to each baté tukak were hooked pieces of wood (kait). The sharpened 'spears' symbolically protected the sacred rice soul and the hooked kait served to pull or latch on to the rice spirits to prevent them wandering off too far. The sacred rice planted here served as the 'base' or 'support' of all the rice sown on the farm, and its well-being ensured the success of the crop. It was given special offerings.

Formerly, the headman's household, assisted by other villagers, planted this area to sacred rice. It was considered that the condition of this rice had an effect on the rice of all other village households. The banyia tutu were sown and harvested separately, and the seed was stored in a special basket (balansé). These grains often had distinctive colours or shapes. They were passed on from generation to generation and possessed sacred powers which had been accumulated through time by their special treatment and links with the ancestors. Every adult had to contribute one day's labour to the sowing of the fields of the headman and closely related aristocratic households.

In the early 1970s there were no large-scale ceremonies held at the headman's farm prior to sowing, nor corvées performed for aristocrats. Many households possessed sacred rice strains, even some Catholics in the Embaloh and Leboyan. Every household in the Palin village of Nanga Nyabau planted these strains in a central dudukan banyia, and performed their own independent rites. In the Leboyan and Embaloh there was variation. Some households had no sacred rice, no specially demarcated 'seat' for it and performed no rites before sowing; others sowed sacred rice in the centre of their main field with small offerings of cooked rice in packets of woven banana leaves (kolombo); still others performed rituals at their dudukan banyia which included chanting to supernatural beings and the

presentation of offerings.

Maloh decided beforehand the general layout of their fields prior to sowing. Households which had sacred rice usually planted this first. The first ordinary rice to be sown was the 'early' glutinous rice, generally in one strip at the side of the field. Then early-maturing varieties of rice (asé munda) such as duduri and manjin were sown in marked out strips adjacent to that of glutinous rice. Finally the late-maturing rice (asé balaun) was put down in strips next to the asé munda.

The sowing, which commenced sometime in September, was usually completed in about two weeks. In this process there was a sharp sexual division of labour. Males went ahead with a long dibbling stick (asak), making holes (pasakan) as regularly as possible, while the women were responsible for the arduous task of following behind with small baskets (palauan) and dropping seeds into each hole (malauang banyia). Unlike the Iban dibbling system, which tended to be haphazard, Maloh men tried to keep a straight dibbling line within the strips or plots. Each strip (pangorian tatak) was demarcated with pieces of wood (tatak), or a small open space. The men moved up and down the strip keeping the dibbled holes at fairly regular distances apart. Sometimes, if the strip was comparatively wide, the men might move backwards and forwards across it (malaintang) rather than up and down its length. These practices eased the females' task of sowing since holes were regularly spaced and followed set routes. Each strip was usually worked on by one man and one woman. If there was co-operative work, then helpers took separate strips.

After the sowing of the dry rice the swamp and wet rice were transplanted. Swamp and wet rice seeds were sown in small, carefully prepared nursery plots (manyampai) in August and September. The plants were then transferred to the swamps and paddies in late September or October after

the arrival of the heavy rains. The small plants were pressed into the mud by hand. For households cultivating wet rice there was the additional task of repairing the ditches and bunds (galagan) in April and May.

Catch Crops

Maloh, like other swidden agriculturalists, planted a wide range of catch crops in their swiddens. Some, such as cucumber (antimun), were sown with rice in the same dibble holes, while maize (aréré, jagung) and cassava (ubi, maiya') were planted around the edge of the farm. Other vegetables such as sawi (daun sabi), keladi (korok) and chilli (cabé) were scattered throughout the farm, but usually near the sites of the burned piles of debris (duruk). Some catch crops such as sawi and maize were taken before the rice harvest. Sugar cane was planted in a section of the old farm soon after the rice harvest.⁶ Any vegetation which had invaded the farm was cleared and burned. Holes were made with a long, sharp stick (rauk) and a cane root placed in each. Other crops such as maize and beans (ratak) could also be planted in the cane garden. The cane was harvested some 15 months later, but the other crops were taken as they ripened. The sugar cane juice was used for the manufacture of a fermented drink, and the cane was crushed using a manually operated press (paundun tabu).

Weeding (October to December)

An important prerequisite for a good harvest was the thorough weeding of rice plots (Embaloh: mét; Palin: mangauk). The task was generally reserved for females who undertook it with painstaking care. Weeds grew prolifically in swiddens and quickly choked young rice plants. Weeding commenced in October and continued until the rice began to flower.

6. Sugar cane was also an important Bidayuh crop (Geddes, 1954a:64-5).

It was back-breaking work, done by hand with a small bush-knife (anak basi, basi pangauk). To lighten the burden women liked to work in co-operative groupings. In contrast to Maloh diligence, Freeman noted that the Iban weeded in a 'desultory way' and 'At Rumah Nyala one or two farms were weeded with the greatest of care, while others were left either unfinished or only perfunctorily covered' (1970:193). Iban also faced the difficulty of weeding in a hilly terrain obstructed by logs, tree-stumps and sometimes unburnt debris. On the other hand, Maloh farmed flat land which they cleared and burned as best they could, and sowed in a regular fashion. Maloh males too were more willing than their Iban counterparts to participate in weeding should they be required to do so. Finally, Maloh farmed a significant percentage of swamp (and wet) rice land which needed less weeding.

Guarding the Farm

In some cases where fields were near pathways or where predators such as wild pigs were common, men normally surrounded their fields with bamboo fences (pakar uma). Males were also responsible for making bird scares (pangalak) and traps to protect the crop from wild animals. Freeman noted that Iban were expert trap-makers and they devoted much time to guarding the farms from their field- and farm-huts (1970:196-202). In contrast, Maloh made very few traps and did not spend an inordinate amount of time guarding their fields. These differences may have been partly the result of Iban cultivation in or near primary forest where incursions from wild animals were frequent. Maloh farmed in long-settled areas where virgin forest was at a distance and predators limited in number.

Reaping (January to March)

The first of the rice was usually ripe at the end of December. In

1972-3 the harvest was taken in the Embaloh and Leboyan during January and February. In the Palin it continued into March. The harvest normally coincided with a short dry period in the Upper Kapuas when rainfall levels were on average low.

Traditionally, before reaping (matam) there was a ceremony at the samagat headman's farm with offerings and prayers. Then each adult worked for one whole day on the headman's farm harvesting his rice. The following day other aristocratic households entitled to corvées were assisted with the harvest. The ceremony prior to reaping involved the erection of a bamboo pole which supported gifts to the rice soul, rice spirits and Piang Ambong. The pole was decorated with stems of a plant called daun bararan sasait with hooked leaves. These were intended to 'fix' rice spirits so that the harvest would be successful and the spirits remain to watch over the reaping. These rites and the corvées were no longer performed on any samagat farms along the three rivers which I visited.

Most households held their own small ritual before the harvest, though some Embaloh and Leboyan Catholics did not. On the first day of reaping only a small area was worked over and harvested by hand, not with a harvesting knife (anak basi katam).⁷ The ears of rice were individually broken off with the fingers (manganpeut), pounded with a small mortar and pestle, cooked and eaten. This 'first tasting' was accompanied by prayers of thanksgiving to Piang Ambong, the rice soul and spirits, ancestral spirits and any others concerned with agriculture.

After this little rite the main harvest began in earnest. It was undertaken by both men and women, usually in co-operative work groupings, though women comprised the main work force. During January there might well be the chance of a good illipe nut harvest as well. A good crop was on average obtainable every three to four years. If the household had

7. For an illustration of this implement see Freeman (1970:207).

sufficient labour it would tend to divert some of this, normally males, to the gathering of illipe. Maloh, unlike Iban, were cautious about committing labour to other activities during the rice harvest because it was essential to gather in the harvest quickly before the rice over-ripened or succumbed to pests and bad weather.

Maloh had no set ritual pattern for reaping, in contrast to the Iban who progressively harvested rice without interrupting their path from the outside of the field to the sacred rice at the centre of the farm. Maloh harvested rice as it ripened, but because they divided the farm into sections, segregating glutinous, early and late rice, there was normally an order to their reaping. Maloh tended to cut over one strip at a time. Rice from the *dudukan banyia* was gathered separately as it ripened and stored in special baskets, but there was no rite accompanying its harvest.

As the harvest progressed rice was transferred from small harvesting baskets (kataman), which were held by a cord hung over one shoulder and positioned at the waist, to larger baskets (Embaloh: dédétan; Palin: kataman langké) used to carry in the rice from the field (mangkut asé). Transporting rice was a male preserve but I saw women occasionally undertaking this task over short distances.

Threshing

Before threshing (maromok) the rice was dried on a platform (damoran) and stored temporarily in a large bin (amben). Threshing was mainly done by males, but women stood in if men were unavailable. A large frame comprising cross-pieces of rattan with small square holes (Embaloh: pangkat; Palin: bila paromokan) was placed over large mats (alé paromokan). The rice was piled on the frame and men, supporting themselves with stout poles, treaded the rice with their feet. The grains fell through the sieve onto the mat, leaving the waste behind on the frame. Women sifted

the waste with their hands prior to transferring it onto a smaller frame (jaggan) for a second threshing. The jaggan was held at an angle to the floor and the stalks were rubbed by hand over the frame to free any remaining grains. In the Embaloh women did not use a jaggan - it was popular in the Palin - and simply sifted the remaining stalks by hand to free the loose grains (mérani). The stalks were used as fertilizer on vegetable gardens. Sometimes if the harvest was heavy there might be insufficient time to thresh all the rice at once, and some of it was stored in a karangkiang - a round or square fence of bamboo lined with mats on top, bottom and sides. This was built in the house, field-house or long-house apartment.

Winnowing

After threshing the rice grains were placed in baskets (baka) and taken onto the house or long-house verandah. Men slowly poured the rice onto large mats, while women waved winnowing trays (tapan) to create a draught. This action served to separate the empty husks (awang) and half-empty husks (kapé) from the full grains. The waste (ampa' asé) was then collected in winnowing trays by women and winnowed (manop) a second time. Women moved the trays in a quick circular motion and periodically tossed the rice waste in the air to separate any remaining sound grains from the waste. The unhusked rice was then placed on mats and thoroughly dried prior to storage.

Storage

The rice was placed in large bark bins (manaro' di tarinoanen). This was accompanied by a small ritual to nourish the rice soul, rice spirits and the spirits of the guardian stones (batu karué), which were all thought to reside in or near the rice bin. The stones were placed

inside the bins in small baskets. Maloh believed, pagans and Christians alike, that the rice, even after storage, could decrease in quantity 'by itself' if the rice soul and spirits were not looked after. Offerings of cooked rice in woven banana leaves and containers of rice wine were hung on the side of the rice bin.

Prior to storage mats were placed around the floor of the bin to catch any rice which might be dropped. It was not uncommon for Maloh to have rice left over from the previous year and this was either taken out to make room for the new rice and then poured on top of it, or a new bin was made. A number of households had two large bins. These varied in size but on average they measured about 1.5 metres in depth and 2 metres in diameter. When completely full they held about 2,500 gantangs (312.5 bushels) of unhusked rice. Out of the 119 households in my sample, 73 or 61.3 per cent had at least some rice left over from the previous season at the end of the 1972-3 season, and, in a number of these cases households had rice bins half-full.

Pounding the Rice

After storage the rice was pounded (manutuk) by females as it was needed. Women might decide to pound the rice by themselves or work with one or two companions. Pounding was normally done on the long-house verandah or on the ando below it, or on the open verandah of a separate dwelling, or on mats on the ground outside the dwelling. A strong wooden base was used (linsungan), and a long pounding stick. After pounding, the hulled rice (baras) was placed on a tapan tray to separate out the remaining husks. A circular tray with a mesh in its centre (pangayak) was used to divide the sound rice which fell through the mesh from that which needed pounding a second time.

The Harvest Festival

Traditionally at the end of the agricultural year a ceremony was held in the main long-house to thank the deities and spirits for the harvest. This was organized by the aristocratic headman who presented offerings and delivered prayers. There was also dancing, singing and feasting for two or more days. In 1973 a ceremony lasting for one day was held at Nanga Nyabau supervised by the long-house headman, who was a samagat. During this ritual an offering was placed in a tray and hung at the top of the long-house entrance ladder (pamindara'ulu tangka). On the other hand some members of the three other villages which I studied went to a Sunday Harvest Festival held in the church at Benua Martinus. There were no other village-wide rituals.

Summary

Three main conclusions can be drawn from this brief examination of the agricultural cycle. First, there was a broad sexual division of labour in most of the important tasks. But this division was not immutable and depending on the labour resources available, males undertook largely female tasks and vice versa.⁸ Secondly, there was a noticeable decline in the aristocratic monopoly of the ritual sphere of agriculture, and samagat were no longer entitled to corvées. In agricultural rites there had been increasing individualization whereby most large-scale ceremonies had disappeared to be replaced by small rituals performed on a household basis. Thirdly, there were noticeable differences between Maloh and Iban agricultural practices which support statements by earlier observers that Maloh were conscientious and relatively successful rice farmers.

8. Contrast this situation with that of the Iban where the sexual division of labour was supported by various social sanctions (Freeman, 1970:229).

(iii) The Social Organization of Agriculture

There were three main socio-economic units involved in rice agriculture - the basic economic unit was the household, which was largely responsible for the cultivation of its fields and retained for itself the produce obtained from agriculture. The relatively small size of the household was a limiting factor in cultivation - in the size of fields which could be cleared and weeded efficiently, and ultimately in the yields obtainable.⁹ If its fields were nearby a household might live in the main village during the busy periods of the agricultural cycle, contenting itself with the construction of a farm-hut (*kadampé*) near the fields to provide temporary shelter and storage facilities. However, if a household farmed some distance from the village it usually either constructed a sturdy *kadampé* and lived there for the whole season, or joined with others in a small long-house or field-house¹⁰ (*pambutan*) - the second economic unit. The third unit was the ad hoc co-operative work grouping (*suang bár*) based on strictly reciprocal labour exchange between households.¹¹ At certain stages of the farming cycle, especially at sowing, weeding and harvesting, individuals from different households might come together to work co-operatively, but a household was not compelled to send members to *suang bár* if it preferred to work alone.

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9. See also the Iban (Freeman, 1970:171-218) and the Kenyah (Whittier, 1973:90-8).
 10. See for the same sort of structure the Iban *dampa* (Freeman, 1970:161-70), the Bidayuh *plaman* (Geddes, 1954a:10), the Kayan *pura* (Rousseau, 1978:80) and the Kenyah *tudo* or *lubong petok* (Whittier, 1978:106-8, 121).
 11. This institution was also found among the Iban (*bedurok*) (Freeman, 1970:234-8), the Ma'anyan (*panganrau*) (Hudson, 1967:311-16), the Kenyah (*semunyun*) (Whittier, 1978:108-9) and the Kayan (Rousseau, 1974:124-6).

With the abolition of slavery and corvées, aristocratic households had to work in their fields like anyone else. They began to be drawn into co-operative work groupings which were organized on an egalitarian principle of strict reciprocity. Thus, the important criterion of class differentiation and maintenance in the past (i.e. control over labour), which distinguished samagat households from others, was removed. Samagat became 'manual workers' and agriculturalists.

The former class divisions were also related to particular lifestyles and status because, in the past, samagat did not work with commoners in the fields. Nevertheless, as we saw in Chapter 5, samagat still attempted to retain their superiority by emphasizing status distinctions. There were signs of this process in the economic sphere. For example, the samagat households of the headmen of Belimbis and Nanga Nyabau tried, where possible, to avoid participating in the co-operative labour system, though other samagat households in my sample were fully involved in it. The headmen's households in these two villages had constructed their own independent farm-huts and they worked alone. Furthermore, I observed these households being assisted on occasion by one or two members of other village households. I first assumed this to be part of the agricultural co-operative system, only to discover later that the helpers were, in fact, former slaves, and were offering labour on a non-reciprocal basis. This was not a compulsory practice and very little labour was involved. When the samagat households needed occasional assistance, some of their former slaves were prepared to give it, in recognition of the traditional links of dependence between them; and with the expectation that the 'slaves' could call on aristocratic help in other ways in the future, if they should require it. There was no help forthcoming for the other samagat households in these two villages, nor were any samagat in Keram and Ukit-Ukit assisted in this way.

Let us now look in more detail at the principles underlying field-house and co-operative work organization. Field-houses were forbidden in 1972-3 in the Embaloh because of the military curfew, but they were still found in the Leboyan and Palin (see Chapter 3). I studied those in Nanga Nyabau in 1973. Out of the 41 households in the village, 35 were dwelling in ten pambutan. These ten field-houses ranged in size from two to seven households with an average of 3.5 households per pambutan.

I would argue that the Maloh field-house was primarily a residential and not a kinship unit (cf. Rousseau, 1974:308, 314-26; 1978:88). In practice, the situation was complicated because there were close kin ties between at least some of the pambutan residents. Nevertheless, people, when deciding on those with whom they wished to construct a field-house, did not base their decisions solely or even primarily on kinship. Rather considerations of proximity and convenience, and to a certain extent rank, determined field-house organization along with kinship. If certain households happened to be farming in the same general area they might agree to live in the same pambutan. One did not need to be a close kinsman of other pambutan members to qualify for field-house membership, nor did a given individual choose to farm a particular site merely because he would have kinsmen farming in adjacent areas, or possibly dwelling with him in a pambutan. The choice of farm sites, which was itself related to pambutan membership, was determined by a number of factors. How long ago had the site been used? Did anyone else wish to farm it that particular year? Where was it in relation to one's present farm and the main village? Was the land there likely to produce a good yield? In other words sites were decided on the basis of locational and economic considerations more than on kinship relations.¹²

12. Descent from an ancestor gave individuals rights in land, but the fact that people farming close together were sometimes related did not adequately explain decisions relating to the choice of farm-sites and pambutan membership.

Furthermore, the decisions to join a pambutan were themselves partly a product of the prior decisions on farm location and on convenience. In addition, in the past, field-houses were built partly because of defensive needs. In fact, in the early 1970s some households decided not to join a field-house but to live independently. There was no compulsion on any individual to attach himself (or herself) to a pambutan.

Social intercourse between field-house members was intense and this social unit to some extent shaped work-team membership in Nanga Nyabau. But residence in a pambutan was never permanent. The very nature of swidden cultivation meant that households were forever changing their residential location and were subsequently brought into other relationships elsewhere. Out of the 35 households in pambutan in Nanga Nyabau in 1972-3, 15 of them had been residing in a different dwelling with different people in 1971-2. Hence, social interaction centred on a field-house was not a basis for the formation of enduring social groupings. At the end of the agricultural year pambutan dwellers would also return to the main village for two months or so to clean and repair their village dwellings, take part in marriages and funerals and sort out village-wide matters such as legal disputes.

My analysis of pambutan membership suggests that there was a slight preference for sharing a field-house with a sibling of either the senior husband and wife in the household in question. Apart from that, I found household members in pambutan related through first, second, third, fourth and fifth cousin ties, or not related at all. Rank complicated these residence decisions. As I have said, for status reasons the samagat headman's household in Nanga Nyabau chose to live separately from others. Other high-ranking households tended to share pambutan. One of the two remaining samagat households in Nyabau lived in a field-house with two pabiring households. The senior male in the aristocratic household was

a pabiring and he was the brother-in-law of a woman in one of the pabiring households, and also a third cousin of both this woman and her pabiring sister in the third household in the pambutan. The third aristocratic household in Nyabau lived in a field-house with a samagat household from the nearby village of Tanjung Karaja. Finally, the two other pabiring households in Nyabau lived together in another pambutan; they were linked by a sibling tie between the two senior females in the respective households.

Although the sharing of pambutan guided the formation of co-operative work groupings, it did not completely determine it. There were examples of some Nyabau households living in the same field-house but either working independently of other members, or co-operating with individuals from nearby pambutan or farm-huts.¹³ Co-operative work-groupings, like field-houses, were not generated primarily by kinship links. Of course, again an individual might be found working with close kinsmen, and to the extent that relatives might be farming near one another any given work grouping often contained a significant component of kinsmen. But the overriding organizational principle of co-operative work was one of strict reciprocity, which demanded that a day's work be repaid by an equivalent day's work. In this kinsmen were treated like any other individuals. There was no rule that close kin had to co-operate together and no disapproval or sanctions imposed on a household if they wished to farm by themselves. Only in cases of sickness or misfortune would relatives help each other in agriculture without insisting on fairly immediate reciprocity, though over a period of time it would be expected that mutual help between relatives would reach some kind of balance.

13. See also Rousseau on the Kayan (1974:321).

I would also maintain that co-operative work groupings were not a necessary technical requirement of swidden agriculture. In the head-hunting past, co-operation may have been partly related to the need for security and protection while distant from the main village. In the 1970s it seemed to stem, in part, from a social desire to work with others, in that in arduous and often tedious work such as sowing and weeding, it was pleasant to have companions to lighten the burden (cf. Geddes, 1954a:70-3). In purely technical terms it was not always necessary nor did it serve to increase productive efficiency. Maloh individuals working co-operatively did not work harder than those who elected to work by themselves. In fact, the tendency was to chat more and take long breaks, especially in the large groupings comprising more than about 15 individuals. In my experience large co-operative groupings were uncommon among Maloh, perhaps because the people themselves realized that they were not particularly efficient. Also by becoming involved in them a household would have to repay a large number of man-days. This entailed quite detailed and careful planning of available labour services and work schedules. Generally groupings comprised between five and ten members.¹⁴

As with field-houses, co-operative work groupings were not the basis of enduring social groupings. Membership in them changed from occasion to occasion. Man-day calculations were worked out on a household basis so that it was the household which was seen as owing or being owed a certain number of man-days. But the household rarely went en bloc to work on another's farm. Usually it would send one of its number

14. Geddes argued that co-operative work groupings among Bidayuh generally encouraged productive inefficiencies (1954a:172). See similarly Crain on the Lun Dayeh (1978:136). In contrast, Rousseau indicated that Kayan were 'more active' in large co-operative groupings (1974:327).

along, or send two or three of its members to join different work groupings. In the Embaloh and Leboyan in particular, where villages were comparatively close together, I even found individuals from different villages occasionally co-operating together.

Finally, there was a system of payment for agricultural work. People worked for anyone, not necessarily relatives. The standard rate in 1972 for a day's labour was Rp 240 or two gallons of unhusked rice, or the equivalent in tobacco, salt, or cooking oil. The headman of Belimbis and other villagers often employed Iban for harvesting and sometimes for weeding. A Maloh household would not consider working for someone else if it had enough rice to meet its subsistence needs. In fact, there was very little paid agricultural work undertaken by Maloh, because only a very few households failed to meet subsistence needs in any one year; and it was not always the same households involved. In other words, there was not a permanent, local paid labour force among Maloh.

c. Wealth Differentiation

Differences in control over labour and other resources can no longer be used to define economic classes of aristocrats, freemen and slaves. However, initially we have to try and determine whether there were significant wealth differences among aristocrats and others in the early 1970s, which would indicate that samagat had still retained some of their former economic superiority. On first sight this seems unlikely given the fact that aristocrats could no longer control labour and put it to work for them. Nor did they organize trading expeditions, possessing neither the free time nor the political leverage to do so. Furthermore, present-day opportunities in trade and paid employment were potentially open to everyone.

Some estimate of relative wealth requires statistical material on household rice production. Swidden subsistence agriculture presents a number of problems for the collection of accurate data on yields, acreages and productivity. I could not gather statistics on agriculture for the whole 119 households in the sample. Instead I attempted to calculate some of the agricultural inputs and outputs of the 30 households in Belimbis in 1972-3, and to make some general observations on wealth differentiation and its relation to rank in the three other villages. This exercise also enables me to record basic statistical material on Maloh farming, and to consider income from sources other than agriculture.

Very rarely did Maloh farm only one swidden field. The majority of households had two or more fields. In addition to swiddens, households often had plots of swamp rice, and in Belimbis, for example, wet rice as well.

TABLE XIV NUMBER OF SWIDDEN PLOTS PER HOUSEHOLD IN BELIMBIS

	Number of Swidden Plots				Total Number of Swidden Plots
	1	2	3	4	
Number of Households	6	20	3	1	59

TABLE XV NUMBER OF FARM PLOTS PER HOUSEHOLD IN BELIMBIS

	Number of Farm Plots (incl. wet and swamp rice)				Total Number of Plots
	1	2	3	4	
Number of Households	2	7	17	4	83

Taking swidden rice, Belimbis had an average of about two plots or fields per household. Out of the additional 24 plots of wet and swamp rice, 20 households each had one plot of wet rice. One of them had an additional plot of swamp rice, while three other households each had a plot of swamp rice. There was only a small amount of paya because Maloh were using land previously under swamp rice for wet rice cultivation. Therefore, Maloh were not exclusively dry rice farmers, in that in Belimbis over two-thirds of the 30 households also cultivated swamp and wet rice. In Nanga Nyabau 21 out of the 41 households cultivated swamp as well as dry rice. In this respect Maloh agriculture accorded fairly closely with that of the Bidayuh. Geddes indicated that swamp rice varied from a quarter to three-quarters of the total rice planted in different years in the generally low-lying Bidayuh terrain (1954a:64-5).

If we take all plots cultivated in Belimbis in 1972-3 the average number of plots per household was 2.76, in contrast to Freeman's Iban sample in which only six out of 25 households had more than one plot (1970:246). Perhaps this reflects the Maloh practice of farming in areas of varying fertility and terrain to reduce the risks entailed in concentrating efforts in one area only (cf. Rousseau, 1977:137). Furthermore, wet and swamp rice could act as a safeguard if, in a given year, dry rice yields were low.

Land cleared for dry rice by the 30 households was roughly 95 acres. In some areas I calculated fairly accurately the size of fields with a tape measure. In other instances I paced out distances because field boundaries were not always straight or easy to follow with a measure. Dry rice fields varied in size from about three-quarters of an acre up to six acres. The average area cleared for dry rice per household was about 3.16 acres. Taking the total population of Belimbis (190) the average area cleared per head of population was 0.5 of an acre. As far as I could

determine there was no significant difference in the number of fields farmed (dry, swamp and wet) or in area cleared between ranks, and therefore no economic differentiation on this basis.

The average area per household under dry rice cultivation for Maloh was decidedly lower than Freeman's figures for the Iban, given the fact that Maloh labour resources were slightly higher than those of Iban (i.e. the average number of persons per Maloh household was 6.32, and 5.7 for Iban). Freeman estimated that each family cleared about 4.5 acres (1970:249). Among the Ma'anyan the average farm size was even higher at 5.66 acres (Hudson, 1967:297). These differences were partly accounted for by the fact that Maloh land was generally more fertile than that of the Iban and Ma'anyan. Therefore, a smaller area was required for Maloh to obtain similar or greater yields. Furthermore, Maloh could devote more attention to a smaller area of land in such tasks as weeding.

I have not included wet and swamp rice in the calculations of farmed area. There was approximately another 20 acres of wet rice and swamp land in Belimbis, giving an overall farmed area of 115 acres or 3.83 acres per household or 0.605 acres per head of population. But this was still below the Iban average of 0.8 acres per head (Freeman, 1970:248) and the Ma'anyan average of 1.11 acres per head (Hudson, 1967:298).

An important point made by Freeman was that one should differentiate between the area cleared for farming and that actually used for rice. The main factor which obviated against the utilization of the whole cleared area in Iban farming was a bad burn. Areas covered by debris could not be planted to rice, and Iban cultivation of hilly terrain with its gullies and rocky outcrops made full use of the land difficult. For Belimbis I estimated roughly that of the 115 acres cleared about 6 acres

(5% approx.) were not sown or failed to produce rice. The burn was reasonably good in 1972 so was the rice crop, so that on average the wastage figure over a number of years might be somewhat higher, say, 7 to 8 per cent. Freeman, in contrast, estimated that at Rumah Nyala 20 per cent of the area cleared by Iban was not farmed, although 1949 was a poor year (1970:248). In any case Freeman noted that an Iban farmer 'usually makes his farm ambitiously large' (ibid.:249). Therefore, it seems that, on my limited evidence, Maloh cleared smaller areas for cultivation than Iban and used these more intensively.

It is the information on rice yields from this area which might help us determine whether there was economic differentiation among Maloh. Did some households produce more rice than others and, if so, did they manage to generate a surplus over and above their immediate consumption needs? One must remember that rice production per household in itself tells us very little unless we take into account household size and other income sources.

The calculation of rice production was exceedingly difficult. Maloh did not measure quantities of rice obtained, though they knew whether, in a given year, rice production was likely to be sufficient for their needs and whether a surplus was likely to be realized. I took measurements as precisely as I could from the harvests of six households in Belimbis, two from each rank, and estimated roughly the yields obtained by the other 22 households. The results are presented in Table XVI.

TABLE XVI AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR SIX HOUSEHOLDS IN BELIMBIS

Rank	Household	No. of Persons	No. of Acres	Average Acreage per Head	No. of Fields	Acreage of Fields	
						Dry	Wet
Samagat	A	10	6.0	0.600	3	4.5	1.5
"	B	7	4.3	0.614	2	3.0	1.3
Pabiring	C	6	3.2	0.530	2	2.8	0.4
"	D	7	4.0	0.570	2	2.2	1.8
Banua	E	10	5.0	0.500	2	3.8	1.2
"	F	4	3.0	0.750	1	3.0	0
Total		44	25.5	0.580	12	19.3	6.2

I have used the gallon as a measurement of volume of rice, since this is approximately equivalent to the Malay gantang, a measurement known and used by the Maloh. I used a pint mug (8 pints = 1 gallon) to measure the rice. Fortunately the standard Maloh dédétan held just under 16 gantangs of winnowed rice or about two bushels (8 gallons = 1 bushel).¹⁵ Admittedly the measurements were approximate. The figures for yields of dry winnowed rice are presented in Table XVII.

TABLE XVII YIELD OF DRY RICE OF SIX HOUSEHOLDS IN BELIMBIS

Households	Acreage of Dry Rice	Total Yield in Gantangs and Bushels	Average Yield Per Acre in Gantangs and Bushels	Yield per Head in Gantangs and Bushels
A	4.5	1360/170.000	302.22/37.70	136.00/17.00
B	3.0	690/86.250	230.00/28.75	98.57/12.30
C	2.8	700/87.500	250.00/31.25	116.66/14.58
D	2.2	614/76.750	279.10/34.88	87.70/10.96
E	3.8	1087/135.875	286.05/35.75	108.70/13.57
F	3.0	818/102.250	272.66/34.08	204.50/25.56
Total	19.3	5269/658.625	273.00/34.00	119.75/14.97

Freeman found that on a specially cultivated Iban test plot the yield was 42.8 bushels or 343 gallons per acre of winnowed rice (1970: 252). This was well above average for an Iban farm, but as he said '... it is significant as an indication of the kind of return which can be expected under favourable conditions from carefully tended hill padi' (ibid.:252-3). In general, Freeman estimated the 'upper limit of

15. See also Geddes (1954a:92) and Rousseau (1974:135-6).

abundance' for an entire Iban farm at not more than 35 to 40 bushels per acre (ibid.:253), although this level was rarely achieved. For a sample of four entire farms Freeman found that the average yield of winnowed rice per acre was 137.4 gantangs (or 17 bushels), whereas for the whole of Rumah Nyala it was somewhere about 118 gantangs (14.75 bushels) per acre (ibid.:253). The Maloh average figures greatly exceeded those of the Iban. For the six sample households the average yield per acre of winnowed rice was about 34 bushels. A rough estimate for the whole village was about 28 bushels per acre with an average yield per head of about 15 bushels or 120 gantangs.¹⁶

The yield from Maloh wet and swamp rice was higher than that for dry rice. In the sample of six households, the average yield per acre of high-yielding wet rice produced 415 gallons of winnowed rice per acre on the four fields (about 51.9 bushels per acre), while the one swamp rice field yielded 320 gallons per acre (40 bushels) (cf. Geddes, 1954a: 68). Overall Maloh wet and swamp rice gave an average yield of 396.6 gallons or 49.58 bushels per acre of winnowed rice. An approximate figure for the whole village was about 350 gallons per acre (Table XVIII).

The figures in Tables XVII and XVIII tell us little about the surplus that was released for each of the six households. We need to determine necessary consumption of rice per head. The total production of each household must be seen in relation to the number of people in the household and their age and sex. For the six households together the total rice production was 7,728 gantangs or roughly 966 bushels of winnowed rice, giving a per capita production of 175.6 gantangs or 21.95 bushels. It was difficult to calculate annual rice requirements. I adopted

16. The 1970-1 season of the Uma Bawang Kayan produced an even higher per capita production from dry rice of 140 gantangs (Rousseau, 1977:144), although Maloh had wet and swamp rice as well.

TABLE XVIII YIELD OF WET AND SWAMP RICE OF SIX HOUSEHOLDS IN BELIMBIS

Household	Acreage	Total Yield in Gantangs and Bushels	Average Yield per Acre in Gantangs and Bushels	Yield per Head in Gantangs and Bushels
A	1.5	575/71.9	383.30/47.93	57.500/7.190
B	1.3	520/65.0	400.00/50.00	74.280/9.286
C	0.4	235/29.4	587.50/73.50	39.166/4.900
D	1.8	745/93.1	413.88/51.72	106.428/13.300
E	1.2*	384/48.0	320.00/40.00	38.400/4.800
F	-	-	-	-
Total	6.2	2459/307.4	396.60/49.58	61.475/7.685

* This indicates the only swamp rice field.

Freeman's method of measuring in advance the amount of rice used before meals per diem in the sample of six households, and dividing the figure by the number of diners, ignoring sex and age differences. In this limited sample the proportion of adults (59%) to children below 15 (41%) corresponded closely to the average proportion in the four villages in the sample. I estimated that average consumption per person per day was just over one pint of hulled rice or about 48 gantangs per year. This was equivalent to about 96 gantangs of winnowed, unhusked rice per year, although different household needs varied considerably depending on their composition. In my six households the needs were as follows (see Table XIX) (estimating that an adult male needed 62 gantangs of hulled rice per year; women and old men needed about 51 gantangs, and children under 15 needed about 31 gantangs).

TABLE XIX ANNUAL RICE NEEDS (BASIC FOOD CONSUMPTION) OF SIX HOUSEHOLDS
IN BELIMBIS

Household	Hulled Rice in Gantangs	Unhusked Rice in Gantangs
A	463	926
B	288	576
C	277	554
D	299	598
E	483	966
F	206	412

For basic consumption purposes the six households required 4,032 gantangs of unhusked rice per annum out of their total production of 7,728 gantangs. Every household in the sample realized a surplus above basic consumption needs (see Table XX).

TABLE XX SURPLUS OF UNHUSKED RICE ABOVE BASIC FOOD CONSUMPTION OF SIX
HOUSEHOLDS IN BELIMBIS

Household	Production of Rice in Gantangs	Basic Consumption in Gantangs	Surplus in Gantangs
A	1935	926	1009
B	1210	576	634
C	935	554	381
D	1359	598	761
E	1471	966	505
F	818	412	406
Total	7728	4032	3696

The surplus did not differ appreciably between ranks. One samagat household (A) produced the largest surplus, but B had less than the pabiring household D, and the pabiring household C had less than the two banua households E and F. From the limited sample there was no marked economic differentiation between ranks on the basis of surplus rice production. Perhaps one would not expect there to be, given differing household composition. In addition, over a period of years each household probably fluctuated fairly markedly in composition and in production, both absolutely and relative to one another. There were a few households which regularly produced sizeable surpluses and a few which did not (see below).

A further problem was that consumption of rice at meals did not exhaust all the rice requirements of households. I estimated that Maloh sowed about six gantangs of rice per acre which meant that, for the average sized farm of about four acres, 24 gantangs of seed had to be put aside for the next season. Maloh kept about twice what they actually needed, to safeguard against crop failure, so that on average 50 gantangs per household would be stored as seed. Domestic animals also had to be fed with rice, and as an extremely rough estimate I would think about 90 to 100 gantangs of rice per household per annum went on animal feed. Then there was incidental expenditure on entertaining guests, providing rice for village ceremonies and life crisis rituals, and for brewing rice wine. Again as an approximate figure I suggest that on average a household would need annually about 20 to 30 gantangs of unhusked rice for entertaining and rituals, and a further 15 gantangs for wine. Thus, taking an average subsidiary requirement of about 200 gantangs per annum, then the following surpluses were achieved by the six sample households:

TABLE XXI SURPLUS OF UNHUSKED RICE RELEASED BY SIX HOUSEHOLDS IN BELIMBIS OVER BASIC FOOD AND SUBSIDIARY REQUIREMENTS

Household	Surplus over Basic Food Requirements in Gantangs	Surplus over Basic Food Requirements and Subsidiary Expenditure in Gantangs
A	1009	809
B	634	434
C	381	181
D	761	561
E	505	305
F	406	206

In 1972-3 every household in the sample achieved a fairly substantial surplus. Taking the average Maloh household of six members and an average sized farm of about four acres, the average annual rice needs would be about 780 gantangs. Three households in Belimbis only just failed to reach this minimum requirement in 1972-3. In general, there was no marked penury in the village.

Rice was not the only form of income. Some households, including samagat, received a small amount of rent from people using some of their land. Maloh grew fruit and vegetables some of which could be sold or exchanged; small amounts of aren sugar were marketed in trading centres; rubber was a regular source of income for all Maloh households and illipe nut was an important but irregular source of income. Some households were fortunate in having one or more of their number in paid employment such as in teaching and office work, or they could supplement their income from males who spent time away from the village in such activities as logging and road-building. There was also a minor income for individuals who were traditional specialists such as shamans and metal smiths, though

these activities had declined appreciably in the Embaloh. A few households involved in shopkeeping and small-scale trade were markedly more wealthy than others, especially those in Benua Martinus.

It was difficult to gauge exactly the annual income of all 119 households in the sample, or even the 30 households in Belimbis, particularly as I was not in one village for a full year. I had questions for each household on amounts and sources of income, but it is doubtful whether one could rely on the accuracy of the data. In some cases more definite information was obtained because certain individuals employed by government had fixed salaries, although there was sometimes opportunity to make a bit extra money on the side. Furthermore, I had good rapport with some households and I think my information from them was fairly reliable. I also got some idea of broad differences in wealth by taking note of the material goods contained in dwellings. Unfortunately it was impossible to arrive at a clear picture of rights in land and fruit trees, since these were complex, and, in a number of cases, not controlled by individual households. Nor could one easily assess the capital tied up in rubber gardens. Land, fruit trees and rubber gardens were not bought and sold and their value could not be objectively determined. Given these formidable obstacles I did glean some data on relative wealth and its relation to traditional rank.

One must remember that relative wealth was never a clear defining criterion of classes in the past, though it was broadly correlated with it. Traditionally aristocrats were, in general, more wealthy than other villagers because of their control of labour resources and trade. But some enterprising commoners managed to accumulate wealth and ultimately translate this into political power, and into rank status for their descendants. Conversely some aristocratic households declined in wealth and eventually fell in rank. However, formerly relative material wealth

could not easily operate independently of the four traditional status levels. Either it correlated with these levels or it was ultimately brought into line with them through marriage, and rises and falls in the status hierarchy.

In the early 1970s my findings lead me to conclude that, in broad terms, the status levels of samagat, pabiring and banua did not clearly correspond to relative differences in wealth. What is more, although a number of low rank individuals were noticeably richer than some samagat, many of the former, especially in the Embaloh and Leboyan, no longer aspired to marry into aristocratic circles. Upward mobility through traditional status levels was not valued as much as it was in the past.

I will now try to estimate the annual income of households in Belimbis from three categories: (i) rubber, (ii) forest and agricultural products, (iii) paid work, trade, rental of goods. Some assessment of the value of household property has been taken into account and I have included the value of the total yield of rice of each household.¹⁷ Some households also had rice left from the previous year and an estimate of this was included.

All the households in Belimbis owned at least some rubber. I estimated roughly the number of kilograms of rubber which could be produced from a given acre of rubber when it was being fully worked (cf. Freeman, 1970:268). One man or woman could produce about seven kilos of rubber sheet per day under favourable conditions. Taking into account lost days, bad weather and so on over the period of time I was in Belimbis, the average yield per man-day was about five kilos. Most of the trees were 40 or more years old and some plantations were badly maintained. A number of the

17. The average figure for rice sold in the Embaloh area in 1972-3 was about Rp 120 per gantang of unhusked rice.

older trees were being cut for firewood and some rubber gardens were being replanted to new stock, but with seedlings taken from existing trees not high-yielding varieties. In January-February 1973 the price of rubber in the Upper Kapuas was about Rp 70 per kilo for the generally poor quality unsmoked sheet produced by Maloh. Two kilos of rubber were equivalent to about one gantang of unhusked rice at 1972-3 prices. Thus, despite the low price, rubber was an important source of income, particularly if there was a shortfall in rice production.

Some households had larger rubber gardens than others, but usually worked the 'plantations' themselves. Sometimes they hired other Maloh villagers as well and particularly Iban to assist them. The workers kept half of what they produced and left the rest for the owners. Therefore, as well as taking into account yield per garden, I have tried, where possible, to allow for the division of the product in gardens in which hired labourers sometimes operated. Variation in ownership of 'plantations' was by no means correlated with rank status. Although the two samagat households in Belimbis had sizeable gardens and occasionally hired people, one of the three pabiring and six out of the 25 banua households had larger holdings than those of the samagat.

The most important item in the category of forest and agricultural products was illipe nut. It was collected exclusively for cash or barter. In 1973 the army leaders in West Kalimantan were attempting to establish a stake in the illipe trade, and the price to the producers was held at an artificially low price of about Rp 100 per 'can' or roughly Rp 30 per kilo. In previous years it had fetched anything up to Rp 80 per kilo. A few Maloh, unhappy about the prices, refused to deliver illipe to the traders who came from the main river specifically to collect it. Instead they fed the harvest to their pigs. I took estimates of the quantity of illipe nut gathered by each Belimbis household, and this varied from about

180 kilos to 1,000 kilos.

Income from other forest products, fruit and vegetables was nominal. A few households had substantial vegetable gardens and apparently in most years they sold or exchanged some produce with local shopkeepers in Benua Martinus. One form of capital which was realized in sale or exchange was domestic animals. No one had cattle in Belimbis or Keram, but in Ukit-Ukit there were 30 cows, and in Nanga Nyabau six households had 12 cows between them. In Belimbis ten households had 15 pigs between them. A fully grown pig could fetch about Rp 15,000 and a piglet approximately Rp 4,000. Every household had chickens, and the price for these ranged from about Rp 200 to Rp 450. Fighting cocks were in another class and could command anything up to Rp 8,000.

The third category of income included that from regular or irregular paid employment. The headman of Belimbis, who was a pabiring resident in a samagat household, commanded a salary of Rp 250 per month, which he did not always receive. Two other banua villagers worked in the local district office in Martinus for a salary of Rp 450 per month. Six males (all banua) were away from Belimbis working in Sarawak, and four of them were sending back regular sums of money to their households. Ten men (one samagat, two pabiring and six banua) had been logging in the Lower Embaloh, and between them during 1972-3 they earned a total of about Rp 40,000. A banua man also participated in small-scale trade because he owned an outboard motor. He bought rubber and illipe from local villagers for a slightly better price than local shopkeepers and periodically took it to Nanga Embaloh to trade it with Chinese. Interestingly no samagat in Belimbis was involved in trade of this kind. Furthermore, all the above activities, apart from longer term labour migration, were not full-time. Everyone, even government employees and small-scale traders, also farmed rice.

An assessment of the value of household property proved very problematic. I took items valued by the Maloh, and especially by the local shopkeepers, at more than Rp 5,000. Most items of domestic equipment - pots, cutlery, glasses, trays, plates - and agricultural, hunting and fishing equipment were excluded. In fact, many items were made locally from local materials. I took household inventories of such goods as jewellery, fine beadware, gongs, fine ceramics, outboard motors, radios, sewing machines, guns and decorative-cum-ceremonial weaponry.

I must stress again that the levels of annual income, plus the value of property and rice production, expressed in Table XXII, have a number of shortcomings. The levels are very approximate; some of the income amounts were based on verbal information; they were for one year and did not take into account variations through time; no account was taken of rights in land. I can only say that it was the best I could do in the circumstances, and it does give a general guide to wealth differentiation in Belimbis. I grouped the 30 households roughly into broad income and property categories.

TABLE XXII WEALTH DIFFERENTIATION IN BELIMBIS IN 1972-3

Category	Annual Income and Property (Value in Rupiahs)	Number of Households (%)
1	600,000 and above	5 (16.66%)
2	450,000 - 600,000	3 (10%)
3	300,000 - 450,000	10 (33.33%)
4	150,000 - 300,000	7 (23.33%)
5	150,000 and below	5 (16.66%)

Of the five households which had above Rp 600,000 in income and property, only one was samagat, that of the headman. The remaining four were all of banua rank. Of the three households in category 2, one was samagat, one pabiring and one banua. Category 3 comprised one pabiring and nine banua households. The fourth category had one pabiring and six banua households; and the last category was made up exclusively of banua households. Thus, while no samagat and pabiring households were in the lowest income and property level, they were distributed throughout the other four categories.

An important question remains. Given the inadequacies of the data and my necessarily arbitrary division of income/property levels, do the topmost five or even the topmost eight households (i.e. categories 1 and 2) constitute an economic class? The answer partly depends on the analyst's perception of what constitutes a class. I could decide to label all households with an annual income and property of above Rp 450,000 - an arbitrary cut-off point - an 'upper class'. They certainly did not comprise an aristocratic class since only two out of the eight households were samagat. It makes no sense to me to call these apparently wealthy households a 'class' for a number of reasons, though wealth is obviously an indicator of class position.

First, the households which fell within categories A and B, or even within category A, did not see themselves as forming a distinct group in opposition to others. The two samagat households still tried to demarcate themselves from others by appeals to largely traditional criteria of status - name, social origins and genealogical connexions. Up to the early 1970s this status evaluation had expressed itself in social terms in the contraction of marriages with other samagat, or at second best pabiring. The samagat headman's household also tried to avoid involvement in co-operative work groupings. Wealthy banua in the village expressed

no desire to me to marry into samagat circles in order to translate economic wealth into traditional status. Indeed, some banua argued that the *raison d'être* of samagat and pabiring superiority had been largely removed. Some banua were as wealthy, if not more so than samagat and pabiring; everyone worked in the fields with their hands; and despite samagat emphasis on superiority by birth, certain banua claimed this to be no longer valid, since in line with new democratic ideals, everyone was born equal. All Maloh were entitled to education. Theoretically anyone could become village headman, or be economically successful, or get a job as a teacher or government employee. Interestingly, the two local government workers came from two wealthy banua households and they were linked by a recent marriage between two of their children. Some respect was accorded the headman's samagat household because it did have wealth and political position, not solely because it was samagat. Therefore, wealthy Belimbis villagers did not form a solidary group either in ideology or in practice through the formation of social linkages by marriage. Rather similar positions of wealth were cross-cut and divided by different evaluations of status and the relations resulting from these evaluations.

Secondly, the eight households in the upper two categories were placed there on the basis of statistics collected in 1972-3. I have good reason to believe that some of the households might not have found a place there in 1971-2 or 1973-4. Household rice production and consumption varied over time. Unforeseen illness or death, periodic social and other commitments such as marriage or a child's education, and natural conditions such as weather and crop disease could fairly dramatically effect household income. In this largely subsistence-based, swidden economy there were considerable short- and long-term fluctuations in household fortunes. Furthermore, new economic opportunities, although still largely secondary

to rice agriculture, magnified this fluid situation, and no group of households in Belimbis had yet consolidated a position of economic superiority.

Thirdly, and linked to the second point, it is difficult to define an upper class in terms of productive relations and the division of labour. Formerly aristocrats were a leisured class with control over labour. But in the 1970s all households in Belimbis were involved in rice farming. There was no distinct rentier or landowning class. In fact, every household had rights in at least some area of land for farming purposes.¹⁸ Furthermore, no segment of the village population was released from manual labour; and not all households in categories 1 and 2 in Table XXII employed labour. The few which did so in 1972-3, did not do so regularly either in that season or in previous seasons. Only households short of rice in a given year would consider working for others. While there were a few banua households which did fail to meet their basic subsistence needs more frequently than others, most households only needed to seek paid employment on another's farm or rubber garden in odd years. Very often villagers who wanted to secure extra income would migrate for work which was better paid, rather than take work from others within their community. It was Iban, rather than Maloh, who were drawn into the economic system as hired labourers. There was also no clear pattern of credit-debt relations within the village, though most residents, even the more wealthy, had credit arrangements with local shopkeepers in Martinus and with merchants and middlemen, especially Chinese and Malays, in Nanga Embaloh and Lanjak (see below).

Before concluding it is useful to take a few examples of households from different ranks in other villages. From my observations and comments

18. See also Miles on the Ngaju of Tumbang Gagu who were largely self-sufficient, subsistence producers with little division of labour in farming (1976:23-4).

from informants, it appears that the two samagat and two pabiring households in Keram were not amongst the most wealthy in the village. The samagat household of the village headman managed to produce a rice surplus in most years and it had a sizeable rubber garden, but it was not well endowed with household consumer goods. The three other households seemed relatively poor. The remaining samagat household was headed by a particularly idle individual who spent many hours drinking palm-wine. The burden of agriculture fell almost solely on his wife's shoulders and his household often failed to produce a rice surplus. The two pabiring households had an unfavourable adult/child ratio and found it difficult to meet their subsistence requirements. In fact, two banua households (both of them ulun m^ám) were the wealthiest in Keram. The head of one was a teacher at the nearby Catholic school, and using his contacts with the priests, he had secured a loan on favourable terms to buy a small motor boat and set himself up as a small trader. The head of the other was an industrious man who had three adult sons to assist in farm work and who worked periodically in the logging industry. He had two large rubber gardens which provided a substantial income and he usually managed to produce rice surpluses. He was also a Sunday school teacher at Martinus. Neither of these households had any desire to marry with samagat since being strong Catholics they did not value this traditional status. They hoped that their children would marry with people who had an education and white-collar employment. As we saw in Chapter 5 there were no marriage links between banua and higher ranking people in Keram.

The two samagat households in Ukit-Ukit had declined appreciably in their fortunes, and the village was dominated by a group of four wealthy and Catholic pabiring households. The head of one of them was village headman, and a young married man in another had been trained in Sintang as a bible teacher. Two of these households had sizeable motor-

powered boats and traded between the Leboyan and the Kapuas rivers. There were also two relatively well-to-do banua households in the village. No individual from these households above expressed any wish to marry into samagat circles, nor had any done so.

It was only in Nanga Nyabau, where the prestige of traditional rank was still comparatively strong, that aspiring individuals sought marriages with samagat. The samagat headman's household was not the wealthiest in the village. This position was occupied by two pabiring households which had intermarried with Chinese from trading families in Nanga Embaloh. The son of one of these Chinese had married the headman's daughter, and a man from a closely related pabiring household had married into another samagat household in the village. Another wealthy household was that of an ulun mán. The head of this household had served as village headman before the election of a samagat as headman. This ulun mán family also had a favourable adult/child ratio (5 to 1) and cleared large forest areas for rice cultivation. Its long-house apartment was well endowed with solid furniture, two radios, a sewing machine and a set of new suitcases. Two of the male family members were dynamic, thrusting individuals and were constantly asking if they could purchase items of jewellery and clothing from my wife and myself.

d. Conclusions

From this survey of the Maloh economy it is clear that we can no longer talk about economic classes of aristocrats, commoners and slaves, nor is it yet possible to discern clearly new upper, middle and lower classes. Maloh society seems to be in transition, although certain trends can be highlighted. Relative wealth certainly played a part in determining relations of superiority and inferiority, and it was a factor in status evaluation. But in a still predominantly subsistence economy

without large-scale selling and/or renting of land, without landlessness, without extensive cash-crop production and in the absence of a large amount of salaried and paid employment, there were only limited possibilities for the emergence and consolidation of new classes based on such distinctions as manual and non-manual labour, ownership and non-ownership of the means of production, and control and non-control of key economic resources such as labour. I have pointed to wealth differentiation among Maloh, but because of the vicissitudes of shifting rice agriculture, the fluctuations in prices and yields of rubber and illipe nut, and the nominal and often irregular payment for work, particularly in the public sector, there was quite significant variability in annual household incomes. Furthermore, some traditional status distinctions have remained important for many samagat, who have attempted, where possible, to retain a certain status exclusiveness.

My examination of wealth differentiation revealed that despite the loss of slaves and corvées, some aristocrats had capitalized on certain of their former advantages and managed to maintain some wealth and economic standing in their respective villages, particularly in rice and rubber production. The samagat practice of intermarriage between close kin also served to keep rights in especially fertile areas of farm land intact (see Chapter 5). However, other aristocrats, such as those in Ukit-Ukit and to a certain extent in Keram, had declined both in economic and prestige terms. They increasingly faced competition from various emerging groups of pabiring and banua rank. In particular, small-scale traders, and a number of teachers and government employees, some of whom had close links with the Catholic church, had been able to acquire a degree of

wealth. These 'new groups'¹⁹ rather than intermarry with samagat, had mainly tried to deny and undermine traditional criteria of status, and there was evidence that some of the members of these 'groups' were marrying amongst themselves. Therefore, the ability to make an effective claim to high status has increasingly come to depend on economic success, political position, education, Catholicism and white-collar employment, and not so much on social origins and hereditary rank. The partial exception appears to be in Nanga Nyabau and the Palin in general, where traditional status still carried some weight, and certain economically successful lower rank people did continue to marry into samagat circles.

Finally, as I have already pointed out, we cannot understand changing economic relations among Maloh without considering the wider economic (and political) context within which Maloh society was located. Clearly there was economic and status competition and some factionalization within Maloh communities, but there was an alternative strategy for the socially mobile. As we saw in Chapter 3, in the past, both successful and unsuccessful Maloh sometimes moved out of their villages to 'become Malay'. Other individuals, such as forest nomads, were dominated and drawn into Maloh society, mainly as slaves. In the early 1970s, there was evidence of continuity in the form of external relations, though not necessarily in their content. Some Maloh moved away from the area to become traders and shopkeepers or to take up government employment or follow courses of education in large settlements on the main river.²⁰ Some Maloh, who were less well-off, also left their village, either

19. Although operating at a national rather than a local level, Evers chose to call these sorts of groups, which were not yet classes, 'strategic groups' (1973:114-17). In a somewhat similar vein Roxborough talked of 'class fractions' in a situation in which class structures were 'highly fluid and in the process of change' (1979: 70 seq.).

20. See Miles (1976) for an examination of Dayak social mobility and Malay-Dayak contacts in trading settlements on the Upper Mentaya river in Southern Kalimantan.

temporarily or permanently, in search of paid work. In addition, neighbouring Iban, who were frequently short of rice and impoverished, were often hired by Maloh as labourers in rice-fields and rubber gardens. Maloh themselves were also partially tied into economic relations with Chinese and Malay middlemen. Therefore, despite my discussion of class within Maloh society, one must also see the Maloh as gradually being brought into a wider system of social inequality and stratification which included other ethnic groups as well.

The emerging system of Maloh stratification also had a spatial dimension. In general, within the Embaloh and Leboyan, the more wealthy, educated individuals tended to congregate around the mission buildings in Benua Martinus and to a certain extent in the large Embaloh village of Ulak Pauk. For example, three Maloh shopkeepers (all of banua rank) lived in Martinus, as well as the majority of school-teachers and government workers (both current and retired). Small-scale traders and a few teachers and office-workers were found in some outlying villages such as Keram, Belimbis and Ukit-Ukit, amidst a sea of essentially subsistence farmers. Outside Maloh communities, socially mobile Maloh, involved much more in regional trade, administration and education, were concentrated in the kabupaten centre of Putus Sibau and the upriver trading settlements of Nanga Embaloh and Bunut. A few had moved even further afield to the provincial capital of Pontianak.

It remains now to look at politics and religion in the early 1970s among Maloh, particularly as I have argued elsewhere that some of the most significant changes undermining traditional rank have been in the political and religious fields.

CHAPTER 7 POLITICS, RELIGION AND RANKa. Politics

I indicated in Chapter 4 that the traditional Maloh village was a political unit whose identity was expressed in the shape of the aristocratic headman. The headmanship was controlled and ideologically associated with the aristocratic ruling class. Aristocrats played a commanding role in village affairs and decision-making. The headman and other leading samagat consulted learned pabiring and banua 'big men' in matters of collective concern to the village. But it was the aristocrats who monopolized executive functions such as the supervision of village-wide activities and important legal disputes, and the articulation of external relations with other villages and outside bodies such as Malay and colonial governments. The Dutch preferred to work through traditional Maloh leaders. Samagat were also the main legislators and judicial functionaries, so that respect for aristocrats was tantamount to respect for 'law' and 'society'. Sometimes minor legal cases were handled by non-aristocratic 'big men', who were also important intermediaries between aristocrats and freemen, but most major cases including homicide, wounding, theft and property disputes were presided over by aristocrats. The headman could also exact fines or order execution for serious criminal offences, or fine individuals who, in any way, insulted the aristocracy. He had control over the physical movement of his villagers. I have argued that political and economic criteria were closely related so that in traditional Maloh villages samagat were the ruling class; pabiring and banua were freemen who were ruled but had rights under law; and pangkam were 'owned' by others with no recourse to the law or rights to participate in village meetings and dispute settlement. Aristocratic political power was also legitimized (i.e.

aristocrats also had authority) in Maloh religious ideology.

How did samagat fare in contemporary Maloh politics? Did they still monopolize decision-making and the main political offices? An important change has been the Indonesian government's introduction of democratic elections for village headmanship, and the ruling that a headman must be literate. The village headman in the early 1970s was a government officer on the lowest rung of the government bureaucracy. He was entitled to a uniform and a small honorarium. He had to offer himself for re-election every four years or sooner, if he so desired. All adult males and females were allowed to vote for the candidate of their choice. They could also remove an unsuitable headman.

Interestingly, in three out of the four villages in my sample, samagat households still controlled the headmanship, and in the fourth, a pabiring household supplied the headman. This can be partly explained by the fact that it was still acknowledged that some samagat were generally more cognizant of customary law than other villagers. Nevertheless, the connexion between the aristocracy and village headmanship was on the wane. Out of the 12 Embaloh village headmen, only three came from samagat households (Belimbis, Keram and Nanga Sungai), although the headman of Belimbis was actually a pabiring; three were from pabiring households (Teliai, Benua Ujung I and Pinjawan) and the remaining six headmen were of banua rank (Bukung, Benua Martinus, Pát, Ulak Pauk, Benua Ujung II and Temau). Headmen were also no longer called 'samagat'. Instead the Malay term for village headman - 'kepala kampung' - was used. Even in the remote Palin area one of the four villages there had a banua headman, and although Nanga Nyabau was headed by a samagat in 1973, he had been preceded by a headman of ulun mán rank.

The one remaining office, which was a traditional one and had then subsequently become a salaried government position, was that of temenggung

or area adat head. The temenggung also had to be literate and was elected by all the village headmen in a given river-based grouping. In Dutch times, the adat head was always a samagat. In the early 1970s the temenggung was entitled to a government honorarium of Rp 3,000 per annum and a uniform. All three river systems which I visited had a samagat temenggung, and aristocrats had managed to dominate this position during the post-war period.

As well as examining some of the changes in the rank of the personnel who occupied particular offices, we must also look at alterations in the scope and responsibilities of the official positions themselves. One dramatic change in Maloh headmanship has been the reduction in the range of the headman's powers. Although the Maloh village could still be considered a political unit, and its headman the custodian of adat, it was only the lowest administrative entity in a wider local, regional and national political system. Consequently the headman was subordinate to those above him in the government bureaucracy. His immediate superior, apart from the temenggung, was the camat or district officer. The camat, in the Embaloh at least, came to handle a number of disputes, particularly between villages. Formerly, the headman had an important role to play in mediating and resolving inter-village disagreements and feuds. But this function was gradually removed from the headman's competence. Of course in 1972-3, the headmen and 'elders' of villages in dispute did participate in the case, but its organization, supervision and ultimate resolution usually rested with the camat, with advice from the temenggung. In the early 1970s the district officer of kecamatan Embaloh Hulu was, in fact, a local man, and the son of the then samagat temenggung of the Embaloh. Therefore, aristocrats still had a significant stake in inter-village dispute settlement there. But the aristocratic camat had only been in office for about six months. Previous

to his appointment, the district officer had been an Upper Kapuas Punan who was a convert to Islam, and before him the position had been occupied by a Bunut Malay. In both the Palin and Leboyan rivers, which were in two different administrative districts, the two camat were Malays. It was normally the district officer rather than the temenggung who exercised political power locally.

An important extra-village role of the traditional headman, aside from inter-village diplomacy and dispute settlement, was as a war-leader. The headman's ability to use physical force was eliminated with the establishment of the Pax Nederlandica. Eventually with the turn of political events in Indonesia after the abortive 1965 coup and the emergence of a military dictatorship, the exercise of physical force was monopolized by the army and police, even in the remote Upper Kapuas. As a consequence of Communist guerrilla activities in the border regions of West Kalimantan, the military were conspicuous in the Embaloh and Leboyan. In practice the local military leaders, and not the camat, temenggung or the headmen, controlled the movements of local people by issuing passes and vetting travel documents issued by the camat's office; the military also exacted arbitrary taxes on, for example, the sale of animals, rice, rubber and illipe; soldiers also relied on village labour and boats for transporting supplies, and they requisitioned food from villages when required. Fortunately the Palin largely avoided these excesses. In most cases military actions were carried out without consulting Maloh headmen and the temenggung, and even when local leaders were approached they were too impotent and frightened to resist the army's demands.

Local leaders no longer had a monopoly of physical force in inter-village affairs, and even within the community they could no longer exact physical punishment on guilty parties, such as banishment from the village or ultimately execution. Traditionally samagat headmen could authorize

the execution of someone found guilty of such crimes as homicide and incest, but these powers of life and death over villagers had been removed, nor could headmen seize the property of other villagers as compensation. In serious crimes such as homicide, wounding and major theft the policemen stationed in Benua Martinus, Lanjak and Nanga Embaloh would be called in to take the suspect into custody. The ultimate decision and the level of punishment were left to the district officer or sometimes to his superiors in Putus Sibau. Punishment could involve a period of imprisonment in Putus Sibau or Sintang. The former right of the samagat headman to fine an individual who wished to leave his village had also been abolished.

Therefore, headmen, and especially headmen (and temenggung) of aristocratic rank, had lost a considerable number of political and legal prerogatives. Furthermore, the former association of headmanship with the ritual integrity and physical well-being of the village had been gradually severed, and with it the supernatural sanctions such as cursing, which aristocratic headmen could traditionally apply. Once samagat, who were formerly seen as sacred and responsible for the maintenance of a balance between the human and supernatural worlds, no longer monopolized village headmanship, the religious aspects of village leadership were undermined. This, in turn, contributed to a general decline in the religious superiority of aristocrats, since they were no longer seen as natural leaders by virtue of their position in a particular cosmology.

In the 1970s village headmen still presided over certain internal legal cases, but even here the existence of a wider administrative system interfered with the abilities of headmen to perform their functions to their satisfaction. Theoretically they had jurisdiction over such cases as minor theft (mangalit), adultery (siukan), abducting another's wife (poan bai'ingé) or fiancée (poan taju) or widow (poan balu), incest

(kudi'), interfering with a woman's breasts or kissing in public (pasa'an susu or manyum), striking someone (manikom), slander (móbo), illegal entry of someone's house or apartment (ambitan sau), entering someone's house uninvited (latán alé), quarrelling in someone else's house (sijai), striking someone's property in anger (sapa'an), false accusation (maimboro), deliberate falsification of evidence in a dispute (papaulu), insulting someone through mimicry (magi-agi), impregnating a single girl (siparauntingan), having designs on a married person (arong palulungan), breaking off an engagement (sága), and refusing someone hospitality without good reason (katabéan). The headman, in consultation with a council of learned villagers, could decide on the case and impose a fine. Usually half the fine was divided amongst those who presided over the case, the headman receiving the largest share, and the other half went to the injured party. However, if a person felt that it was to his advantage to have his case tried by the temenggung or camat, then he could side-step the village headman. In cases covering the above delicts between villages the temenggung would be involved anyway. Even if a headman did reach a decision in a case, either or both disputing parties still had the right of appeal to the temenggung or camat. Educated youths had less respect for customary law, and officials, particularly the camat, were increasingly open to small bribes (angkán siap) to rule in someone's favour.

The changes above resulted in the common complaint among village headmen that headmanship was a thankless task. Sometimes only one candidate could be found to stand in village elections. The general feeling was that the small honorarium and a uniform were hardly adequate compensations for the stresses and strains of office. The headman was in a typically ambivalent position in contemporary Maloh society. He was a government officer and had, at times, to carry out unpopular government edicts. A bitter pill to swallow for some Maloh was the government

regulation against long-house domicile. The headman also had to ensure that pathways and houses were kept clean and bridges maintained. The kepala kampong of Belimbis found it difficult to uphold these regulations. Some headmen had also experienced problems in convincing their fellow villagers of the advantages of the adoption of wet rice cultivation. What is more, in reaching a decision on a village matter, or in trying to implement government policy, the headman could not even be sure that he would be supported by his superiors. He had few sanctions to enforce his ruling, and his decision could be overturned by the camat or temenggung. Furthermore, headmen had to try and reconcile customary law with new government regulations, Catholic mores, and values emerging from secular education, and without traditional sanctions they had to secure a much wider measure of agreement for the decisions reached. This vastly complicated the legal process. On the other hand, villagers saw their headman, who was, after all, subject to electoral will, as their representative vis-à-vis government authorities. The problem here was that the political leverage of the headman was generally so slight that he could not always deliver the goods on behalf of his villagers. In some communities there was a marked turnover in village headmen, although the kepala kampong in Belimbis had been in office for six years because no one else wanted to take over from him.

Nevertheless, despite all the disadvantages, village headmanship was one possible avenue for social advancement for the ambitious and enterprising individual. A forceful headman, who achieved some success in his position, acquired prestige and was listened to by his villagers. He might also be able to use his office to advantage by gaining certain favours from the camat such as the receipt of limited government funds for community development projects or the securing of a better position for himself in the government bureaucracy.

Overall the former political position of aristocrats had certainly been undermined independent of their wishes. But some samagat also positively decided not to stand in elections for the few benefits which the office of village headman gave. Interestingly some banua headmen also argued that it was sometimes difficult for them to handle legal disputes because, unlike the samagat, they were related to many people in the village, and in deciding a case there were real problems of partiality.

Having noted the gradual separation of aristocrats from the institution of headmanship, the question remains - did aristocrats still play an indirect, but nevertheless influential role in village politics? I noticed that in village meetings and internal legal disputes, some aristocrats, who were not headmen, played an active role in discussions. The aristocrats in Ukit-Ukit seemed to have ceded any political voice which they might have had to the wealthy, thrusting Catholic papiring. Yet in Keram, Belimbis and Nanga Nyabau, where samagat still controlled the headmanship, and even in such villages as Pinjawan and Tanjung Karaja where they did not, it was obvious that villagers were prepared to listen to certain aristocrats in village meetings. It was apparent that samagat were consulted on precedent and on fine points of customary law, and this was partly expressed by the fact that samagat had held on to the position of temenggung in my fieldwork areas. On the other hand, in the three legal disputes which I witnessed between samagat and non-samagat, there was no indication that aristocrats received more favourable treatment than their adversaries. In fact, in all three cases the judgement went against the samagat.

Those aristocrats, who had seen the writing on the wall and invested in education for themselves and their children, were better equipped to maintain some political position, and, of course, in customary legal

problems they still usually had an important voice. This was especially so in the Palin area where the aristocratic *temenggung*, who had been educated in Pontianak and had served as a clerk in the Department of Education and Culture in Surabaya, commanded much respect and exercised considerable influence in local decision-making. But by the early 1970s aristocrats were having to compete with various wealthy and educated *pabiring* and *banua*, who were playing an increasing part in village affairs. Formerly these latter individuals could only aspire to the position of advisers or 'big men', but in the 1970s they could occupy the office of village headman, or at least have an equal voice in village decision-making along with aristocrats.

As with economic differentiation (Chapter 6) I would argue that in 1972-3 there was no longer a clear correlation between traditional rank and political position and power. *Samagat* were no longer a relatively clearly defined politico-economic class. What has happened over the last 50 years or so has been an absolute reduction in the ability of villagers represented by their headman and *temenggung*, to run their own political affairs, and a removal of the ability of aristocrats to use physical force and other sanctions in maintaining law and order. Local leaders still had some power because they could impose fines, but the exercise of power was compromised in various ways, and was more equally distributed within village society. New criteria also entered into the ability to influence the village decision-making process. In general, *samagat* still had influence in this regard because of their knowledge of customary law and their retention of the position of *temenggung*, but increasingly they had to justify this influence in terms of such criteria as education, literacy, former employment in government offices, knowledge of new government procedures and achievements in the economic sphere. It was noticeable that *samagat*, who were headmen and *temenggung*, and who were

listened to at village meetings, were usually educated, had, in some cases, been government employees outside Maloh country, and were relatively wealthy. Furthermore, in Belimbis for example, the samagat competed in influencing the course of collective decision-making with the wealthy non-samagat trader and the two banua government workers. In Keram, villagers were also prepared to listen to the two banua men who were wealthy, educated and had close links with the Catholic mission. Ambitious individuals were also aware that real political power lay outside the village and I met cases of young educated Maloh, both samagat and freemen, who preferred to seek posts in government or in the police and army outside their local communities, rather than channel their energies into village politics.¹

Closely linked to samagat political superiority in the past and an element in their high status was the institution of differential fines. Formerly a samagat who suffered injury or insult was entitled to compensation appropriate to adat samagat, whether the guilty party was a samagat, pabiring or banua. At the same time pabiring and banua were given lower levels of compensation. The 1970 adat conference in the Embaloh eliminated these distinctions and ruled that ideally everyone should be subject to the same fine for a particular offence, irrespective of rank. Although, in practice, the level of the fine would still vary according to circumstances and the discretion of the presiding council of elders. The preamble to the new written adat codes stated that the

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1. I collected very little data on Maloh involvement in institutionalized Indonesian political parties because the local military leaders expressly forbade me to pursue these lines of enquiry. As a result of military pressure in the area all the villages which I studied voted en bloc for the Government - (military-) sponsored party Golongan Karya (Golkar) in the 1971 Indonesian elections. Some individuals in the Embaloh and Leboyan also apparently voted for the Catholic Party (Partai Katolik). I did not detect the kind of political consciousness and party activity among Maloh which Miles revealed in his study of Ngaju Dayak 'nationalism' in the context of the formation of the Dayak-dominated province of Central Kalimantan (the 'Great Dayak') (1976:102 seq.).

changes in customary law had been designed in the interests of advancing 'democracy', 'modernization' and 'social justice'. In the six legal cases which I observed in the Embaloh, differential fines according to rank were no longer implemented. In the Leboyan and Palin, however, they were still theoretically in operation, although in practice they were not always applied and there was increasing pressure from Embaloh leaders and the camat concerned to make these areas bring their adat into line with that of the Embaloh.

A list of the committee members, who instituted the Embaloh reforms designed to remove distinctions of rank, is instructive in illustrating the decline of the samagat as legislators. There were two chairmen - the samagat temenggung of the Embaloh and the banua headman of Ulak Pauk. The two secretaries were banua teachers from Martinus. The remaining nine committee members included the headman of Belimbis, who was a pabiring from a samagat household, and an educated Catholic samagat from Benua Martinus, who had married a banua woman against his parents' wishes (his father was a retired school-teacher) and had refused to pay bridewealth. Of the seven other members, one was a pabiring from Pát and the remaining six were banua. Of the banua, two were shopkeepers from Martinus, another was a teacher from Ulak Pauk, the fourth was an old, retired teacher from Martinus, and the last two were commoner headmen. This information squares with my observations in Chapter 6. Samagat superiority was being challenged by new emerging groups, particularly educated Catholic teachers, government employees, shopkeepers and traders.

b. Religion

The decline in samagat political power was paralleled in the decline of aristocratic religious superiority. We saw above that the supernatural sanctions associated with village headmanship were not applied in the early 1970s, and that the link between headmanship, the sacredness of headmen (and by extension the aristocracy) and the well-being of the village had been severed. Furthermore, to the extent that samagat no longer monopolized the position of headman, they could not play a crucial organizational and supervisory role in large-scale rituals, where these still existed (see below). I have also pointed out in Chapter 6 that, in the 1970s, samagat did not control village ceremonies at various stages of the agricultural cycle. At the beginning of forest clearing, sowing and harvesting individual households performed their own rites.

One important religious medium which traditionally served to support and express rank distinctions was that of oral literature. In the Embaloh and Leboyan areas, older people remembered much of their oral tradition. Generally young people below about 20 years of age no longer expressed any real interest in this tradition, nor fully understood the ancient language in which much of it was delivered. Many had been brought up as Catholics and educated in the mission school. A greater blow to the retention of this literature was the progressive removal of ceremonial events in which myths, sagas and chants were recounted. In the Embaloh and Leboyan this oral material was no longer 'lived' in the sense that it was actively performed on important occasions. It had therefore lost much of its impact. Some elements of the tradition were told by parents to children as entertainments, and samagat, in particular, still preserved their genealogies and sagas to pass on to their offspring. But commoners were quite happy to forget parts of the literature which continually

asserted that they were inferior, and, in the early 1970s, there were few occasions on which they had to listen to stories of samagat prowess and heroism. I only heard sagas delivered by women in the context of co-operative agricultural work such as weeding and harvesting. Formerly they would have been performed during such events as the funeral of an aristocrat, the house-warming ceremony and the erection of a new death-house. The sacred position of the samagat was now in question as a consequence of the declining interest in oral tradition and the increasing frequency of commoner headmen. Belief in the supernatural powers of the aristocrats, the traditionally favoured position of samagat in ritual and their links with deities and spirits also conflicted with basic Catholic tenets, and the priests tried to discourage them.

In the Palin, oral tradition was still viable. Only a few people were nominal Catholics, and the majority of the Maloh, who had converted to Islam there, had moved out. Most of the main ceremonies, in which elements of the oral tradition were recounted, were still performed. Maloh there still lived in and built long-houses; they used and erected kulambu, and they had retained much of the traditional funerary ritual. In these contexts the religious position of samagat was still expressed in word and action. But, where samagat were no longer headmen, such as in Tanjung Karaja, the ritual role was obviously reduced (see below). I talked with a number of people in the Palin who still felt it appropriate that samagat should be headmen, but this did not prevent commoners being elected to office. What it did mean was that, unlike the Embaloh and Leboyan, where commoners tended to look to non-traditional goals to fulfil their ambitions (e.g. in trade, shopkeeping, education, white-collar employment), in the Palin some, but not all commoners still wanted to translate economic and political success into a more refined status by intermarrying with samagat. Aristocrats there still had some status

based on traditional criteria. However, even in the Palin, samagat connexions with important ancestral spirits had been undermined by the sale of a number of heirlooms.

The most important life crisis rites, which formerly served to indicate rank differences, were those associated with death. According to my data for 1972-3, Maloh - Christians and pagans alike - believed that the body possessed a soul (*sumangat*), and that, after death, human souls went to the Afterworld called *Télung*. Among most Catholic Maloh the Christian heaven had merged with that of *Télung*, and many Catholics, whom I interviewed, referred to heaven as *Télung*. There was also a general belief that the soul resided in the head. Palin people claimed that this was the main soul (*sumangat tutu*) and that there were 20 minor souls located in the fingers and toes. Embaloh people usually asserted that the body had only one soul.

Heaven or the Afterworld was usually conceived by Catholics as being located in the sky. But the traditional belief still held by the Maloh of the Palin, and some nominal Catholics in the Embaloh and Leboyan, was that *Télung* was a flat-topped mountain which had its earthly counterpart in a strangely shaped upland range located in the Upper Mandai river. Palin informants asserted that the spirit of the dead person occupied the same station there as that individual had enjoyed while alive (i.e. samagat were superior to others). However, a soul did not necessarily go to *Télung*. Its final destination depended on circumstances surrounding death (cf. King, 1976h:135-42). After death from natural causes a person's soul would inevitably reach *Télung*, but, in cases where a woman died in childbirth or pregnancy (*maté aranak*), or when a person died outside his (or her) homeland (*maté manamué*), or formerly when someone had had their head taken (*maté duno'*), then the soul was doomed to wander

abroad as a malevolent spirit (antu). Variations in death rites, depended not only on the kind of death with which someone met, but also the stage in his (or her) life-cycle and his (or her) rank, wealth and social position in the community at the time of death. People who died 'unnaturally' were wrapped in a mat and buried; they were not placed in a kulambu. Most Catholic Maloh still believed in evil spirits and disliked 'bad death', although unlike in the Palin, there was no longer a special funeral for those who died in this way. People who died while still young or without children were not entitled to a full funeral in the Palin, though again these distinctions had been eliminated in the Embaloh and Leboyan, and the majority of burials there were now administered by the Catholic priest. This meant that people from different ranks, of different ages, and who had died under different circumstances, were all given the same burial service (with the exception of those who had committed suicide). I witnessed six funerals in the Embaloh, all of them Christian burials. The use of kulambu was finally discontinued in the Embaloh and Leboyan in the early 1960s. I visited some of these old structures which were in various stages of decay and engulfed by forest.

In support of the missionaries, the regional government had decreed that, for health reasons, coffins should be buried and not left above the ground in charnel-houses. In the 1960s some of the older people in the Embaloh and Leboyan still wanted to be placed in kulambu and honoured in the traditional way. A compromise was effected whereby the coffin was buried, but a small, individual house-like structure was erected above the ground, containing a token amount of burial property. Examples of these were found near the village of Belimbis. However, the 1970 adat conference ruled that, in future, no kulambu of any kind could be built, and if people wished to honour a dead relative, they had

to pay for the construction of a cement head-stone. A number of Catholic Maloh had also over the years removed the coffins of dead relatives, who had originally been placed in kulambu, to the Catholic cemetery. Even in the Palin where kulambu were still used, there was a gradual shift to burial of the dead.

With the elimination of kulambu funerals in the Embaloh and Leboyan there was no opportunity to drape the roof of a death-house with an expensive cloth in honour of a samagat. Furthermore, ceremonies accompanying the building of a new kulambu, which were formerly supervised by samagat, were not performed, and this too undermined aristocratic religious prominence. In all three rivers the right of an aristocrat to have a slave sacrificed at his (or her) funeral, and its severed head placed on a pole outside the kulambu (tampunang ulu), had long been discontinued.

The abandonment of kulambu and customary funerary rites in the Embaloh and Leboyan meant that illustrious samagat could no longer be honoured with a separate, decorated charnel-house, nor could the superior position of samagat be affirmed by the practice of placing their coffins above those of others in the communal kulambu. Of course, coffins were employed, as they were in the past, but they were no longer decorated with motifs of rank. In the six Embaloh burials which I observed (one samagat and five banua), all the coffins were of plain wood with no carvings or painted designs. The church and government also moved against the practice of leaving the body lying in state for a long period of time. In the past, a samagat corpse, draped with a cloth, would usually have been left on the long-house verandah for seven days before being placed in the kulambu, while pabiring were allowed five days and banua three days. In the 1970s the body had to be buried as soon as was conveniently possible.

The former impressive ceremonies held while the corpse was in the house were also no longer performed in the Embaloh and Lebayan. For example, traditionally on the night before the body was placed in the kulambu a large feast was held (mandás or inyum rá), during which pigs were sacrificed, mourning prohibitions decided, and the corpse was given food (maupan tau maté) to fortify it for the journey to Télung on the following day. Those people who had made the coffin were given a special gift of rice and other food, there was feasting and drinking, the dead person's feats and his ancestry would be remembered, and a balian would recite the 'journey of the dead', which indicated the stages through which the spirit passed on its way to Télung, and also symbolized the gradual but irrevocable separation of the soul from the body.

The journey involved travelling by water and land, meeting various obstacles and spirits, which had to be overcome or by-passed, before the eventual arrival at Télung. The journey varied in detail depending on one's age, sex and rank. The older and more distinguished the dead person, the greater and more substantial the obstacles. For example, male spirits were required to stop at a place called 'panyulingan' and play the nose flute (suling); female spirits would pause at 'pangondoan' and have flowers arranged in their hair (pangondo); children would stay at 'jalamuen' where they were cared for by a magical female stone until old enough to continue on their way. All spirits met with the antu kerangas, a spirit which 'reversed' the eyes of the dead person so that it could see in the otherworld; everyone also bathed at a beach called 'karakar paurutanen' where they realized they were dead because they could not see their reflection in the water. All spirits passed 'balauwanen', the place blocked by a log which continually rose and fell. A female aristocrat's spirit had to search for and catch the 'golden fish' called saladang, and a male aristocrat had to kill the ferocious pig belonging

to Daun Sari, the keeper of the gate to heaven. On meeting the tree 'bayuen pamotoan', the samagat had to break off a high branch before continuing the journey, while pabiring and banua plucked low branches.

In the Embaloh and Leboyan, apart from the Christian funeral service, there was only a short ceremony which followed the burial, normally lasting one evening. Catholic Maloh now called this celebration *mandás*. Guests would eat and drink and remember the dead person, but there were no animal sacrifices, no chants were delivered in the dead person's honour and no journey of death was recited. However, certain mourning prohibitions (*ulitan*) were observed, although these were no longer differentiated according to rank. Formerly, the whole village observed long and onerous taboos for dead samagat. For example, there were the customs of *jantang tali* and the erection of a *tambang* carving near the *kulambu*, and the prohibition against fishing particular lakes or small streams (see Chapter 4). In the early 1970s it was agreed that all dead people should be treated equally. For a period of one week after the burial no one was allowed to beat gongs or drums in the village, or dance and sing. Nor were people allowed to wear their best clothing or adornments such as jewellery and wrist-watches in the household of the dead person.

The ceremony to end the prohibitions (*marak ulitan*) was also modified. After one week of mourning a small gathering took place of the household members and co-villagers of the dead person. Invited guests brought a small amount of rice and drink, and a decoration of aren palm leaves was placed at the river's edge to indicate that mourning had finished. Formerly, a head had to be taken or a slave sacrificed to end the mourning period for a samagat. After the Dutch abolished this custom, a skull was used. It was held in the water while all the

villagers bathed downstream of it (siraraman). This was thought to 'wash away' the prohibitions and to be a symbolic reaffirmation of life. The skull was then placed on a bamboo stake on the river bank and decorated with dried palm leaves. This rite was no longer observed in the Embaloh and Leboyan, and certainly there were no ceremonies there in which skulls were used as ritual objects.

In addition to the general prohibitions incumbent on the village of the dead person, the spouse of the deceased had to observe a number of other taboos. Formerly, these would last for as much as six months to a year for ordinary villagers and at least two years for samagat. These included cutting the hair (traditionally both men and women wore their hair long), wearing a sleeveless bark-cloth jacket (babalan) and a ragged head-cloth, wearing no adornments, avoiding village festivities, avoiding another person's farm hut or canoe, abstaining from sexual relations, and eating and drinking from a coconut shell. At the end of the mourning period the widow(er) was expected to present a pig for sacrifice to his (or her) dead spouse's household. In the Embaloh and Leboyan these prohibitions had been largely dispensed with in the early 1970s, although surviving spouses still cut their hair and wore old clothes. There was no need to go through the formality of informing the dead spouse's household that the prohibitions were about to end, and they were observed only for about two months.

Thus, in the Embaloh and Leboyan the complex of ceremonies and observances surrounding death had been drastically altered, and some parts of them eliminated altogether, along with the symbolic distinctions in rank. However, in the Palin a large part of the funeral rituals had been retained. I witnessed only one samagat funeral in the village of Sungai Ulu', but this together with data from informants confirmed that certain symbols of rank were still in operation. There were no Christian

burials in the Palin. Everyone was placed on death in large communal kulambu or in individual surambi. In the funeral ceremony which I observed various rank symbols were displayed, and I propose to present a summary of the funeral by way of illustration.

The woman, the aunt (FZ) of the samagat headman of Sungai Ulu', died of old age in her long-house apartment. Gongs and a large drum (kangkuang) were sounded to mark her death and to summon people back from their fields. Not everyone returned, but the majority of the villagers were there. Close female relatives of the deceased gathered round the corpse to wail (nangis tau maté). The body was derobed and washed (manggusuk bangkayoan), and then dressed in fine bead clothing, a silver-embroidered head-band, and silver amulets and anklets. A valuable bead was placed in her mouth. It was said that this bead had to be produced or vomited (malua) when the dead person's spirit reached Daun Sari at the gate of heaven, as evidence that the person in question had gone through the appropriate funeral ceremony. Non-samagat would be given an ordinary bead indicative of their lower rank. The corpse was laid with its arms by its sides and its head facing west towards Teling. Its bodily apertures such as nostrils and ears were blocked with material to prevent evil spirits entering and capturing the body. Stories were told of corpses which had been lying in state, 'coming alive' and leaving the long-house.

The corpse was draped with an expensive silk cloth and the following morning carried on to the verandah outside its apartment. There it was surrounded by a bamboo frame with a roof (siring tau maté), all of which was covered with cloth so that the body itself was hidden. The cloth consisted of fine embroidered materials, and female skirts belonging to the household of the deceased. The corpse was guarded night and day (maruang tau maté), and at night it was surrounded with lighted torches; gongs were periodically beaten and the dead person was occasionally given food and drink. Various taboos were observed while the corpse was in the house. For example, no one was allowed to tie together or mend anything which was broken, in case a series of deaths resulted.

During the deceased's sojourn in the house, 12 village men were sent out to find wood for a coffin. They brought back a log, which had been previously roughed out in the shape of a canoe, and proceeded to smooth it down and carve it. The ridge of the lid was embellished with karawit, and full naga designs were painted on the lid and sides of the coffin, indicative of samagat rank. This work took approximately two days. The corpse was then placed in the coffin accompanied by the beating of gongs; the lid was secured and tied to the base with rattan, and the coffin sealed with damar.

On this occasion the corpse was only left in the house for five nights. Ideally it should have been seven, but the villagers had been busy crushing sugar cane at the time of the death, and they wanted to get back to work. No one could work while the corpse was in the house. On the ^{fourth} fourth night the inyum rá ceremony was held. Seven women danced round the coffin, seven times in one direction and seven in the other. Gongs

and drums were played for about an hour, and all the villagers present sat round the coffin. Food and drink were supplied by the two samagat households in the village, although each village household which attended contributed small parcels of rice. After the dancing and music, the samagat headman sacrificed a pig, which was subsequently eaten, and presented the deceased with an offering tray containing rice and other tidbits, and the choicest parts of the sacrificed pig (ears, snout, heart, liver and tail). The tray was suspended above the feet of the corpse. Traditionally the amount of rice given to the deceased varied according to his (or her) feasting status. I was told that this custom was no longer observed.

The headman then placed certain pieces of clothing and beadwork, which the woman herself had made, near the coffin. I was informed that a male corpse would normally have been given his sword, spear and shield. A small jar and gong were also presented by the woman's husband. These were eventually to be put in the kulambu to accompany the woman on her journey to Telung, and the offering tray was to be hung in the roof of the death-house. The headman also set out the various prohibitions which all villagers would have to observe for four weeks, commencing the day after the placing of the coffin in the kulambu. Those who made the coffin were recompensed in glutinous rice (daun panara lungun). I was told that the mourning prohibitions for samagat still lasted longer than for others and tended to be more numerous and onerous.

The widower was required to cut his hair, and wear old clothes for four months. To mark the end of the inyum rá ceremony one of the four female adult samagat in the house was called on to sing the praises of the deceased and provide a potted version of her ancestry; and a female balian continued by recounting the journey of the dead. It was really only balian who knew the journey in detail because they frequently embarked on it in curing ceremonies in search of lost souls. During the period from death to the placement of the coffin in the kulambu the dead person's soul was believed to remain in the environs of the long-house. It left for Telung on the day of the funeral.

The following morning gongs were sounded and the coffin was carried by six men (mántat tau maté), the villagers following in procession to canoes decorated with flags. Everyone then went downstream to the other side of the river where the kulambu was situated. Seven red and yellow flags had already been erected in front of it, and a cloth embroidered with silver thread (kain tambayang) was placed on its roof. The coffin was then stored on the high shelf of the roof of the house, appropriate to someone of samagat rank. Everyone returned to the house and spent the rest of the day eating, drinking, dancing and singing, before returning to work the following morning. In the ceremonies themselves, I did not witness samagat sitting on raised platforms or gongs, as they were entitled to do in the past.

Thus, certain distinctions between ranks were still observed in the Palin in funeral rites, but there were signs that these were disappearing. Furthermore, in Nanga Nyabau and Tanjung Karaja, corpses were increasingly being buried in graves topped with a house-like structure, without

decorations indicative of rank such as paintings on coffins. In religious terms samagat did retain some of their former status attributes, which were still positively evaluated by many Palin villagers, although even there signs of change were evident.

I mentioned above that in the Embaloh and Leboyan kulambu were no longer built, so that the supervisory and organizational role of samagat had also been removed. In the Palin the mulambu ceremony was very much alive and I was able to witness one such ritual in Tanjung Karaja. This particular ceremony confirmed that, while samagat still retained certain symbols of rank and played a role in ritual, their religious position was under attack.

At a village meeting which I attended in Tanjung Karaja plans for the mulambu ceremony were finalized, after the rice harvest had been completed. The desirability of holding this important ritual had been discussed intermittently for the three preceding years. It took time to accumulate enough resources to hold the ceremony. About two weeks before work began on the new death-house invitations were sent out to other long-houses in the Palin, and to some people in the Embaloh, who were close relatives of the individuals sponsoring the ceremony. A number of residents of Nanga Nyabau had also agreed to assist in the preparations.

One of the main recommendations in the discussions prior to the festival was that the method of disposing of the dead should be changed in line with 'modern ways'. It was agreed that the kulambu did not afford enough protection for dead relatives' remains. After a while the structure succumbed to wind and weather, and in 1972 the kulambu of the village had partially collapsed. The floor had given way and many coffins had spilled on to the ground. Some had broken open. Certain villagers also remembered occasions when severe flooding carried away the kulambu and its coffins, or caused the river bank to collapse so that death-house and coffins would tumble into the water and be carried downstream. It was therefore decided to follow the example of Nanga Nyabau and in future bury corpses individually and place a small kulambu structure above the grave. To institute this new practice the village decided to hold a mulambu to transfer some of the exposed coffins from the old kulambu to a large grave nearby. The burial area was to be marked by a kulambu above it in accordance with the new adat.

It was significant in this ceremony that the two samagat households in the village did not play an all-commanding role. The headman of Tanjung Karaja was not an aristocrat but an ulun mam. His son, who was tipped as the next headman, was a small-scale trader. The son had worked for some time in Sarawak and with his earnings had acquired two outboard

motors and a large boat. He travelled between his village and Nanga Embaloh carrying rubber and illipe, which he bought from villagers in the Palin, and brought back various consumer goods from Chinese shopkeepers on the main river. The headman and his son were the important driving forces in persuading fellow villagers to adopt the new burial practices and in organizing the mulambu. On the other hand, it was the two samagat households which decided to pave the way by moving their relatives' coffins to a new grave and to finance the major part of the ceremony. They provided a goat for sacrifice, and the main portion of the drink and rice. However, all the households, which were involved in or attended the activities, contributed some food and drink. The new burial structure was therefore exclusively samagat property. Future burials would have to be located elsewhere in separate graves. Thus, though the aristocrats were not the principal organizers of the ceremony, they were the focus of it. Five samagat coffins were to be moved.

After the village meeting, on the following day all able-bodied men went into the forest to cut ironwood and erect the new kulambu. Two men were commissioned to carve full naga designs on the roof of the death-house. These were indicative of samagat rank. This work took four days to complete. The structure measured about 16 metres wide by 8 metres deep and 10 metres high. It was constructed downriver of the long-house on the opposite river bank. During the next four days women were busy preparing rice cakes and sweetmeats and pounding rice, while the men made sure that the long-house was presentable. They repaired broken floorboards, walls, roof-tiles and hand-rails, and then fashioned a new entrance ladder to the house.

On the morning of the main ceremony, a number of men in the village led by the headman and a senior samagat male, Sagu, from one of the samagat households, went out to fish with derris root a small lake near the village. The lake had been covered by a fishing prohibition when the previous samagat headman, Luat, the father of Sagu, had died in 1965. His was one of the coffins to be moved to the new grave, and it was thought to be an appropriate time to remove the last of the mourning prohibitions which had been set up at his death. Sagu took a skull with him, decorated with dried palm leaves and an offering of cooked and glutinous rice, fish and small containers of rice wine. The offering was placed at the side of the lake and the skull dipped into the water to remove the prohibition. The headman then threw yellow rice and called the spirit of Luat to witness the ceremony. The men then used derris root to fish the waters; the catch was to be used for the forthcoming feast.

That afternoon ten women arrived from Nyabau in their finest clothes. They had been recruited to assist in the dancing and chanting around the new kulambu. They had to visit each long-house apartment in turn and accept a little food. In the evening the women were feasted and there was dancing and singing, the highlight of the occasion being a rather frenzied dance by an anthropologist and his wife.

The next morning the women from Nanga Nyabau and several from Tanjung Karaja were taken in a canoe decorated with flags and dried aren and sago leaves to the site of the new grave. Three men sat in the rear of the boat with a set of gongs, a tawak and a drum to provide musical accompaniment. The women wore traditional bead clothing, decorated ear-plugs and

embroidered head-cloths. They also wore hornbill feathers on their backs since they were playing an important part in the ceremony. A second undecorated boat carried the women who would serve food, drink and betel nut after the ritual. These were followed by several boat-loads of spectators.

At the new kulambu an offering on a tray was hung in the roof of the house as a gift to those spirits whose coffins were to be moved. The female chanters stood at the side of the kulambu and together made sounds which were used to encourage invited guests, in this case ancestral spirits, to eat and drink. These were rather strange guttural, hiccupping sounds - ihi-ih-ih-ih - interspersed with the occasional high-pitched aaaaai-eeh. Meanwhile men were clearing a pathway between the old and new kulambu to enable the easy transportation of the coffins.

A female balian then took a white cockerel and seated all the women, who had participated in any part of the ceremony, with their backs to her. She waved the fowl over the women, threw rice over them, and asked that their souls be protected from any evil influences which might have been engendered in a ceremony of this kind. A male balian then did the same with the male participants. The cockerel was then sacrificed and the blood smeared on a wooden cross (tamadu), which was to be eventually erected in front of the kulambu, topped with a skull and draped with a yellow cloth (an aristocratic symbol).

Afterwards the female chanters moved slowly round the kulambu, seven times in a clockwise direction, and seven times in the opposite direction. One woman led the entourage carrying a bush-knife and a bowl of yellow rice. Periodically she bit the knife and threw rice. The chant was addressed to Maloh deities of the sun, moon and stars, Sangyang Burong and various samagat ancestral spirits of the Palin to witness their work, and give their blessing and approval. Everyone then partook of a meal, chewed betel and returned to the long-house.

In the afternoon a small group of men went to the kulambu to dig a hole beneath it for the new graves. That evening men from Nanga Nyabau arrived and there was a large meal. After eating, the women of the village offered rice wine to the male guests from Nyabau. Sagu and the headman then delivered speeches, outlining the purpose of the ceremony and the programme for the next two days, and thanking everyone for assisting. This was followed by a woman of Sagu's household delivering a long saga about Baring, an ancestor of Luat.

The next day was taken up with decorating the entrance to the long-house with flags, dried leaves and brightly-coloured textiles to receive guests from other villages in the Palin and from the Embaloh. Everyone also dressed up in their best clothes. Women tended to wear traditional clothing, but most men wore a curious mixture of modern and traditional dress. Very few dressed in the loin-cloth, and when they did this was usually worn above shorts. A favourite male costume was a white shirt, grey cloth or black silk trousers with a piece of expensive embroidered material wrapped around the waist and down to the knee. Some men also donned wrist-watches, ostentatious gold rings and sun-glasses. When guests arrived they had to drink a container of rice wine before they could enter the house. That night during the feast the headman established the procedures of the following day's ceremony.

The next day everyone went to the kulambu. Both men and women danced round the death-house. Another offering tray was placed in the roof of the house. A small pig, presented by Sagu, was sacrificed, and the coffins were brought to the death-house and buried amidst wailing from close relatives of the deceased. The headman had taken a skull with him decorated with dried aren leaves; this was smeared with pig's blood and then placed on the tamadu which was draped with a yellow cloth and erected in front of the kulambu. This was said to be a substitute for the sacrifice of a slave in the past. Flags were erected on the roof of the kulambu and the roof itself was covered with a fine silk cloth. The ceremony ended with feasting back at the long-house, and merry-making continued into the next day.

This ceremony demonstrated the continued use of rank symbols. The samagat were celebrated, though they were not the main organizers, nor did they monopolize the giving of offerings and the delivery of prayers to supernatural beings. Yellow cloth, a 'substitute slave' sacrificed, naga carvings on the kulambu, the exhibition of painted and carved samagat coffins, the removal of prohibitions on the fishing of a lake, and the remembrance of and address to samagat ancestors in sagas and chants, all served to affirm aristocratic status. Interestingly the samagat households were also the first to begin a new form of burial, and they had the resources to sponsor a large ceremony.

Other rituals important for samagat religious status were those associated with long-house construction. As we have seen, long-house domicile in the Embaloh had been abandoned in the 1960s. The last house, which people remembered being built, was that of Belimbis in the early 1950s. Therefore, the rites surrounding the erection of samagat support posts (see Chapters 4 and 5) were no longer performed and the beliefs in the importance of the spirits of the posts for the well-being of the house were undermined. Samagat could not supervise and organize the house-warming ceremony and it was, of course, unnecessary for samagat to provide animal sacrifices for these village rituals. In the 1970s individual households were alone responsible for the construction of their own houses, sometimes with occasional assistance from close relatives.

The loss of village-wide community effort in house-building was a serious blow to Embaloh samagat religious superiority.

In the Leboyan, long-houses were still to be found, but I was informed by the camat of the area that when the time came for the present houses to be abandoned, the inhabitants would be ordered to establish separate family dwellings. The trend towards single-family houses was already evident there. For example, in the villages of Jejawé and Nanga Ngaung, the old houses had been vacated and villagers were living in farm-huts until they had the time and resources to build independent houses. Ganti was on the verge of being abandoned and in a bad state of repair. Where long-houses did exist, they had become smaller, less solid and less high than the traditional dwellings. The last long-house in the Leboyan had been built at Bakul in the early 1960s, but I was informed that no house-warming ceremony had been held and there was no ritual for the erection of the main support posts. In fact, the Dutch priests had been asked, and had agreed, to hold a small ceremony to consecrate the new house for them. In Ukit-Ukit, five households lived in separate houses and like Bakul, no special religious role had been granted the samagat households when the present long-house had been built in 1956. There were also no offerings presented to the spirits of aristocratic house-posts in Ukit-Ukit.

Formerly, and in accordance with the Maloh classification system, samagat apartments were at the upstream end of the long-house and tended to be more spacious than those of lower ranks downstream of them. As dispersed individual family houses were built in the Embaloh this pattern changed to some extent. In Belimbis and Keram the samagat families had built their own independent houses at the upstream end of the village. But this was an exception in the Embaloh. In all other villages there, except one, aristocrats' houses were intermixed with households from other

ranks. Furthermore, in Belimbis and Keram the samagat dwellings were not noticeably larger than other houses. Indeed, in Keram they were of average size. Even in long-houses, the traditional pattern of settlement was not always followed. The modest size of some long-houses meant that additional apartments could easily be tacked on to either end of the dwelling. In the Leboyan village of Ukit-Ukit, the samagat apartment of Kuda was about the same size as others and was located three places from the upstream end of the house.

In the Palin, long-houses generally approximated to traditional structures, solidly built and high off the ground. Only Tanjung Karaja was modestly built in the style of the Leboyan houses, and was completed in the early 1960s. The other two houses which I visited - Sungai Ulu' and Nanga Nyabau - were completed a long time ago. Sungai Ulu' had been originally constructed between 1941 and 1943; Nyabau was finished in about 1953. In both cases, and in Tanjung Karaja as well, aristocrats' apartments were still at the upstream end of the house. The headman of Sungai Ulu' had a much larger apartment than other villagers and a spacious covered verandah section where village meetings were held. But this did not apply to samagat households in Nanga Nyabau and Tanjung Karaja. It was difficult to assess the importance of aristocrats in rites related to long-house building in the Palin. Long-house construction was not a common occurrence, and most houses lasted an average of 20 to 30 years before being replaced. Informants recalled that in the building of Sungai Ulu', Nanga Nyabau and Tanjung Karaja the samagat headmen at that time did offer animal sacrifices during the raising of their apartment posts, and placed precious beads in the holes for the supports. They also organized the house-warming rites. However, as with the Leboyan area, the camat responsible for the Palin, with his office in Nanga Embaloh, hoped to discourage new long-house construction. In view

of government policy it seems likely that any role the samagat previously enjoyed in long-house rites is destined to disappear in the not-too-distant future.

In Chapter 4 we saw that formerly there were a number of symbols in Maloh pictorial art specific to the samagat rank. These adorned coffins, offering trays, death-houses, canoes and long-house posts and apartment walls. Maloh art and the number of skilled artists had declined in all three areas which I studied. Of course, in the Embaloh there were no long-houses, kulambu or offering trays on which designs could be displayed; and coffins and canoes were no longer decorated. The only large Embaloh mural which I came across was on the front walls of the Catholic fathers residence in Benua Martinus, comprising full dragon designs, human motifs and hornbills elaborately embellished and framing two photographs - one of the Pope and the other of President Suharto. The designs were appropriately those reserved for samagat. They were commissioned by the Church, and were painted by Johannes, a Catholic Maloh from Bukung. He was reputed to be one of the very few skilled artists and silver-smiths still practising his crafts in the Embaloh.

Even where long-houses still remained in the Leboyan and Palin, there was no evidence of decorations on samagat apartment walls or iron-wood support posts. Furthermore, in the Leboyan, kulambu were no more in use, and coffins, canoes and the few offering trays which were made, did not bear designs. Some decorative art forms were still to be found in the Palin. As far as I could determine only samagat tutu continued to employ dragon designs and human motifs on their coffins, offering trays and on separate kulambu. They were not found on canoes, and even the practice of decorating coffins was in decline in Nanga Nyabau and Tanjung

Karaja. Individuals of samagat rá rank and below did not use designs any longer.

Other symbols of rank, common in the past, had fallen into almost complete disuse in all three Maloh areas. The aristocratic custom of wearing tiger teeth as ear decorations, and animal skin cloaks was not observed, nor was there any sign of the display of wild pig jaws or tusks as evidence of bravery and rank status. The only adornments which were still common, even in the Embaloh, were the feathers of the Rhinoceros Hornbill. In the Embaloh and Leboyan they had lost their former prestige connotations and were worn by anyone who happened to possess them, on special occasions such as marriages and harvest festivals. In the Palin these feathers were still restricted to samagat, pabiring and prestigious banua, especially shamans. I never saw any samagat in any area wearing the feathers of the Helmeted Hornbill or beaded sun hats with Rhinoceros Hornbill feathers, although they were relatively common among Taman aristocrats. The majority of Maloh households still had at least some examples of beadwork clothing which were worn, particularly by women, in various pagan ceremonies and by Catholics in Christian festivals. The best examples of beadwork were to be found in the Palin and among Taman. Various designs - nagas, human faces and figures, and hornbills - were incorporated into bead patterns, but even in the Palin, there was no longer any restriction on the use of designs.

Overall, it would appear that the religious basis of samagat superiority had largely disappeared in the Embaloh and Leboyan, although some elements remained in the Palin. Of course, even where Catholicism, secular education and government policies had made their greatest impact, a number of individuals, especially older people and women, had very little knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity, and still held to certain

traditional beliefs associated with, for example, the afterlife, misfortune, sickness and agriculture. Shamans were still to be found in the Embaloh despite the availability of Western medicine. They came into their own in cases of 'mysterious' internal illnesses which the local hospital had little success in curing. In my incomplete exposition of Maloh religion above, I by no means wanted to suggest that Maloh in such places as the Embaloh, no longer held to beliefs in the old deities, ancestor spirits and evil antu. Even some educated Maloh acknowledged the existence of spirits and their ability to help or hinder humans. But what had happened by 1972-3, and this has had consequences for the ranking system, was that a number of village-wide ceremonies had disappeared, some being replaced by Christian rituals, and with them the aristocrats' role and position in religion. While some Maloh in the Embaloh and Leboyan still held curing rituals and gave offerings to spirits, they no longer worked through the medium of the samagat. The religious status of the aristocrats in the Palin had not suffered so markedly, but it had certainly been undermined, and this process was closely related to the gradual removal of the economic and political superiority of samagat. Once aristocrats were seen not to be 'naturally' dominant and commoners began to take over the office of headman, the former sacredness of aristocrats and their religious position suffered accordingly. Some symbols of rank remained in the 1970s, but there were signs that certain of these were on the wane, and this process may well be accelerated with the establishment of an American Protestant mission in Nanga Nyabau in 1973. Obviously in the Leboyan and Embaloh political and, to a certain extent, economic pressures had marked effects on Maloh ranks, but they were considerably intensified by the spread of Catholicism, and once the religious ideology, which supported a system of inequality, was questioned then this, in turn, affected the political and economic position of the aristocracy.

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSIONS

The focus of this thesis has been on the Maloh ranking system. The argument has been that any understanding of Maloh society and culture must involve an analysis of social inequality and the system of social stratification. Therefore, I examined Maloh ranks in the period before European colonialism made its full impact in the Upper Kapuas, traced the significant influences which undermined the traditional ranking system, and then described and analysed the various aspects of Maloh rank relating to kinship, descent, economics, politics and religion in the early 1970s. I have tried to show that it was political and religious changes introduced from outside which had the most important consequences for the Maloh stratification system. Though the introduction of money, modern consumer goods and rubber, and the availability of paid work have also acted upon certain aspects of Maloh rank, the Maloh have largely remained subsistence cultivators of rice and have been able to insulate themselves from the worst excesses which can result from integration into a wider economy. The really significant changes which led to a decline in the superior position of aristocrats were the abolition of slavery, the establishment of a government administration and law and order, the spread of Christian beliefs and practices, and secular education.

The two introductory chapters established my concern with rank. It was pointed out that an obvious feature of Maloh society, which caught the attention of early European observers, was the hierarchical division between aristocrats, a middle rank, commoners and slaves. I also indicated that certain problems which I faced in collecting field data were the consequence of studying a ranked society. Furthermore, in an examination of ethnic classification in Borneo, I drew attention to the importance of rank as an element in Maloh ethnic identity and to the socio-

logical value of classifying Maloh together with other ranked societies of Central Borneo, such as the Kayan, Kenyah and Kajang. The review of the literature on these societies revealed striking social and cultural similarities between them. Finally, in studying Maloh economy and settlement it was immediately obvious that the physical environment in the Upper Kapuas provided the resources to support an aristocracy, and that careful Maloh farming methods, the production of surpluses, the permanency of villages, and long-house design and construction were closely related to the existence of a ranked society.

The main part of the thesis was structured around the simple but extremely useful Weberian distinction between class, status and power.¹ Maloh society and culture, both historically and in the early 1970s, and particularly changes in the ranking system, can be fruitfully analysed in terms of this tripartite division. What is more, much of the confusion in the literature on social inequality in Borneo, among the so-called egalitarian and ranked societies, stems from a failure to differentiate clearly between the economic, social and political dimensions of inequality in both time and space. This has resulted on occasion in a tendency for some scholars to overemphasize the egalitarian nature of some Borneo societies,² and for certain analysts of the ranked societies to present a confusing picture of the number of strata, their characteristics and the bases of hierarchical differentiation. Different conceptual emphases in the analyses of different ranked societies can also be partly explained in terms of the degree to which the traditional

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1. The use, implicitly or explicitly, of part or all of Weber's framework in the analysis of South-East Asian systems of social stratification (outside Borneo) is illustrated in a wide range of studies. See, for Java, Jay (1969:239-88) and Palmier (1969); for the Philippines, Lynch (1959) and Turner (1978:265-96); for Malaya, Bador (1973:132-49); for Laos, Barber (1979:290-304); for Thailand, Hanks (1962:1247-61).
 2. In a very recent article Rousseau has drawn attention to this problem in the literature on the Iban (1980:52-63). He has also emphasized the relative quality of 'egalitarianism' - 'as a pole in a continuum rather than one half of a dichotomy' (ibid.:62).

system of inequality has been undermined by external forces.

In the analysis of traditional Maloh rank I revealed the existence of three economic classes - aristocrats, commoners and slaves - based on the control of key resources such as labour, relative wealth and the division of labour. However, in terms of indigenous categories, symbols of rank and differentiation in adat, there were four hereditary status levels - samagat, pabiring, banua and pangkam - and two basic classificatory divisions between 'superior' and 'inferior' people. My conceptual division between 'class' and 'status' corresponds partly to the Marxian distinction between 'economic base' and 'ideological superstructure'. Finally, an analysis of political power revealed the close correspondence between class and power. In other words, the three economic classes were also differentiated in power terms into the aristocratic rulers, freemen who had rights under law, and the totally subordinate slaves. All three bases of inequality served to demarcate a dominant stratum of aristocrats. Samagat controlled labour, and certain products of labour; they had the time to undertake profitable trading operations; they had ultimate control over internal village decision-making and were the main legislators, executors of policy, judicial functionaries and 'international' diplomats; their superiority was expressed in certain symbols of rank, especially in the religious sphere, in native categories, in life-style and in the Maloh evaluation of what constituted superiority and inferiority.

On the other hand, two of the dimensions of inequality in particular - status and power - served to 'disguise' and by this means support aristocratic dominance. While the use of certain criteria enabled Maloh to distinguish four status levels, the employment of other criteria (e.g. personal names, pictorial designs, cosmological classification) led to pabiring being assimilated to the samagat status level. This served, on the surface, to undermine aristocratic exclusiveness, and, at the same time,

reinforce it, by making aristocrats 'appear' less exclusive than they really were. Enterprising banua could also translate economic and political success into status for their descendants through marriage into higher status levels, and by being allowed to use certain designs and bodily adornments, as well as being granted extra entitlements at death. Finally, in considering the power dimension we saw that a partial diffusion of decision-making abilities to an élite wider than the aristocracy, acted as a sanction against the possible excesses of disreputable aristocrats. It also served apparently to bring pabiring and banua 'big men' on a par with aristocrats in the political forum. By injecting an element of power-sharing into the political system, aristocrats maintained their supremacy, because energetic individuals were again channelled into socially useful roles in the system and could aspire to high status.

My reconstruction and synthesis of a past ranking system, from scattered secondary sources and informants' memories, may mean that the mechanics of the system which I have outlined appear a little too neat. On the basis of my evidence I can only say that I have gone as far as I can with the data available, and that the main characteristics of the system seem to make sense in terms of the concepts of class, status and power, which serve to distinguish strata and explain how these distinctions were perpetuated. As far as I can determine the traditional ranking system once established was remarkably stable. This stability must not be taken for granted, but I have no historical evidence of fundamental structural change in the ranking system before the alterations set in train by the Dutch, mainly after the turn of this century. What seems to have happened in practice was that individual ambitions and discontent were accommodated within the prevailing ranking system. Enterprising commoners could through marriage secure higher status for

their descendants. Non-functional aristocrats gradually lost their position and intermarried with lower ranks. Excessive samagat were tempered by representations from 'big men' or were removed by fellow aristocrats following shifts of allegiance by the populace from one aristocrat to another. Even relations with non-European outsiders did not upset the system. Forest nomads became slaves; disaffected aristocrats and commoners moved away to become Muslims; some aristocrats might marry into Malay ruling families to maintain their position, or seek marriages with the leading families of neighbouring Dayaks such as Iban.

My Borneo data suggest a few possibly fruitful comparisons and contrasts with Leach's analysis of the peoples in Highland Burma labelled 'Kachin' (1970). Leach described and analysed a process of structural change or 'oscillation' in the Kachin Hills between two ideal political types - Kachin gumlao democracy and Shan 'feudal autocracy'. He noted, however, that most Kachin communities were neither gumlao nor Shan but were gumsa - a compromise between gumlao and Shan ideals. I have no historical evidence of largely egalitarian Maloh communities becoming more hierarchical or of revolts within hierarchical communities which have led to the establishment of a more egalitarian order.³ But it must be realized that I am only dealing with the ethnic category 'Maloh'. I pointed out in Chapters 2 and 3 that Maloh and other stratified Central Borneo communities of Kayan and Ulu Ai' lived in close juxtaposition to 'egalitarian' peoples such as the Iban. In other words the categories 'Maloh', 'Kayan' and 'Ulu Ai'' could be something akin to Kachin 'gumsa'. One could then postulate that Iban, Suruk, Mentebah and possibly Punan and Bukat are equivalent to 'gumlao', and the Upper Kapuas Malay states

3. Similar evidence from Rousseau indicates that among the Baluy Kayan egalitarian revolts were very rare, temporary and not institutionalized into an alternative political ideology (1979:232-3).

to the Shan states in the Kachin Hills. Certainly mechanisms existed for Dayaks to make shifts of category, and evidence exists of them doing just this.⁴ But it then becomes necessary to examine all the non-Maloh categories more closely, as well as the various relationships (social, economic, political, religious) between categories over a long period. I have not had the opportunity to collect the sorts of data for Borneo which Leach accumulated for Burma. Indeed, the written historical records on the Upper Kapuas, in contrast to Highland Burma, are sadly inadequate. However, what little evidence I have, suggests that a wide-ranging Leachian analysis of various areas of Borneo might reveal some of the processes which were operative among the Kachin.⁵ I have indicated that Malay state organization did provide a model for Maloh, but I am not certain to what extent members of various communities in the Upper Kapuas held ideal polar models of political organization and 'manipulated' these 'as a means of social advancement' (cf. Leach, *ibid.*: 8-10).

As we have seen it was really the advent of European colonialism which led to basic changes in the Maloh ranking system (as it did among

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4. Miles, in an examination of the processes by which Ngaju Dayaks 'become' Banjarese Malays, has drawn attention to Leach's Kachin study (1976:142 seq.). However, Miles argued, contra Leach, that considerations of political power were not the only factors in ethnic change, at least in Kalimantan. I have also indicated that Maloh conversion to Islam involved not only political motives, but also resulted from economic considerations, Malay proselytizing and chance encounters, and that Malay society presented an alternative system not only for ambitious Maloh but also for those who had failed in or were dissatisfied with their own society.
 5. One difference between Borneo societies and the Kachin, which might have a bearing on the comparison, is that of kinship and descent. The Kachin are organized in agnatic lineages and ideally practice matrilineal cross-cousin marriage, whereas in Borneo societies are cognatic. In a cognatic society descent lines can be manipulated or invented to bring practical exigencies into line with theoretical requirements, and while this obviously occurs in unilineal societies as well, in Borneo flexibility to do this may be greater. But see also Kemp on the unilineal-cognatic dichotomy (1978:64-7).

the Melanau and Kenyah). In the contemporary period it becomes difficult to arrive at a clear picture of Maloh hierarchical groupings because we are analysing a still changing situation in which some features of the traditional ranking system can be found, while others have disappeared. There are further complications because external influences and internal responses have varied in different parts of Maloh country. In this thesis it is apparent that communities in the Embaloh had undergone more profound changes than those in the Palin, while Leboyan villages constituted a 'half-way house' between the former two. However, in all three areas I have attempted to argue that in economic and political terms it is no longer possible to discern classes of aristocrats, commoners and slaves. Strata cannot easily be differentiated on the basis of ownership and/or control over labour or other resources such as land, nor in terms of distinctions between manual and non-manual occupations. If we established arbitrary divisions of annual income this would not have much sociological relevance, and, in any case, given the largely subsistence nature of the Maloh economy, would vary considerably from year to year, as, in both the short- and long-term, would consumption needs. Whereas formerly aristocrats were a leisured class, wealthy and important in trade, in the 1970s they had to work their fields like any other villager. Some were comparatively poor, and even well-endowed samagat were not necessarily the richest individuals in the village. Aristocrats did not monopolize trade or other non-agricultural occupations; most of the traders were from other ranks, and teaching, clerical posts and paid manual work were open to all. Economic factors also influenced relative status. Aristocrats did not pursue a distinct life-style in the early 1970s because they no longer had the leisure to do so. They were reduced to rice farmers. But interestingly, although control over resources had been lost to them, some samagat tried to retain certain

status attributes in the economic sphere. For example, the samagat in Belimbis tried to dissociate themselves from co-operative farm work, which was founded on reciprocity and a principle of equality.

I also argued that it was difficult to identify new economic classes among the Maloh,⁶ although there were distinctions between the Embaloh and Leboyan on the one hand, and the Palin on the other, in this regard. As we saw in Belimbis, wealthy households were divided by different status evaluations and marriage alignments. Some well-to-do samagat continued to try and emphasize traditional status criteria in their assessment of superiority and inferiority (e.g. social origins, names, oral tradition), and still arranged marriages amongst themselves or at least with pabiring. Successful commoners attempted to deny the validity of these status attributes, stressing instead the importance of education, white-collar employment, Christianity and 'modern ways'. Most commoners there did not consider it important to intermarry with aristocrats, and there was some evidence that banua households of substance were contracting marriages amongst themselves.⁷ Some successful commoners only accorded respect to samagat if they were wealthy and had political influence. There were signs then of the emergence of new groups of Maloh from pabiring and banua ranks, mainly Catholic-educated, and involved in teaching, local government, trade and shopkeeping. However, in the Palin village of Nanga Nyabau, some wealthy pabiring (and

6. The themes of 'transition' and 'classes in formation' are familiar ones in the macro-sociological literature on Third World social stratification. See, for example, Evers (1973:108-31), Roberts (1978:92 seq.), Roxborough (1979:70-106) and Worsley (1967).

7. This kind of situation has some parallels with studies of some other South-East Asian societies i.e. where people of broadly the same economic position are divided by 'vertical' ties of status, ideology, religion, ethnicity. See, for example, Geertz (1963, 1965) and Wertheim (1969) on Java, and the concept of aliran; and see Adas (1974) on the 'plural society' in Burma.

indeed banua) were prepared to marry into households in higher ranks, provided the latter were not poor, because 'traditional' status criteria did not conflict so markedly with 'modern' status attributes and create divisions between those households of approximately the same economic standing.

Formerly, aristocrats could also be defined as a ruling class. They had, within certain limits, the ability to realize their will against others, and to manipulate and coerce others. They could do this through their monopoly of the village headmanship, their control over the physical movement of their villagers, their important role in inter-village relations and their command over certain secular and supernatural sanctions. With the incorporation of the village into a wider administrative framework, the bureaucratization of traditional leaders, village elections, the creation of a national militia and police force, the village, and by extension the headman, had lost much of its former political autonomy by the early 1970s. What political prerogatives remained were also more diffuse since no one rank could monopolize the headmanship. Some aristocrats were still headmen; they still monopolized the position of *temenggung*, and they frequently had influence in village decision-making. *Samagat* knowledge of customary law aided them in the political arena. However, with the removal of a number of former aristocratic powers, the ability of successful commoners to achieve political office should they desire it, and the questioning of village customary law by young educated Maloh in particular, it is problematical whether one can now talk about either an aristocratic or a new ruling class in Maloh society. Furthermore, criteria of achievement such as economic success, oratory, literacy and education have become rather more important in securing secular office than traditional ascribed criteria. *Samagat*, who were headmen or *temenggung* in 1972-3,

would certainly not be in that position solely on the basis of their aristocratic birth. This was so even in the Palin.

I have also indicated that one cannot fully understand Maloh social stratification in the 1970s without examining Maloh in a wider economic and political context. Some economically successful villagers moved away to larger trading centres to set up in shopkeeping or trade, while others migrated in search of paid work to meet their needs and obligations within village society. Maloh were also tied into economic relations with Chinese and Malay middlemen, and Maloh, in turn, hired Iban as labourers on farms and in rubber gardens. Furthermore, politically ambitious Maloh realized that real power was located outside the village.

Although some samagat in all three Maloh areas had political influence and were still comparatively wealthy, samagat collectively no longer constituted a class. But interestingly some samagat had also attempted to retain their former superior position by continuing to emphasize traditional status criteria. As a result one could still identify to a certain extent, status levels in Maloh society, although these were more prominent in the Palin than in the Embaloh and Leboyan. One could still hear Maloh talk in terms of the categories samagat, pabiring and banua, although there was little mention of pangkam in conversation since slavery was abolished and it became an offence to refer to someone as a slave or indicate that a person had slave ancestry. Despite the fact that the three status levels were still acknowledged in indigenous terminology they certainly had different significance for different individuals. As we have seen considerations of status were traditionally concerned with social origins, names, genealogical connexions, specific life-styles and work situations, legal distinctions, and symbols of rank such as heirlooms, ritual paraphernalia, bride-wealth,

bodily adornments, pictorial designs and religious roles. Formerly, these attributes of prestige, which were used to place people in terms of high and low status, were not in much dispute since aristocrats had the power to impose their scheme of values onto others. In the 1970s, some of these values were in question and in the Embaloh, in particular, certain traditional status criteria had been removed altogether. But some remained. Indeed it would seem that when the economic and political bases of aristocratic superiority were increasingly threatened, some aristocrats fell back on status distinctions, some of which were rather more easy to preserve.⁸

My statistics on marriage revealed that up to the 1970s a large percentage of contracts had preserved the rule of rank endogamy. There were signs, in the more recent marriages in my sample, that this ideal was increasingly being ignored and many young people questioned its validity. Nevertheless, while parents still had some control over their children's marriages, aristocrats would try to secure unions for them with people of the same social origins or at least with individuals of the next adjacent rank. Samagat in all three regions also attached great importance to personal names, and the preservation of genealogies and their oral tradition, particularly sagas about samagat heroes and heroines. There were contrasts, however, between different Maloh areas with regard to the degrees of acceptance of these status criteria. In the Embaloh, and to a certain extent the Leboyan, many individuals, particularly young educated people, especially males, often challenged

8. This situation is, in some respects, similar to that of American white-collar workers studied by Mills (1956). Mills noted that given occupational levels were 'caught in status ambivalence' and that former bases of prestige were subject to strain leading to a certain 'status panic' (ibid.:239 seq.).

these traditional attributes in favour of modern criteria such as education; and, in any case, there was declining interest among young people in traditional literature. Among Maloh of the Palin on the other hand, where education and Christianity had had less impact, the majority of individuals still acknowledged some of these traditional elements as components of a person's status.

Apart from the Embaloh, the differentials in bridewealth and adat fines according to rank had also been maintained, though the impact of these as status symbols had been reduced in the Leboyan and Palin by the increasing use of money. Some symbols of social differentiation had also been retained in the Palin such as pictorial designs and carvings on coffins, kulambu and offering trays, the use of yellow cloth, and the observance of certain mourning prohibitions. Samagat also had a role to play in some religious ceremonies, such as mulambu, especially where they were still headmen. However, in the Palin a number of rank insignia such as the wearing of tiger teeth and Helmeted Hornbill feathers, and designs on apartment walls and support posts had disappeared. Virtually none of these rank symbols remained in the Embaloh and Leboyan, nor did samagat roles in village-wide ceremonies. However, in all three areas beaded clothing bearing rank symbols was worn by individuals of any rank; the samagat had lost their commanding role in agricultural rituals, and the sale of heirlooms resulted in the loss of further symbols of status. In various villages scattered throughout the three areas, some samagat, however, did retain their residence at the upstream end of the long-house.

Some aristocrats could and did retain prestige by adjusting to the changing situation, particularly by obtaining education, and by using this qualification and their knowledge of legal processes to secure positions as temenggung and to a certain extent village headmanship and

government employment. The classic case of adaptation was that of the samagat son of the Embaloh temenggung who became a district officer.

Therefore, in contemporary Maloh society I witnessed a situation in which the various dimensions of social inequality no longer approximately coincided, and there was less interest on the part of individuals in bringing economic and political position into line with traditional status levels. In addition, the bases of status were themselves changing, and with the partial exception of the Palin, it was apparent that there were conflicts in status evaluation and concerted attempts by new groups of successful Maloh from low ranks to put an end to the last vestiges of the traditional ranking system.

There is one final problem in analyses of ranked Borneo societies which, in my opinion, deserves some attention, and which may only be satisfactorily dealt with by the historical and comparative approach advocated in Chapter 1 of this thesis. The problem revolves around explanations of the generation and development of ranks in some Borneo societies, and the reasons for the existence of a series of Central Borneo societies with hereditary ranks, surrounded by peoples who, although recognizing economic, prestige and power differentials, exhibit more egalitarian features and do not possess an institutionalized stratification system. Some scholars of Borneo societies have addressed themselves to these problems.

Morris, for example, attempted to offer a functional explanation for the Melanau ranking system in particular, and suggested that, in their inhospitable environment, trade for essential commodities was made easier because a section of the population (i.e. the aristocracy) was freed from subsistence labour to go on trading expeditions and organize protection for productive activities. He readily admitted that this

suggestion was 'far from conclusive' since non-stratified peoples such as the Iban and Bidayuh achieved the same ends without ranks (1978:51; 1980:294-5, 299, 307). Also Melanau had not always inhabited the difficult swamp lands of the Sarawak coast, but had moved there from inland regions at an earlier time. Furthermore, the surplus needed to support a Melanau aristocracy might have been difficult to come by in their present environment. This might argue for the existence of ranks prior to Melanau settlement in the Oya and Mukah, and for the continuity of aristocratic activities in that it was likely, even in inland locations, that aristocrats had always had an important stake in trade.

A further attempt at explanation was put forward by Leach, but his suggestions relate to a period when some societies already possessed ranks. For example, he drew attention to the possibility of culture contact with stratified peoples such as the Kayan to explain the more marked stratification of Iban communities in certain areas (1950:27). This would also serve as an explanation for the emergence of stratification among some contemporary ranked Borneo societies. Whittier has pointed to the process of 'Kenyahization' in Eastern Borneo whereby nomadic groups identified themselves as Kenyah and adopted rice agriculture and ranks (1973:16-17). He further indicated that Kenyah themselves might have settled down from a previously nomadic existence as a consequence of contacts with the stratified Kayan (ibid.:22-3). I have also drawn attention to the fact that historically Maloh were in contact with Central Borneo groups and they claim that they took some of their rank-based pictorial designs from Kayan. Presumably a case could therefore be made out for culture contact as a process which resulted in the development of ranks among certain Borneo societies.

Leach went on to argue that for the Iban 'kindred endogamy coupled with the absence of brideprice probably accounts for the marked lack of class stratification' (1950:70). I am less happy about this suggestion since the absence of brideprice is just as likely to be a result of the lack of stratification as a reason for it, and, more particularly, in stratified cognatic societies individuals married close kinsmen precisely as a means of consolidating and maintaining rank boundaries.⁹ In a rather similar vein to Leach, Freeman, referring to the properties of cognatic societies, argued that among the Iban the absence of 'large-scale unilineal kin groups ... precludes the possibility of there being any kind of highly developed leadership, or chieftainship. Where there are no large-scale corporate groups, the authority system tends to be rudimentary in character' (1970:111). Evidence from some stratified cognatic societies proves Freeman wrong.

Pringle has commented on the differences between Iban 'unstructured' society and their 'anarchic way of life' and Kayan stratified society (1970:35-6). He suggested that Iban 'egalitarian, flexible, almost formless' political institutions might be related to their mobile life-style, which might, in turn, have been 'actively stimulated' by their cultivation of less fertile soils, overpopulation and the easy availability of vast areas of surrounding virgin forest for cultivation (ibid.:35). This hypothesis, to my mind, makes some sense, but Pringle went on to

9. Kemp has further argued that in cognatic societies intermarriage between close kinsmen or more precisely certain kinds of 'regulation of rights in women through marriage' can act as 'a major generative force' in the development of hierarchy (1978:63-4). Certainly marriage rules and practices are a means to consolidate and develop further already existing inequalities by excluding various members of society from certain socially valued resources. See also Friedman, who argued that marriage alignments among Kachin (in this case a system of 'generalized exchange') were important but not 'necessary and sufficient conditions' for the development of ranking (1975:170 seq.).

qualify it by stating that 'conditions similar to those experienced by the Ibans did not necessarily result in other Iban-type cultures. The Kayans were also expanding in the early and middle years of the nineteenth century. Yet Kayan society certainly did not develop along Iban lines' (ibid.:36).

Unfortunately Pringle did not make it sufficiently clear that Kayan stratification was a pre-nineteenth century phenomenon and that despite Kayan physical mobility the migrations were led and presumably controlled by aristocrats. Furthermore, Kayan were not continuously nor frequently on the move. On the other hand, the more mobile Iban studied by Freeman were pioneers who had only recently moved to the Baleh and whose ancestors had been migrating across Western Borneo for a long period of time. Indeed, as Pringle himself noted, the more permanently settled, longer established and wealthy Saribas Iban of Sarawak had 'hereditary chiefs' with considerable political power legitimized by a religious ideology, and a 'much greater sense of class'.

If we take into account a fairly long period of historical development, there might well be a broad relationship between the formation of a ranked social system and relatively permanent settlement, facilitated initially by favourable terrain, fertile soil and an advantageous man-land ratio for the production of rice surpluses. Strong leadership might have developed more easily where there was a relatively settled population and, in addition, food surplus available to support a non-productive aristocracy. In certain cases, the ability to control the flow of trade goods may also have generated rank differentiation (especially in the case of the Malay states). Rousseau partly followed this line of reasoning in his comparative investigation of Iban 'egalitarianism' and Kayan hierarchy. He claimed that as a result of Iban mobility, relatively high population density, small villages and frequent inter-village contacts, Iban leaders

'would not have the time to establish stable relations of domination' (n.d.:31). In contrast, Kayan chiefs had a stable population base. However, Rousseau preferred to stress the fact that Kayan lived in isolated communities and therefore 'needed' chiefs as political functionaries to maintain inter-village relations. He stated that among Iban 'because inter-village contacts are frequent and easy, [autocratic rulers] are not needed' (n.d.:31). Although I would be more inclined to support Rousseau in his assertions about the relationship between mobility and egalitarianism,¹⁰ I am rather doubtful about his second proposed connexion between isolated communities and hereditary, autocratic chiefs. Not all Kayan villages, particularly in Kalimantan, were remote from each other. In addition, both the Maloh and Kenyah apparently maintained fairly frequent contacts between their villages (historically and in the early 1970s), yet still they developed a system of hereditary ranks.

As I indicated in Chapter 1, Rousseau argued for the importance of political as against economic factors in explaining both the function and the development of Kayan stratification. This led him to understate control of economic resources in defining Kayan class, and to gloss over factors such as the ability to produce surpluses to support an aristocracy in his explanation of the generation and maintenance of ranks. The importance of surplus production, techniques of production, and productive

10. In his recent paper, Rousseau has apparently argued against his own previous position, and, in the process, criticized Pringle's hypothesis. Rousseau now suggests that physical mobility among Iban - in the context of opening virgin forest and embarking on head-hunting raids - generated inequalities because pioneers and head-hunters acquired prestige (1980:58-9). This is indisputable, and I have argued along the same lines elsewhere (King, 1976a:306-27). But the fact remains that the Iban 'prestige-seeking category' did not, in general, transform itself into a hereditary class of aristocrats with considerable political power. This failure may also be explained by the presence of considerable physical mobility in Iban society. In other words, Iban physical movements generated and perpetuated a certain kind of inequality which was not consolidated into a rigid and elaborate system of stratification like that of the Kayan, Kenyah and Maloh.

relations in the generation of stratification have been stressed by Friedman in a re-analysis of Leach's study of the Kachin (1974:453-6; 1975:161-202). Friedman has attempted to transcend Leach's study, which concentrated on the dimension of political power and was based on the Hobbesian assumption that 'a conscious or unconscious wish to gain power is a very general motive in human affairs'.¹¹ Friedman's argument, put very simply, is that ranks are generated by the production of a surplus by a particular group of people (in this case a Kachin lineage). Two further mechanisms contribute to social differentiation - marriage and feasting. Thus, surplus is partly redistributed to other villagers and is translated into prestige, 'social value', religious superiority and political power by means of feasts held on behalf of the whole community before the spirits of fertility and prosperity. Increased prestige means that the 'social value' of the females of the lineage in question are raised and this 'value' is converted into higher bridewealth. 'The end-product is ... a regrouping of lineages into more or less closed circles of allies capable of paying a similar brideprice, i.e. a spiral of ranking, where at each level there are a number of lineages of approximately equal status' (ibid.:171).¹²

As we have already seen, Rousseau argued that Kayan chiefs did not command a surplus nor have a redistributive role, and so Friedman's argument appears to be inapplicable in this case. Yet I have questioned Rousseau's claim that Kayan leaders did not accumulate a surplus from

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11. Friedman's critique is reminiscent of Asad's reappraisal of Barth's political analysis of Swat Pathan society (1972:74-94).
 12. It should be noted that, although Leach focussed on the dimension of power in his Kachin analysis, he fully recognized that 'In the last analysis the power relations in any society must be based upon the control of real goods and the primary sources of production' (1970:141).

trade and agricultural production (see Chapter 1). On the basis of his own data it seems likely that Kayan aristocrats commanded considerable resources. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that formerly Maloh and Kenyah aristocrats were responsible for the redistribution of some surplus produce, and the presentation of offerings in agricultural and other festivals performed in honour of the deities and spirits. In addition, although the Lun Dayeh of Sabah no longer have an aristocratic stratum, Crain noted the continued existence of 'elaborate agricultural feasts' sponsored by 'core families' (1978:136). Among Kenyah and Maloh the feasting complexes have largely disappeared, but the existence of a graded scale of feasts in the past, which operated to some extent outside the system of inherited rank, may have originally provided a mechanism by which surplus products were converted into prestige, religious position and political power, and a stratified system was thereby consolidated and further developed.¹³

I am not advancing a simple causal explanation for the development of stratification in Borneo, but I would suggest that in the Maloh case in particular, the generation of a stratified system was closely related to Maloh location in a suitable environment for the provision of surpluses and the relative permanency of settlement. Mechanisms such as marriage and feasting were also important in connecting economic production to stratification. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that hierarchy

13. In discussing socio-cultural differentiation in the 'Murut' area of north-eastern Borneo, LeBar (1972:153-4) pointed out that one branch of the 'Murut' - the Kelabit - became increasingly distinct from surrounding peoples because of the 'elaboration ... of the ritual importance and social distinctiveness of an aristocratic élite based on the accumulation of traditional wealth and its redistribution at elaborate mortuary feasts'. Wealth was generated by the cultivation of irrigated wet rice on upland inter-montane plains. Kelabit were also in close contact with the stratified Kayan and Kenyah.

largely emerged among the long-established, 'ancient' populations of Central Borneo, while the more mobile peoples on the periphery remained relatively egalitarian. I would also not discount the fact that the Maloh ranking system may have been further consolidated through culture contact with other Central Borneo stratified societies such as the Kayan. My explanations above seem plausible on the basis of the evidence which I have at my disposal. Nevertheless, much more research, both historical and comparative, needs to be undertaken on stratified Borneo societies. In the material known to me written by social anthropologists there has been little attention to history and social change in ranked social systems in Borneo. Certainly we have no historical studies of the quality of Pringle's (1970) and Sandin's (1967a) for the Iban. Perhaps this present thesis has begun to redress the balance by devoting at least some attention to social change in one Borneo stratified society.

APPENDIX I THE MALOH LANGUAGE

There are a number of Maloh word-lists in the Dutch and English literature on Borneo. Notably vocabularies have been collected in Sarawak, presumably as a result of the frequent visits of Maloh silver-smiths to that area. The most recent and reliable word-list is that by Hudson on the Taman version of the Maloh language (1970; see Chapter 2).

Maloh has numerous distinctive lexical items such as kayoko (left side), kato (right side), lamba' (to walk), ingar/ingir (nose), isi (tooth), lila' (tongue), malasu' (to spit), asan/ason (name), alo/alau (to fall), mondok (to come) and tio (to live). Within the Maloh group there is also quite marked linguistic variation between the three main divisions of Embaloh, Taman and Kalis (see Chapter 2):

	Embaloh	Taman	Kalis
cooked rice	<u>daun</u>	<u>kán</u>	<u>budakán</u>
this	<u>indi'</u>	<u>ni'in</u>	<u>injén</u>
that	<u>indin/indien</u>	<u>na'an</u>	<u>taín</u>
where?	<u>dáinsi/daiensi</u>	<u>desi</u>	<u>ipai</u>
how?	<u>aisi lo'a/ai lo'a</u>	<u>alo'aika</u>	<u>kaungka</u>

Even within the Embaloh division itself there is further linguistic differentiation between nearby villages and between communities in different river systems such as the Embaloh and Palin:

	Embaloh	Palin
to weed	<u>mét</u>	<u>mangauk</u>
rice bin	<u>tarinoan</u>	<u>pamorán</u>
maize	<u>jagung</u>	<u>aréré</u>
to crow	<u>mangkaruak</u>	<u>mangturinguk</u>
wind	<u>suangin/(a)soangin</u>	<u>sariut</u>

	Embaloh	Palin
loin-cloth	<u>kain (am)puro'</u>	<u>kain baka</u>
a measurement (from thumb to second finger)	<u>jangkal</u>	<u>kilan</u>

In the early word-lists of explorers, administrators, and missionaries many of the words appear to have been inaccurately transcribed, although some of the differences between their and my orthography might be the product of temporal and/or spatial variations. The earliest word-list is in an article by Rademacher (in Ray, 1913). He called the language 'Sanggau', the name of a settlement on the Lower Kapuas river. Undoubtedly it was taken from an Embaloh informant, although Rademacher never visited the Upper Kapuas. The transcription is fairly accurate for its time, given a few errors such as bunu instead of tana' (earth), kachil instead of (a)kéké (small) and tesa instead of tangan (hand). Two further lists seem to be of Embaloh origin. Keppel, on a visit to Kuching in the 1840s, recorded very precisely a word-list under the title 'Malo' (1847:352-7). The second, entitled 'Pari', is in von Kessel's early article on the Kapuas region (1850:202-3).

The longest vocabularies are available from two sources. First, there is a 'Malau' list in Ling Roth's compendium which appears to be Embaloh (1968:cxvi-cxviii). It was originally compiled by Brereton and published in St. John's Life in the Forests of the Far East (1862:392-8). This is one of the least satisfactory of the vocabularies. A number of words are inaccurately transcribed or plainly wrong, e.g. ga gulun should be gagalung (round), di selananu should be dai'nsi/daiensi (where?), aus should be kausan (all), keh kih should be (a)kéké (small), kumbat tor should be (a)karing/(a)tor (dry), an tarun should be intarum (black), ribut should be (a)soangin (wind), kau ko should be makap (morning), si siak should be api (fire), inkuah should be ingko (tail) and men janum,

nanok and pintu should be manjarum (to speak), na'an (no) and mambangan (door) respectively. Secondly, there are four lists under the general title 'Sangau' in Ray's classic compilation of Borneo languages (1913:1-196). Ray set down both Rademacher's and von Kessel's lists under their respective headings 'Sang(g)au' and 'Pari', but he has correctly altered some of von Kessel's transcription by omitting the repetition of consonants in words like assu, issi, bakka and mannok and leaving off certain 'h' endings so that aroh becomes aro, tioh becomes tio and so on. I do not know whether Ray changed some of Rademacher's transcription because I have been unable to obtain an original copy of Rademacher. Ray had two additional lists - 'Maloh Kalis' and 'Maloh'. According to Cense and Uhlenbeck (1958:38-9) 'Maloh' is based on the previous lists of Brereton and Keppel. In fact, most of the material is from Brereton and it seems that Ray considered this more reliable than Keppel's work. In my opinion Keppel's vocabulary, although short, is more accurate than that of Brereton. Again there are differences between some of Brereton's transcriptions in Ling Roth and in Ray, perhaps suggesting some alterations by Ray himself. For example, ankan in Ling Roth has become ankam and antarun becomes autarum. The 'Maloh Kalis' list is a combination of words collected by Ray in 1899 and by van Velthuisen, a Dutch district officer, in 1893. Certain diagnostic features suggest that it is Kalis, e.g. the use of 'm' before 'a' or in place of 'b' in such words as marasam (cold), makaras (hard), makeké (small) and manipis (thin).

Urquhart published another Maloh list based on fieldwork in the Kapit area of Sarawak (1955:195-204). Cense and Uhlenbeck stated that this vocabulary accorded in general with Ray's 'Maloh Kalis', though it is not distinctively Kalis. Most of the words in Urquhart's list are also characteristic of Embaloh and Taman, and on balance I suggest that

it is closer to Taman.

During fieldwork I came across further linguistic data on Maloh in a substantial unpublished Embaloh vocabulary compiled before 1940 by the Dutch Capuchin missionaries, and a shorter Embaloh list of L. van Kessel, a Montfort priest, collected in the late 1940s.

In my preliminary analysis of the Embaloh variant of the Maloh language I decided to use the following phoneme symbols:
 a, b, c, d, e, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, ng, ny, p, r, s, t, u, w, y
 and /^ː/ represented a long and/or stressed vowel and /' / for a glottal stop. The symbols ng and ny are unitary phonemes. I have already published my own Maloh word-list and a phonemic analysis of the language (1976^jh:142-62). I therefore briefly summarize the characteristics of the vowels and consonants which I identified.

Vowels

- /i/ High, front, unrounded, close; sometimes glottalized after a vowel.
- /e/ Mid, front, unrounded, open.
- /a/ Low, front, unrounded, open.
- /o/ Mid, back, rounded, close.
- /u/ High, back, rounded, close.

The Long and/or Stressed Vowels

/iː/, /eː/, /aː/, /oː/, /uː/

Consonants

- /p/, /b/ The respective voiceless and voiced bilabial stops.
- /t/, /d/ The respective voiceless and voiced alveolar stops.
- /k/, /g/ The respective voiceless and voiced velar stops.
- /s/, /ç/, /j/ The respective voiceless alveolar, alveo-palatal and voiced alveo-palatal fricatives.

- /h/ The voiceless glottal aspiration.
- /m/, /n/, /ny/, /ng/ The respective voiced bilabial, alveolar, palatal
and velar nasals.
- /r/ The voiced alveolar or sometimes velar trill.
- /l/ The voiced alveolar lateral.
- /w/, /y/ The respective voiced bilabial and palatal semi-vowels.

GLOSSARY*

* non-Maloh words have their source indicated in brackets.

adat	customs, customary law, body of rules
adat inatang	animal customs
adat jolón	ancient customs
adat po'on (Kenyah)	customary law
adet (Melanau)	customs, body of rules
adi'	younger sibling
aisi lo'a/ai lo'a	how?
ajau	evil, bad
(a)karing	dry
akat madu	honey-tree
(a)kéké	small
aku	I
alako	to stay
alau	to fall
alau alaki	virilocal residence
alau arai'ingé	uxorilocal residence
alé	mat
amben	bin for temporary storage of rice
ambitan sau	to enter someone's house illegally
ampa' asé	chaff from rice
ampé'	aunt
ampu	grandchild
anak	child
anak ambu	adopted child
anak basi	weeding knife
anak basi katam	harvesting knife
anak danginan	eldest child

anak lambutan	middle child
anak lawan	illegitimate child
anak mundi	youngest child
anak panuntui toa	child who cares for parents
ando	platform to support rice bins
angkán siap	to take a bribe
antimun	cucumber
antu	spirit, ghost
antu asé	rice spirit
antu toan	jungle spirit
a-nyat (Melanau)	aristocrat, elders
api	fire
arang palulungan	to have designs on a married person
arasuang	to have membership in
aréré	maize
asak	dibbling stick
asan/ason	name
asé	non-glutinous rice (dry)
asé balaun	late rice
asé munda	early rice
(a) soangin	wind
(a) tor	dry
awang	empty rice husks
babai 'ingé	female
babaka	male
babalan	sleeveless, bark-cloth mourning jacket
badil	cannon
bajau	distant
baka	type of rice basket

bakamlama	type of jar
balakang	back, rear
balansé	type of basket
balu	widow(er)
balunus	Pleiades
balas jasa	repayment for justice
bandung (Malay)	trading house-boat
bansa	a people, 'tribe', ethnic grouping
banua	village, country, commoner
banyia	rice seed/grain
banyia tutu	sacred rice seed
baram	rice wine
baranangis	to chant (of sagas)
barok	type of dry rice
basa/bangsa (Melanau)	rank
basi	bush-knife
basi pangauk	weeding-knife
batang	river, trunk
baté tukak	sharpened bamboo rod
batu karué	guardian stone
batu rani	bravery stone, talisman
bedurok (Iban)	to participate in labour exchange groups
béléan uma	first year's vegetation growth (after farming)
bila paramokan	threshing frame
bintang talu	Orion
bintang tuju	Pleiades
biringapi	kitchen
biring batang	river bank
biringdár	kitchen
biring kabang	outside of a river meander

biring suan	horizon
bubuhan (Ngaju)	ramage
bumi (Melanau)	commoner
bumi ateng (Melanau)	true commoner
bumi giga' (Melanau)	commoner who had to work for aristocrats
bumuh (Ma'anyan)	bilineal descent group
búng	canoe
bunting lawan	pre-marital pregnancy
bupati (Malay)	regional governor
burong béo	omen bird
cabé	chilli
camat (Malay)	district officer
chenganak (Kenyah)	sibling, relative
daínsi/daiensi	where?
dampa (Iban)	field-house
dampai	to obtain
damoran	drying platform
dano	lake
danum	water
danum enau	palm-wine
dapan	front
dara'	blood
dasapui	flooded
datulu	headcloth
datulu rombé amas	headcloth embroidered with gold thread
daun	cooked rice, food
daun panara lungun	rice for those who make a coffin
daun pipis	'layered' rice
daun sabi	sawi
daun tau maté	offerings to the dead

dédétan	type of rice basket
deta'u (Kenyah)	aristocrat
dipen/dipan (Kayan, Kenyah, Melanau)	slave
dipen dagen lebu' (Melanau)	house-slave
dipen ga'luer (Melanau)	field-slave
dudukan banyia	'seat' for the sacred rice
duduri	type of dry rice
dungus	field-sparrow
duruk	pile of burned debris
érom	rice stalk
gagalung	round
gagung	war-cloak
galagan	bund
garantung rá	type of gong
garantung rá loloé	type of gong
gawa	feast, ceremony
gawa mauno' tau'en	head-hunting feast
guru (Malay)	teacher
guru injil (Malay)	bible teacher
hak diriam	individual property rights
hasil (Malay)	head or door tax
hipuy (Kayan)	middle rank
ijambe' (Ma'anyan)	cremation ceremony
ikam	we
ilam	in, inside
indi'	this
indin/indien	that
indu'	mother (of)
ingar	nose
ingko	tail

inso'	close
intara banua	village boundary
intarum	black
inyak	coconut oil
inyum rá	funeral feast
irá	upriver
isi	tooth
itawa pawang	divisible property
jaggan	small threshing frame
jagung	maize
jangkal	measurement from thumb to second finger
jantang tali	to suspend a cord
jurung	storage hut
kaban (Iban)	kindred
kabupaten (Malay)	administrative region
kadampé	farm-house
kain (am)puro'	loin-cloth
kain baka	loin-cloth
kain lekok	type of skirt
kain tambayang	cloth embroidered with silver thread
kait	hook-shaped wood
kaiyan	family
kaka'	elder sibling
kakalétau	human-shaped motif
kaki ukit	lower hill slopes
kakuasa	rights
kalangkang	offering tray
kalasang	homicide
kalengkong	type of jar
kalétau	form of currency (in slaves)

kalingé	painted design
kalung manik	bead necklace
kamanakan	nephew/niece
kambar uma	secondary field
kamo'	uncle
kangkuang	large drum
kanyalang	hornbill
kapak	axe
kapala (kepala) kampong (Malay)	village headman
kapé	half-empty rice grain
kapulungan	property-based descent category
karangkiang	fenced storage area for rice
karawit	stylized decorations, tendrils in paintings
karing ator	very dry
katabéan	to refuse hospitality without good reason
kataman	harvesting basket
kato	right side
kawan	friend
kayoko	left side
kecamatan (Malay)	administrative district
kelunan jia (Kayan)	superior people
kelunan ji'ek (Kayan)	inferior people
kéningko	bridewealth
kerja (Malay)	work
kilan	measurement from thumb to second finger
kolombo	cooked rice in woven banana leaves
korok	keladi
kubu (Malay)	fortress, outpost
kulambu	death-house

kuleá	by
kúnti	charm
kutuan	ash
lalau	honey-tree
lamba'	to walk
latán alé	to enter someone's house uninvited
laut	sea
lela'	cannon
lila'	tongue
linsungan	wooden rice mortar
lubong petak (Kenyah)	field-house
lumpong	bamboo drink container
lungun	coffin
ma'	father (of)
magi-agi	to insult someone through mimicry
maimboro	to accuse falsely
mainjami	to visit young girls
maiya'	cassava
makap	morning
mako anak	to adopt a child
malaintang	to cross
malasu'	to spit
malauang basi	to clear the undergrowth
malausi	to spread (ash)
malola arai'ingé	bride-service
malua	to vomit
mám	good, nice
mamasi sau	to hold a house-warming
mamat (Kenyah)	graded feast
mambangan	door

mámbiti	to buy rank
mamborang baras	to throw rice
mambu anak	to adopt a child
manabang	to clear forest
manada' raba tabang	to cut branches
mandakapang anjir lawan	to impregnate another woman while one is engaged
manaro' di tarinoanen	to store rice
manasap béléan uma/manap	to clear first year vegetation
mandapur	to transplant (rice)
mandás	to hold a funeral feast
mandung	to kill a pig (with bare hands, in a ceremonial context)
manduruk	to pile up unburnt/semi-burnt debris
mangalit	to steal
mangampéut	to harvest rice (by breaking off the ears)
mangauk	to weed
manggusuk bangkayoan	to wash a corpse
mangkaruak/mangturunguk	to crow
mangkut asé	to carry in the rice
mangoroki	to assist
manik kasa'	type of bead
manikom	to strike
manik sarung	type of bead
manik tolang tanjung	type of bead
manitang	to enter (someone's dwelling) while pregnant (a ritual taboo)
manjaramang mambu anak	to celebrate an adoption
manjarati ikat	to tie the cord (wedding rite)
manjarum	to speak, talk
manjin	type of dry rice

manop	to winnow
mántat	to accompany
manteri/mantri (Melanau)	aristocrat
mantri	aristocrat's right-hand man
manutuk	to pound (rice)
manutung uma	to fire a farm
manyampai	to sow seeds in nursery plots
manyarung	to initiate a balian
manyúm	to kiss
maraja	type of dry rice
marajang	to chase out evil spirits
marak ulitan	to remove mourning prohibitions
marapak	to collect together unburnt debris
mardaheka (Malay)	free
maren (Kayan)	aristocrat
maromok	to thresh
maruang tau maté	to guard a corpse
maruma	to farm (dry rice)
másak	to dibble
matam	to reap
maté aranak	death in childbirth
maté manamué	death in foreign parts
maté duno'	death from beheading
maumpán	to 'feed', present offerings to
maunjang anak	to abort a foetus
Melayu/Singganan	a Malay
méromi	to free rice grains from the stalk
mét	to weed
mobo	to slander
molé	to approach

mondok	to come
muanyi	honey-bee
mui	dream
mulambu	to build a kulambu and celebrate it
musin	season
na'an	no
naga	dragon, water-snake
namin	after
nangis	to cry, wail
ngingilang	'mobile', decoration
pabiring	middle rank
pakadeng sau	to construct a long-house
pakain	bridewealth
pakara	legal dispute
pakar uma	field fence
pakayu	long-house support post
palauan	type of basket
pambutan	field-house
paminangan	to seal an engagement by chewing betel
pamindara'	ritual offering
pamoran	rice storage bin
pampuampu	stem family
panabangan	felled trees
panada'an	debris from cutting branches of felled trees
panaju	pre-marriage negotiations
panak (Kayan)	kinsmen
panakanak	nuclear family
pangalak	bird scare
panganrau (Ma'anyan)	co-operative labour exchange
pangayak	tray for winnowing pounded rice

pangkam	slave
pangkat	threshing frame
pangondo	hair garland
pangorian tatak	field-strip
panyin (Kayan, Kenyah)	commoner
panyin jia (Kayan)	superior commoner
panyin ji'ek (Kayan)	inferior commoner
panyin lamin (Kenyah)	slave
panyokung samagat	aristocrat's right-hand man
panyonyok	bridewealth
papak	alcoholic drink (from sugar-cane)
papaulu	to falsify evidence deliberately
pár	brass tray
paran (Kenyah)	aristocrat
paran bio (Kenyah)	high aristocrat
paran iot (Kenyah)	low aristocrat
parau	boat
paré (Kayan, Punan, Maloh)	rice
pariari	sibling family
parik	irrigation/drainage channel
pari tana'	earth spirits
pasa'an susu	to touch a woman's breasts in public
pasakan	dibbled holes
patindo'	cohabitation
paumanan	slashed undergrowth
paundun tabu	sugar press
paya	swamp rice
pengiren/pangeran (Melanau)	aristocrat (of Brunei Malay descent)
peintara	mediator
plaman (Bidayuh)	field-house

pikul	a weight (133 ¹ / ₃ lbs)
pino'	type of dry rice
poan bai'ingé	to abduct another's wife
poan balu	to abduct a widow
poan taju	to abduct another's fiancée
po'on	tree
puan maté	'burial' property
pulung	to collect together
pulut	glutinous rice
pura (Kayan)	field-house
rá	big
raja (Malay)	ruler
rapeán dara'	to fall in rank
ratak	bean
rauk	sharp stick for planting sugar cane
réa	imperata grass
sa'ason nana samagaten	corvée (lit. 'to spend a day with the samagat')
sága	to desire someone's partner
sairun	sibling
salaben	type of man's hat
saladang	type of fish
sama diri	same
samagat	aristocrat, headman
samagat rá	low aristocrat
samagat tutu	high aristocrat
sanapang	gun
sapa'an	to strike someone's property in anger
saparanak	kinsmen
sapé manik	bead jacket
sarakan	divorce

sarakan paulun	village quittance payment
saraung	sun-hat
sariut	wind
sau	long-house
serah (Malay)	forced trade system
semunyun (Kenyah)	co-operative labour exchange
siala	to marry
siala tatap	'true/full' marriage
sigilingang	to 'turn categories around' (tabooed sexual relations)
silán tindoan	household partition
sijai	to quarrel
siparauntingan	to impregnate a single girl
siraraman	to 'wash away' mourning prohibitions
siring	wall
sisiak	hot (of sun)
sitaju	to be engaged
sitawan ati' iponang	ransom payment
siukan	adultery
suang bár	co-operative work-grouping
suangin	wind
suhan (Kenyah)	status grade
suka	aristocratic title
suling	nose-flute
suloh	bamboo torch
sumangat	soul
sumangat asé	rice soul
sumangat tutu	main soul
sundaman	kinsmen
surambi	single death-house

surat	painting, design
tago	loft
tai'i mata	'sleep'/dirt in the eyes
talaiyong	offering post
tali tanang	fibrous cord
tamadu	a wooden cross
tamatoa	elder
tambak (Ma'anyan)	descent-based kin group
tambang	carved statue
també daun unti	red and yellow flag
també laki	husband's flag
tampunang ulu	a severed head on a pole
tana' karing	dry land
tana' lolo	land with five- to six-year old vegetation
tana' mam	fertile land
tanaman tabu	sugar-cane garden
tana' ratán	slightly sloping land
tana' rawang bará	flood-plain
tana' toa	land with 'old' vegetation (eight years or more)
tana' ujung	land on inside of river meander
tanduk tuak	palm leaf decoration
tangan	hand
tanga' sau	long-house verandah
tantakuan	hornbill
tapan	winnowing tray
tarinoan	rice storage bin
tasik	beach, coast
tata'	ritual prohibitions
tata' dom	a type of agricultural taboo

tatak	wooden field boundary
tau	man, person, human
tau bokañ	stranger
tawak	a type of gong
temenggung (Malay)	adat head
tengkawang/kakawang	illipe nut
timpungan	vegetation three- to four-years old
tindoan	household, long-house apartment
tio	to live
toa biringapi	head of a household (female)
toa kapulungan	custodian of an estate
toan	primary jungle
toa tindoan	head of a household (male)
tuba	derris root
tudo (Kenyah)	field-house
turun (Bidayuh)	cognatic descent group
tutulan	descent line
tutulan silaloan	crossed descent lines (i.e. tabooed sexual relations)
tutung adung	type of dry rice
udo'	design of a mask or human face
ukai getah (Malay)	rubber coagulant
ukit	hill
ulitan	mourning prohibition
ulu	head
ulun	commoner
ulun ajau	inferior commoner
ulun máñ	superior commoner
uma	dry rice farm, field
uma tutu	main dry rice field

unjangan taju

to break an engagement

unting

pregnant

wasé

adze

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AA	American Anthropologist
BKI	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (van Ned.-Ind.)
BRB	Borneo Research Bulletin
MvO	Memorie van Overgave
SG	Sarawak Gazette
SMJ	Sarawak Museum Journal
TBG	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
TNI	Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië

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