

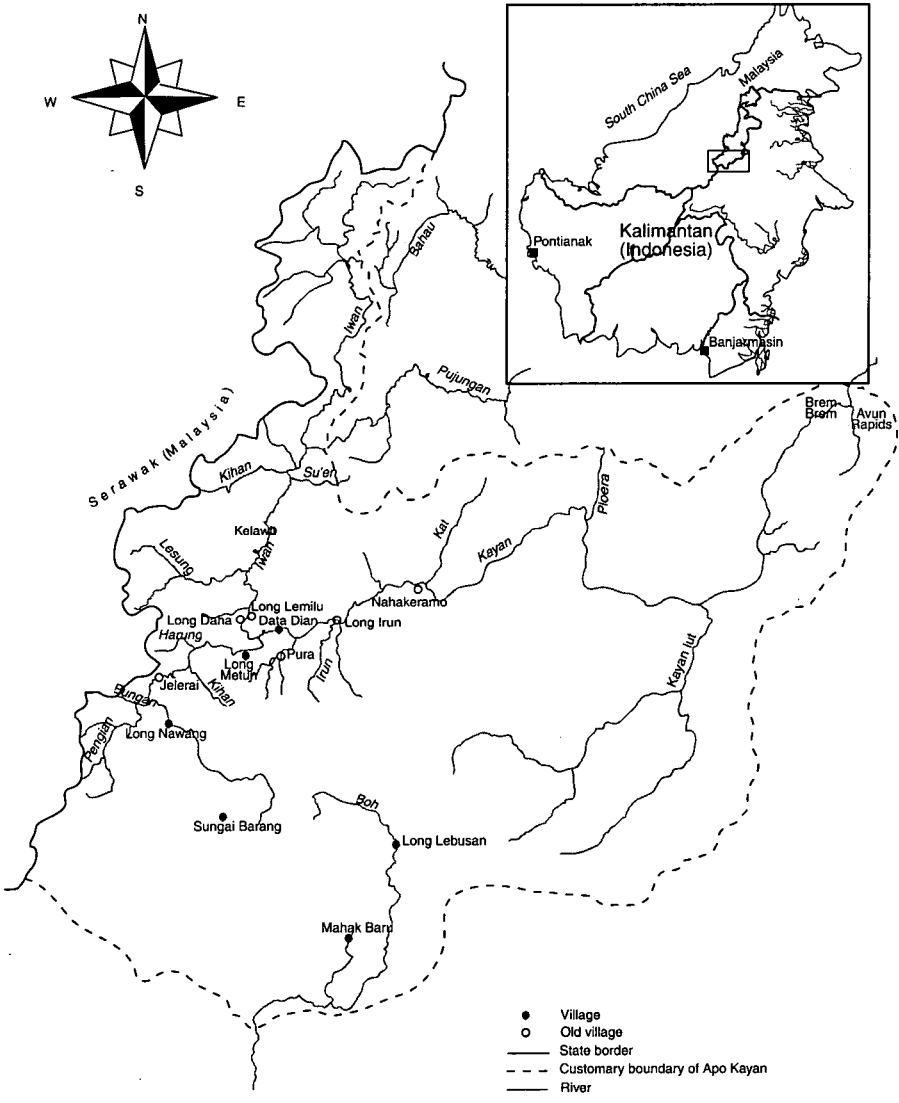


C. Eghenter

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Map of Apo Kayan Customary Land

CRISTINA EGHENTER

Towards a Causal History of a Trade Scenario in the Interior of East Kalimantan, Indonesia, 1900-1999

Introduction

Historians have long recognized that, since the first millennium AD, the inhabitants of Borneo have progressively become part of a web of trading networks that extended to the entire Southeast Asian region (Hutterer 1977; King 1993; Lombard and Aubin 1988; Van Leur 1955; Boomgard 1998). With the exception of the west coast, Borneo held a relatively marginal position in relation to the major trade routes through the Malacca Straits to China or to the eastern isles of the Indonesian archipelago. Yet the produce of the forests of the island (eaglewood, resin, natural latex, camphor, rattan, bezoar stones) and the output of mining (gold, diamonds) constituted valuable commodities which, over the centuries, attracted Indian, Chinese, and Arab traders, and subsequently European entrepreneurs. Since the 13th century, for example, small sultanates have flourished along the eastern coast of Borneo and at strategic points along the main inland rivers in trading partnership with Bugis traders and the Sulu Sultanate. Bulungan, Gunung Tabur, Kutai, and Pasir became major centres for the trade in jungle products which were collected by the people of the interior (Rousseau 1989; Black 1985; Warren 1981). At the beginning of the 20th century, in what is now Indonesian Borneo, the Dutch colonial administration started to exert control over the trade in forest products and further opened up the region of the interior to world trade (Black 1985; Locher-Scholten 1994).

Studies of contemporary small-scale trade in Indonesia and other parts of

CRISTINA EGHENTER, currently a Tun Jugah Research Fellow at the University of Hull, took her PhD at the Rutgers University, NJ, USA, and has specialized in economic anthropology, environmental anthropology, natural resource management, Borneo ethnohistory, and indigenous knowledge. Her publications include 'What is Tana Ulen Good for? Considerations on Indigenous Forest Management, Conservation, and Research in the Interior of Indonesian Borneo', *Human Ecology* 28-3, September 2000:331-57, and 'Migrants' Practical Reasonings; The Social, Political, and Environmental Determinants of Long-Distance Migrations among the Kayan and Kenyah of the Interior of Borneo', *Sojourn, Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 14-1, April 1999:1-33. Dr. Eghenter can be contacted at the Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, Hull, HU6 7RX England.

Southeast Asia reveal a large informal trade sector that comprises long-established networks as well as newly created ones in response to the development of global markets (Evers 1988; Evers and Schrader 1994; Lombard and Aubin 1988). The economic picture seems to defy the idea of a linear and natural development by which local barter exchanges are inexorably replaced by a world cash economy, and products become market commodities. Rather, it is a picture of complex and multi-faceted trading interactions where, at a given time, local agents may be engaged in an informal or peddling trade, as well as dealing with the prices and the demand of the international market. What Evers would call the continuing significance of traditional trade networks in the contemporary economic context (Evers and Schrader 1994) poses some challenging questions. What social, economic, environmental, and political factors motivate local people to continue, or on the contrary, discontinue informal trading strategies? How can we write a history of trade that accounts for the specificities of local economic and trading practices and yet acknowledges the sustained links with regional and global networks?

A fuller understanding of the complexity and the contextual nature of trading networks requires an account of the causal relations between the activities of exploitation of and trade in forest products, and the variable sets of physical, economic, political, and social circumstances in which the activities are situated. Rather than making any a priori assumption about the resilient or archaic nature of trading networks, or their magnitude, this paper endeavours to make apparent how the specific circumstances of trading practices, and the responses of local trade agents, may have accounted for the persistence or modification of those practices over time and across space.

Most of the works looking at the development of trade in Borneo have focused on the political economy of the jungle product trade in a regional context (for example, Black 1985; Chew 1990; Cleary 1995; King 1993; Lindblad 1988; Magenda 1991; Peluso 1983; Rousseau 1989; Warren 1981). Although some studies have paid attention to what I would call 'indigenous components' of trade, namely the forest products traded and their main networks of distribution (for example, Chew 1990; Brosius 1995; Blajan 1999), there are very few ethnohistorical accounts of the local organization of trade and the ways and modes in which indigenous agents in the interior of Borneo have participated in, and variably adjusted to, changes in regional and global networks.

In this paper, which is part of a larger work in progress on the use and development of migration and trade routes in the interior of Indonesian Borneo, I draw on ethnographic and historical data to outline basic elements of the 'indigenous' trade economy in the Apo Kayan region, in the interior of Indonesian Borneo. The area is representative, from a demographic and geographical point of view, of the conditions of 'indigenous' trade in the interior

of the island and, unlike other areas to the north, allows us to document, however sketchily, a history of trade with some degree of continuity at least since the colonial period.

The descriptive material is organized around the following, interrelated, themes from the anthropological literature on trade: items of trade; forms and modes of exchange; and spheres of traffic. The first and second sections present an overview of the basic elements of the indigenous trade, discussing the kinds of objects and forest products traded, and including some information on quantities, as well as describing the modes of exchange and the ways trade expeditions were organized. In the third section I look more comprehensively at the distribution networks that developed among the villages of Apo Kayan and which linked these communities to other areas in the interior and the lowlands since the beginning of the 20th century. I also examine the role of the colonial administration in promoting trading networks. The data allow us to sketch a trade scenario in which changes and continuities in the spatial and social configurations of trade networks are consistently related to specific events and/or social, economic, environmental, and historical conditions which, through time, have shaped and restricted the possibilities of action as perceived by local traders (see Hawthorn 1991).

The Apo Kayan region

Apo Kayan is an isolated mountainous plateau at the headwaters of the Kayan River in the interior of Indonesian Borneo, near the border with Sarawak, a state of the Malaysian Federation. The area is remote and difficult of access because of the tropical forest, rugged terrain, and dangerous rapids that make passage difficult.

During the Dutch colonial period, the interior of East Kalimantan was part of the residency of South and East Borneo, or *Zuider- en Oosterafdeling van Borneo*. It was only at the beginning of the 20th century, however, that the Dutch abandoned their 'policy of near-neglect' (Black 1985:287) with respect to this region and the other outer islands. A first major scientific expedition to the upper Mahakam and Apo Kayan region was organized by A.W. Nieuwenhuis in 1900. Exploratory surveys were undertaken subsequently by military personnel. The first contingent of Dutch officers was posted in Apo Kayan in 1911. The Apo Kayan area was declared a sub-district, or *onderafdeling*, in 1925 and remained under Dutch rule until 1942.

The inhabitants of Apo Kayan are for the most part Kenyah people belonging to the following sub-divisions: Lepo Tau, Uma Jalan, Lepo Tukung, Bakung, and Badeng. Data Dian is the only remaining Kayan Uma Lekan village here. There are Punan Aput people living in two villages on the

upper reaches of the Kayan Iut River. Apo Kayan presently is divided into two separate administrative sub-districts, or *kecamatan*: Kayan Hulu, with as capital Long Nawang, and comprising 11 villages with a total population of about 5,400; and Kayan Hilir, with as capital Data Dian, and comprising only five villages with a total of about 1,100 inhabitants. The Apo Kayan area is still recognized as a single *wilayah adat* (customary territory), however, under the leadership of a customary chief based in Long Nawang. Judging from census data from 1931¹, the population of the area was larger in the colonial period, in 1930 coming to 16,686. Also, there were more Kenyah sub-divisions in the region, such as the Uma Baka, Lepo Tepu, and Uma Kulit, which have since left the Apo Kayan area.

Items of trade over time, 1900-1999

The depth of the temporal perspective of this study is restricted by two main factors. Firstly, older informants can offer personal recollections of trading trips only for the period after the 1920s and tell only sketchy stories about the experiences of the previous generation. Secondly, written information on trade in Apo Kayan is mostly restricted to the accounts in Dutch colonial documents from the beginning of the 20th century through to 1941. These documents include official correspondence such as *mailrapporten* (mail reports from colonial officials to the Mother Country), *verbalen* (reports) from the Resident of South-East Borneo to the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies, military reports, and *memories van overgave* (reports written by *controleurs*, or Dutch colonial officials, on the state of their district at the end of their term of office for the benefit of their successors), supplemented by articles published in Dutch academic journals, often by the same employees of the Dutch administration (such as Habbema). Within the boundaries imposed by these limitations, however, I was able to outline trading practices among several villages on the upper reaches of the Kayan River, and between the Apo Kayan region and the lowlands of East Kalimantan and Sarawak after the turn of the century. The ethnographic data were collected in several fieldwork stages (1991-92, 1993, 1996-99) in the district of Bulungan, East Kalimantan.

¹ See P.C.J. Scheffelaar, 'Memorie van overgave van de onderafdeling Apau Kajan', 1931 (KIT 1070).

The colonial period

The items of special interest are the products collected, grown, or manufactured by local communities, and then exchanged for other goods or for money. The list also includes a few 'import' commodities like beads, bullets, and gasoline, which, though not strictly local products, figure prominently in local and regional trade networks and are key items in the local exchange economy. In this connection, it is important to note that some villages were in a favourable position for obtaining import goods because of their location or the part they played in the administration (Long Nawang, for example, was the base of the Dutch military garrison in Apo Kayan), or as a result of the involvement of certain groups in long-distance trade (for example, the Uma Kulit group in the village of Jelerai).

The data reveal a wide range of items, which can generally be grouped in the following categories: implements for work in the forest and rice fields; fishing gear; cooking utensils and household articles; boat and travel equipment; forest products; foodstuffs; prestige articles; and handicraft products (see Table 1). Prestige articles like old beads, gongs and jars were often imported and antique. They were prized possessions and emblematic heirlooms, as well as being symbols of high social or aristocratic status in stratified Kenyah and Kayan society. Other objects, such as carved machetes, baby carriers, rattan mats and ceremonial hats, were locally produced handicraft products which possessed high value as status symbols.

The forest products collected and traded in the Apo Kayan region were more or less the same as those from other parts of the interior of Borneo. There were slight variations, however, because of the diversity in micro-habitats that is typical of the forests of the interior, with their different climatic conditions², which gave rise to local variations in the availability and distribution of certain forest products. For example, bezoar stones are known to have been an important trade item among the Punan living in the Iwan and Kayan Iut River area in Apo Kayan. As J.P. Brosius notes (1995), these stones are only found in some parts of the watershed between the Baram and Baluy Rivers. Birds' nests, a major export article of the upper Mahakam area, have never been exported from the Apo Kayan area.

Patterns in the demand for forest products in Apo Kayan correspond with exploitation cycles of these products throughout the interior of Borneo (see Brosius 1995; Whittier 1973). From about 1900 to the late 1920s, the main forest exports from Apo Kayan comprised natural latex such as *jelutung* or *getah susu* (*Dyera costulata*), which the Dutch noted as being of very good

² See A.M. Sierevelt, 'Memorie van overgave van de onderafdeling Apau Kajan', 1927 (KIT 1066).

Table 1. Main trade items, Apo Kayan, 1900-1999

Agricultural implements	Fishing tackle	Household articles	Boats and travel gear
<i>Parang</i> or machetes	Fishing nets	Winnowing trays	Iron hooks
Hand hoes	Hand nets	Bark cloth	Iron tips for poles
Tall baskets for carrying rice		Plain rattan baby carriers	<i>Sang</i> tarps
Small backpacks		<i>Tikah</i> (= type of grass) mats	Canoes
Large, stiff baskets		Sieves	
Axes		Small knives	
Blowpipes		Rattan mats	
<i>Sang</i> hoods		Timber boards/planks	
Luxury items and handicraft products	Foodstuffs	Forest products	
Old and new beads	Rice	Rattan	
Ceramic jars	Onions	<i>Damar</i> or hardwood resin	
Decorated rattan mats	Fruit	<i>Jelutung</i> or <i>getah susu</i> (white natural latex)	
Gongs	Pig fat	<i>Gaharu</i> or aloes wood	
Women's headbands	Honey	<i>Ketipai</i> or gutta-percha or <i>getah merah</i>	
Baby carriers decorated with beads	Hens	Bezoar stones	
Guns	Cassava wine	Deer antlers	
Bullets/pellets	Salt	Hornbill feathers and helmets	
Carved <i>parang</i>		Bear claws	
Sun hats		Songbirds	
<i>Ta'a</i> or ceremonial skirts		<i>Mekai</i> or leaves used for food flavouring	
Bags decorated with beads		<i>Payang</i> or fruit used for food flavouring	
		Rhinoceros horns	

quality³, and gutta-percha or *getah merah*, or *ketipai* (*Pallaquium* spp.). The local latex variety referred to as *getah dian* was also of good quality, although the *controleur* of Berau noted that the locals were not aware of the proper method of processing it, so that this *getah* had a low market value. Local people in Apo Kayan also traded rattan, rhinoceros horns, and bezoar stones. The latter, extracted from the gall bladder of langur monkeys (*Presbytis Hosei*), were used in traditional Chinese medicine.

Gutta-percha and rattan were still traded to Tanjung Selor in the period from the mid-1920s to the 1940s. However, hardwood resins, or *damar*, mainly copal from trees of the *Agathis*, but also of the *Dipterocarpus* and *Shorea* species, eventually became the principal forest product collected and traded by the people of the interior.

The significance of forest products in the indigenous economy cannot be assessed exclusively in relation to the long-distance and international trade. On the one hand it is true that the kinds of forest products collected by the people of the interior and the extent and intensity of collecting activities have been largely dependent on the international demand for specific products (Brookfield, Potter and Byron 1995; Brosius 1995; Lindblad 1988). On the other hand, some forest products were, and to some extent still are, important items of local trade, such as food additives (*mekai*, derived from trees of the *Alburtisia* species, and *payang*, or *Pangium edule*) or finished products (*sang* leaves, to be worn as sun hats; pandanus leaves, used as headbands; and rattan, used for carrying-baskets).

Iron artefacts, such as knives and machetes (the latter of both the ceremonial and practical types), were the products of a craftsmanship carefully developed over many years and were traded extensively.

The gun trade deserves some special consideration. Dutch officials at the beginning of the century reported⁴ that people in the interior of Pujungan imported guns from Sarawak or traded forest products in exchange for guns. The *controleurs* Sierevelt and Scheffelaar⁵ moreover reported the continued presence of illegal firearms in the villages of Apo Kayan in the 1920s, in spite of attempts by the colonial authorities in 1925 to introduce registration of firearms. Some of these guns had been procured in Sarawak, while others

³ Correspondence from the Resident of the *Zuider- en Oosterafdeling van Borneo* to the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies, 23 February 1903 (V 16-09-1903 No. 32, M 1903 507).

⁴ Correspondence from the Resident of the *Zuider- en Oosterafdeling van Borneo*, J. van Weert, to the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies, 10 October 1908 (M 305 475).

⁵ A.M. Sierevelt, 'Memorie van overgave (op M Habbema, Pimentel, en Mollinger, Apau Kajan)', 1929 (KIT 1067); P.C.J. Scheffelaar, 'Memorie van overgave van de onderafdeling Apau Kajan', 1931 (KIT 1070). The results of an official count showed the presence of forty registered guns (Winchesters and Beaumonts), while sixty firearms had been confiscated by the authorities and more were probably kept hidden in granaries.

Table 2. Inter-village trade in Apo Kayan, 1900-1945

Trading groups / villages	Products exported		Products imported	
	1900-1945	1985-1990	1900-1945	1985-1990
Lepo Tepu, Iwan	Rice, cassava, rattan baskets, <i>payang</i> , canoes	village moved	<i>Tikah</i> mats, iron artefacts, salt, kerosene	village moved
Uma Baka, Marung, and Hirun	Rice, <i>parang</i> handles	village moved	Iron artefacts, mats	village moved
Punan Aput / Busang	Rattan mats, bezoar stones, rhinoceros horns, hornbill feathers	Rattan mats and baskets, bullets, bezoar stones, antlers	Rice, tobacco, fabrics, <i>parang</i>	Sun hats, <i>parang</i>
Bakung, Long Metun	Fruit, vegetables, headbands, ceremonial hats	Onions, pineapples, headbands, hens, honey	Iron artefacts	
Uma Lekan, Ganuyang, and Data Dian	Iron artefacts, <i>tikah</i> mats, trays	<i>Parang</i> , pig fat	Rice	Rice
Uma Kulit, Jelerai, and Nahakeramo	Iron artefacts, beaded baby carriers, old beads	village moved	Pigs	village moved
Lepo Tau, Long Nawang	Old beads, beaded baby carriers, jars	Gasoline, salt, rice	Iron artefacts	Pig fat, <i>gaharu</i> , bezoar stones
Uma Lekan, Pura	Rice, <i>mekai</i> , sugar cane, fruit, iron artefacts	village moved	Tobacco, salt	village moved

had been given by members of scientific expeditions to the Apo Kayan people at the beginning of the century. The colonial authorities did not show over-much concern about illegal weapon ownership, however, in the knowledge that powder and bullets could only be obtained from the military garrison in Long Nawang.⁶

After independence

Since Indonesian independence, the range of items traded among the villages of Apo Kayan has gradually diminished. From the 1980s on, hardly any implements or utensils have been sold or traded among indigenous households, except to the families of government officials living in the community, although these articles (cast nets, rice baskets, winnowing trays) are still made and used. Some of these objects or their parts have now been replaced by plastic and nylon counterparts, which can be purchased in local stores. Table 2 illustrates the changes in the kinds of items exchanged in inter-village trade through comparison of two periods, that of 1900-1945 and of 1985-1990. The items listed here are some of the principal trade articles, which were consistently mentioned by local informants and/or in Dutch documents.

Among the forest products, *damar*, and to a lesser extent rattan, remained important articles traded by the people of Apo Kayan in the years after independence through the 1960s. A survey among 15 residents and ex-residents of the Apo Kayan area shows that between 1945 and 1962 on average each had been on an expedition in search of forest products at least twice and on both occasions had collected *damar*.

Eaglewood, or *gaharu* – the fragrant heartwood of trees of the *Aquilaria* species, infected by a fungus – has been sold in small quantities, to be used as incense, since the seventeenth century (Boomgaard 1998). It was not until the 1990s, however, that it became the main forest export in Apo Kayan. A boom in its sale occurred, corresponding to a period of increasingly favourable prices on the international market, with only short-term fluctuations. A kilogram of *gaharu* of the best quality in 1993 fetched on average 350,000 rupiah and in 1997 1,500,000 rupiah. Prices of forest products escalated further in connection with the economic crisis in 1998, when *gaharu* was sold at 5,000,000 rupiah per kg. Bezoar stones fetched the highest unit prices of all the forest products, namely about 10 US dollars a gram. In a survey among 38 Kenyah men in two Apo Kayan villages in 1996, the respondents admitted to a dual aim of all forest expeditions, namely collecting *gaharu* and

⁶ Anonymous, 'Militaire memorie van het detachement Long Nawang', 1929-1931 (KIT 1069).

bezoar stones. In another survey, covering 43 forest expeditions in a different village in Apo Kayan in 1996, more than 50% of the informants stated that the purpose of the expeditions had been to find *gaharu* trees and hunt langur monkeys when there were guns available.

Now new items are appearing on the list of forest products traded to the lowlands. Songbirds like straw-headed bulbuls (*Pycnonotus zeylanicus*) and white-capped shamas (*Copsychus stricklandi*) have recently begun to be sold as cage-birds to local middlemen or traders from outside (Eghenter 1999b).

The demand for products like wild honey, sold both locally and, in small quantities, to outside markets, has remained constant over time. In a like way foodstuffs that were traded decades ago continue to be in demand, as they constitute essential items of the local diet. They are: pig fat, chickens, rice, fruit, and onions.

To this day, some older people still make and sell knives, machetes, and hand hoes to local communities. The raw material, however, now is recycled metal brought in from the coastal towns.

The trade in prestige articles with a high cultural value has remained largely the same in terms of both volume and kinds of objects: beaded baby carriers, patterned rattan mats and baskets, sun hats, and headbands. Gongs are no longer a relevant item of trade, though they are still used to pay traditional fines. Animal parts used for the manufacture of traditional objects or for status display (such as bears' claws, hornbill feathers) are also traded in small quantities. Rhinoceros horns have disappeared from the list of products since the extinction of the rhinoceros in the 1950s. On the other hand, some new items appeared on the list of trade articles in the 1980s and 1990s: *ta'a*, or ceremonial women's skirts, beaded bags and purses, and plastic 'tiger' fangs.

A quantitative projection

The quantities of the products traded between communities in Apo Kayan, and from the interior to the lowlands, are very difficult to estimate. Hence any attempt at calculating these quantities can only be imperfect. Available records in Dutch archives refer mostly only to the total volume of forest products traded at a given post in the interior over a monthly period, while these data are not always given consistently for every sub-district (*onderafdeling*), nor for every year. In the case of the post at Long Iram, on the Mahakam River, for example, the monthly figures compiled by Controleur Barth specify the total quantity of rattan (of various genera, and even species), natural latex (*getah susu* and *getah merah*), and birds' nests traded, but do not indicate from which of the different parts of the interior these products were brought in. Only in some letters and short reports where Dutch officials mention the

arrival of groups of collectors/traders from Apo Kayan do they state the quantity of each of the forest products traded by them. For example, in one case such traders are stated to have brought 50 *pikul* of *getah susu*, in another case 1,600 *gulung* (bundles) of rattan.⁷

Some clarification of the measuring units used may help us interpret the data better. The *pikul* was used largely as a unit of weight for forest products like *damar*. Technically it is equivalent to 62.5 kg. In local trading practices among the Aoheng of the upper Mahakam River (while the argument could be extended to the Kenyah of Apo Kayan), however, a *pikul* used to be rounded up to a hundred kg (Sellato forthcoming). Assuming that the quantities reported in the documents represent the average quantity of each relevant product transported on one trading expedition, and taking into account that in some of the most active trading communities in Apo Kayan (Uma Kulit, Lepo Tau, Uma Jalan, Uma Lekan) expeditions of this kind may have taken place perhaps once a year, we can calculate roughly that something like 12,000 kg of *jelutung* a year may have been traded from Apo Kayan to the eastern lowlands in peak periods between 1910 and 1920.

Despite the considerable difficulties regarding the standardization and correlation of the figures, the data given by informants in the villages of Data Dian and Sajau help shed some light on the quantities of products traded by local people, even though they may not provide actual annual statistics. For the period 1940 to 1980, the overall volume of trade in locally produced objects of iron, bamboo, and rattan appears to be small: one to four items of a particular product sold by one individual trader in a period of one year. This small volume is understandable in the context of an exchange economy driven by a limited demand and a desire to satisfy occasional needs. In times of famine and other disasters, a larger number of products was traded with a view to procuring rice. As far as forest products are concerned, gutta-percha or *ketipai* was traded in average quantities of two to five kg a year per household head in the period 1940-1970. In 1994, informants asserted that they traded an average of 3 kilograms of *gaharu* of varying quality per year, which, when multiplied by the number of adult men in the village (62), amounts to a total of 186 kg of *gaharu* a year traded by one village.

⁷ Correspondence from the Resident of the Zuider- en Oosterafdeling van Borneo to the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies, 23 February 1903 (V 16-09-1903 No. 32, M 1903 507); L.S. Fischer, 'Verslag van de excursie naar Boven-Boeloengan', in the correspondence from the Resident of the Zuider- en Oosterafdeling, J. van Weert, to the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies, 1907 (M 305 472).

Forms of exchange over time, 1900-1999

Evers and Schrader use the term 'forms of exchange' with reference to a strict typology of trade activities classified according to the scale of the transaction, the financial investment, and/or the spatial range. The forms of exchange comprise: (1) small-scale trade (small volume and low value of commodities); (2) subsistence-oriented small-scale exchange (home-produced or collected products exchanged either locally or in a wider area); (3) profit-oriented small-scale trade (as carried on by hawkers and pedlars or shopkeepers); (4) large-scale trade (see Evers and Schrader 1994:39-40). While a typology like this may reflect an ideal rather than a real situation, it nevertheless provides a frame of reference for bringing into focus some of the characteristics of the local economy of exchange between communities in the interior and between the highlands and the lowlands over time.

The indigenous trade in locally produced articles and forest products in the interior of Borneo seems broadly to meet the criteria of Evers and Schrader's second type, where collected and manufactured goods are sold in order to secure the means to buy essential consumer goods in a subsistence-oriented form of exchange. The form and organization of the indigenous trade were more varied, however, than a strict typology would admit of.

The trade items briefly described in the foregoing section were mostly exchanged for other products in the past because of the limited availability of cash in the interior. These products included: goods produced by other local groups which were sought after for their superior quality, if not exclusive nature (for example, rattan mats); foodstuffs, especially rice; commodities that were not available in the highlands of Apo Kayan (for example, kerosene and gasoline); and prestige articles.

The trade in forest products

Prior to and during the colonial period, trade for the most part took place in direct exchanges between the producer (for example, a group of Kenyah individuals) and the buyer (for example, a trader from outside). The collectors of forest products were also the primary traders, who transported the products from the areas where they were collected to the trading points by canoe or raft, or on foot along the trails connecting the interior to the lowlands.

The trading partnership between Kenyah and Kayan chiefs and the Punan people was an exception. The Punan were the principal collectors of particular forest products and depended on the Kenyah and Kayan to act as middlemen between them and outside markets. The products mainly col-

lected by the Punan were those they were most skilful in collecting in remote parts of the primary forest, such as hornbill feathers, bears' claws, rhinoceros horns, and bezoar stones. These they exchanged for products which they lacked either the skill or the opportunity to produce themselves: rice and iron objects.⁸ In Apo Kayan, the situation of Punan camps and collecting areas correlated closely with the location of the settlement of the particular Kenyah chief with whom the Punan maintained exclusive trade relations at a given time. According to Brosius (1995) there was some competition among Kenyah groups for control of the trade with the Punan, who could switch to another group if they felt they had been badly treated.

A trading expedition from Long Nawang to Tanjung Selor by canoe used to take about two months, and by overland trail across the Pujungan-Kayan watershed slightly longer. A similar expedition by canoe from Long Pujungan to Tanjung Selor took about seven to ten days. There were specially built rafts for transporting the forest products, mainly *damar*, which were allowed to float down-river with their cargo, followed by the canoes.

A trading expedition was often an extension of a collecting trip. The Kayan language has a special expression, *paji pelalau*, for collectors of forest products who go on a collecting expedition (*paji*) and then travel direct (*pelalau*) to the market without first returning to the village. The parts of the forest where a particular product was known to be present in abundance were often far from the villages, on the road to the lowlands, so that it was more efficient to include the trip to the trading towns in the same expedition. Upon their arrival at the market town, the Kenyah and Kayan usually traded the forest products to Chinese and, to a lesser extent, Arab shopkeepers, who gave them credit to the amount of the estimated value of the forest products for the purchase of goods. Some informants talked of getting on top of this a bonus of tobacco, kerosene or salt, as well as overnight accommodation, which were provided by a Chinese trader/shopkeeper in Tanjung Selor. This led to the development of preferred trading partnerships between a particular shop and specific groups of traders which have continued to this day (see Peluso 1983).

A collecting and trading expedition like this required the efforts and collaboration of a large number of people to ensure success in reaping a rich harvest and to make transport lighter and the journey safe. Various letters from Dutch officials at the beginning of the 20th century report groups of Dayak traders from the interior as numbering between 60 and 120 individuals. In the social and economic context of the communities of the interior, ventures that absorbed a considerable portion of the (male) labour force for months at

⁸ W.P. Roodenburg, 'Memorie van overgave van de onderafdeling Apau Kajan', 1935 (KIT 1075).

a time required that they be well regulated if they were not to put the survival of the community at risk. The chief and elders of the group exercised control over the time of the expedition and the selection of participants. Their main concern was to plan trading expeditions at a time when they would not interfere with the busiest and most labour-intensive phases of the agricultural cycle, that is, the planting of the rice fields and the harvest. Like all major events in the life of the communities, the execution of a trading expedition was subject to favourable omens.

Collecting and trading patterns have changed in more recent years since the intensive exploitation of *gaharu*. Local groups of collectors in Apo Kayan now number between two and four individuals. Mostly they sell the products, upon their return from the forest, to middlemen in the same or a nearby village.

Also, expeditions by local people nowadays are effectively shorter, taking on average two weeks. Most of them are still timed to fit in with the rice-growing cycle, with most collectors going on expeditions to the forest at times when they are not needed for agricultural work. A survey in one Apo Kayan village in 1996 showed, for example, that expeditions to the forest were least frequent in the periods February-April and July-September. Only ten men were reported as being engaged in collecting forest products in the months in which rice farmers in the interior are engaged in felling trees in the new fields (July), burning off (August), planting (August-September), and harvesting (February-April). This contrasts with the average of over fifty for the rest of the year.

Outside collectors sponsored by Chinese traders based in Tanjung Selor and Samarinda, by contrast, have been coming to areas in the interior like Apo Kayan in increasing numbers since the early 1990s. They are free to spend lengthy periods of time in the forest as they are not involved in agricultural activities and can depend on regular supplies of rice and other goods. This situation has generated increasing competition for forest products and given rise to conflict between local and external collectors. Outsiders, who for the greater part belong to different ethnic and religious groups, often ignore local traditions and customary rules and challenge the legitimacy of the rights of locals to forest products (Eghenter 2000b).

Since the early 1990s the number of locals and outsiders hunting langur monkeys has also increased. Firearms have replaced blowpipes as weapons and so made hunting easier. Local hunters, particularly Punan, claim they can pick out the old and sick monkeys which are believed to be more likely to have bezoar stones. Many outside collectors lack the necessary experience and specialized knowledge for this, however, and so are not able to hunt selectively. Moreover, they often use indiscriminate methods like poisoning the salt licks where the monkeys come to drink (Eghenter 1999b).

In an economy in which cash is still available on only a limited scale, a kind of long-term 'exchange' or credit system is in force, whereby the food and equipment that are necessary for survival in the forest are advanced by middlemen against the promise of future payments in kind – that is, in jungle products (Blajan 1999; Momberg, Puri and Jessup 1997). Collectors often find it difficult to pay off this debt, however, and remain indebted to their creditors for long periods of time. This situation allows traders to exercise exclusive control over and monopolistic exploitation of forest products in some communities.

The trade in other items

Imported goods were obtained via trading expeditions to Malaysia or to the eastern lowlands, or on trips as porters for the Dutch authorities and, after independence, as *kuli pos* or couriers for the Indonesian government. Dutch documents from the beginning of the century report that forest products brought from the interior to the market places on the east coast were invariably exchanged for salt, cotton fabric, and iron. In Berau, gongs were a major item of exchange as well. Interviews with informants about trading expeditions in the 1940s through the 1960s indicate that forest products were still exchanged for the same goods in that period, with the addition of kerosene. More recently, the cash earned by collectors and sellers of forest products has been used to purchase expensive commodities like outboard motors, gold jewellery, and chainsaws.

Locally manufactured equipment was exchanged on such occasions as a trip to another village, a visit from a headman from a nearby village, or a ceremonial gathering. The Kenyah Uma Kulit people organized trading trips which were functionally differentiated according to season, for example, trading agricultural implements prior to the beginning of the cultivation phase of the agricultural cycle and handicraft products before the season of festivals and rituals.

Prestige articles and rice and salt constituted important trade items from an economic as well as a social point of view. Their purchase and exchange often justified long-distance, even regional, expeditions. The Kenyah language has a special word, *nyi'a*, for trips undertaken to procure rice in the event of a bad or poor harvest, which was not an uncommon occurrence in the interior. The rice was usually procured in exchange for prestige articles or other goods.

Before independence, Kenyah people from Apo Kayan could obtain salt either from other Kenyah groups in the Pujungan and upper Bahau region or by purchasing it at stores in the lowlands with the proceeds from the sale of

Table 3. Changes in exchange equivalents of selected trade articles

Products	1930	1950	1997
Gutta-percha or <i>ketipai</i> (5 kg)	1 roll of fabric or 1 packet of salt		not traded
<i>Damar</i> (1 <i>pikul</i>)	2 <i>kaleng</i> of salt or 2 rolls of fabric	5 <i>kaleng</i> of kerosene	not traded
<i>Yuh</i> or small knife		1 small <i>anjat</i> or 3-4 packets of salt or 10-15 rolls of tobacco	Rp 3,500-4,000
<i>Anjat kalung</i> or patterned rattan basket (medium size)		1 <i>parang</i> or 4-7 <i>kaleng</i> of rice	Rp 25-30,000 or 1-2 sun hats or 1 <i>parang</i>

forest products. The Apo Kayan – Pujungan – Bahau salt network was an old trade network. The salt was procured from salt-water springs on the Krayan plateau (Schneeberger 1979). It was traded by Saben people living along the Berau River, a tributary of the Bahau, to the Kenyah of the upper Bahau region – hence the name *osen* (salt) *Berau*. Kenyah Leppo Ma'ut and Leppo Ke groups sold the salt to people of Apo Kayan.⁹

Prestige articles and other handicraft products possessed great economic, cultural, and political significance. Their value was high because of the intrinsic costs of their production (labour, materials, special skills and craftsmanship), but also because these items resembled what Polanyi defines as 'treasures', that is, valuables whose possession endows the owner with special influence and enhances his prestige. 'Treasures' are the objects of special transactions in the religious and foreign policy spheres (Dalton 1971:185-7). Among the Kenyah and Kayan, prestige articles were the preferred means of sealing a political deal, confirming a peace treaty or ratifying an agreement, paying customary fines, or paying for the restitution of slaves or prisoners of war. Such items were often exchanged on ceremonial occasions, on the occasion of visits from local leaders, or at meetings between traditional leaders, when complimentary gifts, or *selamba*, were exchanged. In spite of their exclusive nature, prestige articles could also be procured by means of the regular commercial expeditions, outside the exclusive channels through which 'treasures' in Polanyi's sense flowed.

⁹ In Apo Kayan, this salt was sometimes referred to as *osen Ma'ut*. Traditionally the amount of salt given in exchange for a *parang* was that of a bar equal in length to the blade of the *parang*.

Exchange equivalents

The exchange equivalents of forest products and other items have changed over time. Their value was moreover clearly dependent on the specific circumstances of each particular transaction, where demand, competition, and bargaining skills could influence the final price. Table 3 shows the variations in exchange equivalents for a limited number of trade items over time. Here it should be noted that a *kaleng* is a tin box of Malaysian origin which is still commonly used for storing rice and measuring harvest yields. Its contents correspond to 15-16 kg of husked rice and 10-12 kg of unhusked rice. Salt was sold in packets and bars (the size of a brick) wrapped in pandanus leaves.

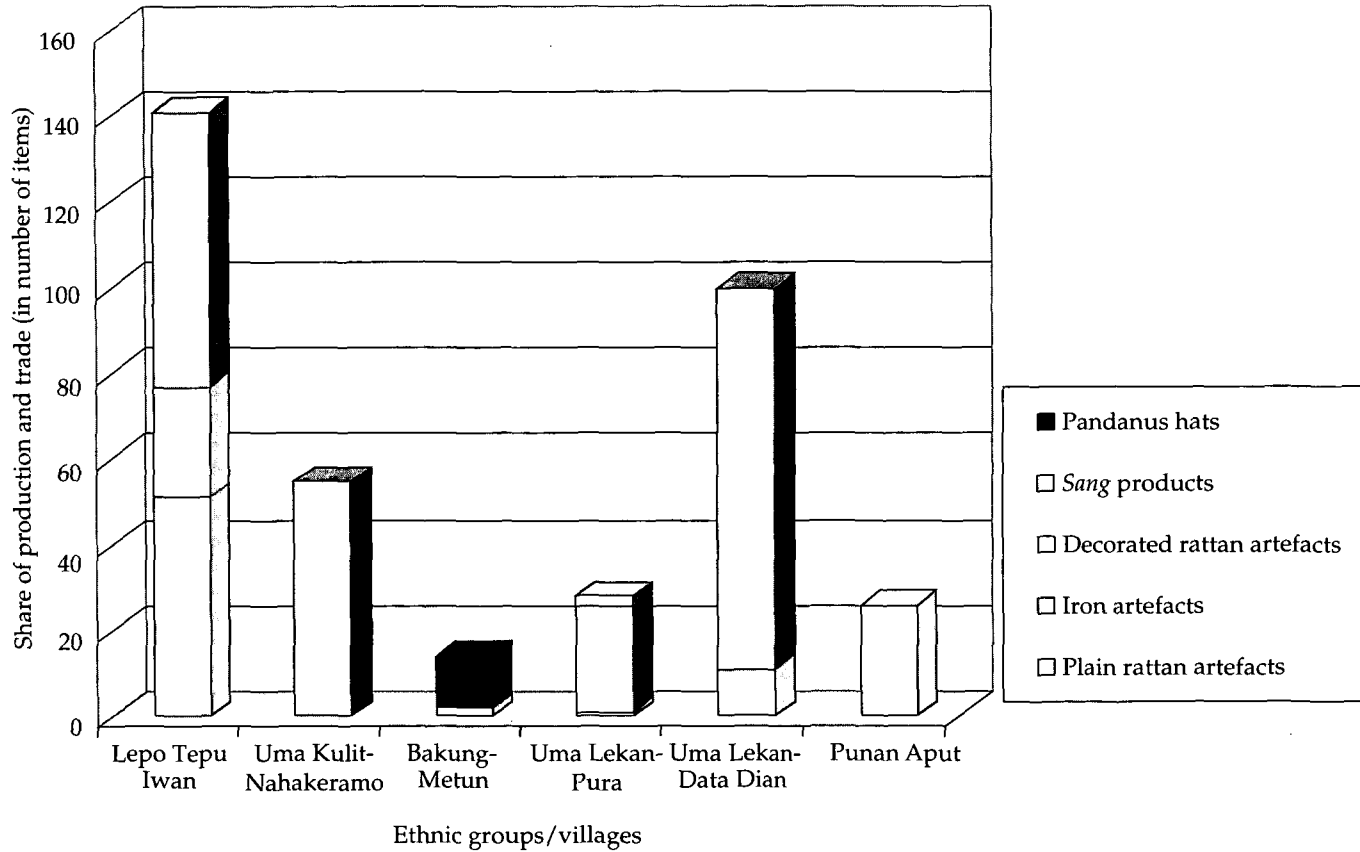
Today cash is by far the most common means of payment or medium of exchange. Customary fines may be paid in either cash or prestige articles. Barter has decreased drastically and is only still practised by those who lack cash and therefore exchange manufactured articles for soap and other goods sold by the local stores. It also still occurs in transactions between producers with a monopoly on a particular kind of handicraft products. An example is the exchange of sun hats produced by the Kenyah against rattan mats and baskets manufactured by the Punan.

The circulation of trade articles, 1900-1999

A common classification of Southeast Asian trade networks identifies three different trade spheres: world-market trade, local trade, and subsistence trade (see, for example, Evers and Schrader 1994; Schrader 1994). These basic spheres seem to be differentiated mainly according to their dominant form of exchange (subsistence or market) or spatial range (world or local). However, what this classification does not tell us is that these spheres often overlap, resulting in complex, interacting patterns of trading networks. In the case of the indigenous trade in the Apo Kayan region, for instance, villagers produced or collected goods that they sold in an inter-village network, bought special products and produce from other groups which they then exchanged for goods supplied by outside traders, and collected forest products and sold these and purchased consumer goods in the long-distance trade with the lowlands, both in Sarawak and in the region to the east. Nor does the classification take into consideration the temporal configurations of traffic spheres, or the question of when and for how long a particular sphere was active.

Spatially, trading among the people of Apo Kayan spans the area comprised by the 'local sphere' of inter-village trade among Apo Kayan Dayak communities, the 'regional sphere' of trade among Dayak groups of the interior residing on either side of a major watershed (for example, in the Pujungan

Graph showing production of selected trade items and inter-village exchange 1945-1983



and Mahakam areas), and the 'long-distance sphere' of international traffic with traders extending their activities into the lowlands of both the Dutch-controlled area, now Indonesia, and the British-controlled zone, now Sarawak.

Micro-specialization of the inter-village trade

Short distances between villages, the plentiful availability of particular items, and similarity in the patterns of demand may provide obstacles to the development of specialized patterns of economic production and exchange in inter-village trade networks. Despite these limiting factors, there is evidence of micro-specialization in the local and subsistence trade among Apo Kayan villages in ethnographic and historical accounts. There seems to be a high degree of agreement between the ethnographic and historical sources, as well as travel reports (see, for example, Hose and McDougall 1912; Lumholtz 1920).

The graph illuminates the production and sale of a number of local products, grouped roughly according to material used, in several Apo Kayan villages in the period 1945 to 1983. The distribution of the items points to the existence of specialized production centres, especially for iron and rattan articles. The manufacture of iron artefacts, for example, was dominated by the Kayan Uma Lekan in the villages of Pura and Ganuyang, and later Data Dian. It was indeed the Kayan who first mastered the technique of extracting the mineral from ore and forging it into tools and implements. There are several rich iron ore sites near their villages. Scheffelaar¹⁰ reports that the Kayan in Pura exploited the ore found in nearby Lekan Kasing to make exceptionally strong blades for knives and machetes. The Kenyah Uma Kulit of Jelerai, who later moved to Nahakeramo, learned the technique from the Kayan and have developed a specialized trade in iron tools and implements since the beginning of the century. The skill of local blacksmiths was admired by several Dutch officers stationed in Apo Kayan.¹¹

The Kenyah Lepo Tepu living along the Iwan River, a major tributary of the Kayan River, were famous for the manufacture of rattan baskets and baby carriers. They were called 'the masters of rattan' in the Apo Kayan area.¹² Rattan (of the *Calamus* and other genera) grows in abundance along several tributaries of the Iwan River. In the production of rattan articles, the manufacture of patterned rattan (of the *Calamus caesius* species) mats and baskets is the exclus-

¹⁰ P.C.J. Scheffelaar, 'Memorie van overgave van de onderafdeling Apau Kajan', 1931 (KIT 1070).

¹¹ See W.P. Roodenburg, 'Memorie van overgave van de onderafdeling Apau Kajan', 1935 (KIT 1075); A.M., Sierevelt, 'Memorie van overgave van de onderafdeling Apau Kajan', 1927 (KIT 1066).

¹² A.M. Sierevelt, 'Memorie van overgave van de onderafdeling Apau Kajan', 1927 (KIT 1066).

ive area of expertise of the Punan Aput and Punan Busang in the Apo Kayan area (see Whittier 1973). The mats in particular have of old invariably been the main item, along with unprocessed forest products, traded by the Punan. Tillema (1932) writes that the mats, beautifully woven by Punan women of the upper Iwan River, were traded for salt, tobacco, needles and yarn.

Traces of patterns of specialized production and trade are discernible down to the present. The manufacture of rattan articles is still prominent among the Kenyah Lepo Tepu, who have, meanwhile, moved away from Apo Kayan to resettle near Tanjung Selor. A quick survey conducted in 1996 showed that 52% of all the handicraft products made and sold by the Lepo Tepu are rattan products. Similarly, the manufacture and sale of knives and machetes has become a thriving business among the Kenyah Uma Kulit, now living in Jelerai Selor, near Tanjung Selor. The Punan Aput, who moved in part to Long Unai, Sarawak, and in part to Long Sule, on the Kayan Iut River, are still the masters of the art of making rattan mats and baskets. The sale of these artefacts constitutes a principal source of income for the people on the Kayan Iut.

The Dutch presence and regional trade

The advent of the Dutch in the Apo Kayan area gave a strong impetus to long-distance trade, but did not set it in motion. Long before the Dutch came to the area, the inhabitants were trading forest products to Sarawak, Berau and the Mahakam area, and to a lesser extent to the lower Kayan River area via the Bahau River. The frequency and volume of trade were restricted by knowledge of the market, the difficulty of expeditions across rugged terrain over long distances, and the economic and social characteristics of the communities in the interior.

Dutch documents confirm the presence of a clear pattern, whereby Dayak traders from the villages on the upper Kayan River (for example, Sungai Barang, Long Uro, and Long Nawang) travelled along the Boh River to Long Iram, on the Mahakam River, where a Dutch post was opened in 1900. Traders from communities further down the Kayan River (for example, Long Marung, Jelerai, Naha Kalo) travelled instead via the Kayan Iut and Kelai Rivers to Tanjung Redeb and Berau to trade.

The growing Dutch civil and military presence in Bulungan affected the use of traditional trade routes. In 1908 the Dutch official in charge of the Long Iram post, Gramberg¹³, led an expedition to survey the area of the Brem-

¹³ H. Gramberg, 'Journaal rapport van de tournee naar de Apau Kajan en Boeloengan, 6 Juli - 15 September', in the correspondence from the Resident of the Zuider- en Oosterafdeling van Borneo to the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies, 10 November 1908 (M 305 F476).

Brem rapids on the Kayan River accompanied by a Kenyah Uma Kulit chief. The trip had a dual purpose. On the one hand, the official was expected to make recommendations about the best location up-river in which to establish a Dutch military garrison for the purpose of helping the 'pacification' of the people of the interior and the extension of political control. On the other hand, as in the case of Fischer's expedition of the year before, Gramberg was asked to survey potential trade routes that would connect the interior to the lowlands, thereby facilitating Dutch control over forest resources and their sale on the world market. Gramberg reports that the Kenyah chief who accompanied him looked eagerly at the rattan, which grew particularly abundantly in that area, and said: 'Tuan, make the river navigable and we will be rich!' This incident shows that the local people were aware of the economic potential of forest products and realized that the topography of the terrain and the distance from markets made labour and transportation costs too high to make the enterprise worthwhile.

While the Dutch made a concerted effort to establish new trade routes, they were not alone in this. Some Kenyah Uma Kulit chiefs had already surveyed and built a long track to bypass the Brem-Brem rapids. Although their initial attempts failed, they planned to move down-river so as to be able to take advantage of the growing trade in forest products. It took the Dutch several years, using forced labour, to construct a path along the rapids and thus connect the upper to the lower Kayan River for the first time (Tillema 1989).

After the Dutch established a military outpost at the confluence of the Bahau and Kayan Rivers around 1910, the routes of the long-distance trade from Apo Kayan to the eastern lowlands shifted away from the Mahakam and Berau Rivers to the Bulungan district. The shift was especially remarkable for the communities in the lower parts of Apo Kayan. Kenyah and Kayan informants recall travelling to Tanjung Redeb, and occasionally to Long Iram, on their early trading trips, and to Tanjung Selor only after the Dutch opened the trade route via the Kayan River.

The presence of the Dutch stimulated regional and long-distance trade in other ways as well. Although there had been trade relations among the people of the interior from of old, fear of headhunting attacks by the Kenyah Uma Alim of the Pujungan area could occasionally disrupt the trade between two river systems, when people were afraid to travel unless escorted. The Dutch administration outlawed headhunting and prosecuted the occasional transgressors from the 1920s on. The Dutch military post moreover created a sense of security in the area. Local guides and porters hired by the Dutch would often ask permission to bring forest products to trade down-river.

Another strong deterrent to trade on the lower Kayan River had been the high fees levied on forest products by the Sultan of Bulungan. Prior to the Dutch presence, collectors of forest products were often prevented from

Table 4. Long-distance and regional trade from Apo Kayan, 1900-1945 and 1985-1990

Market place	Exported		Imported	
	1900-1945	1985-1990	1900-1945	1985-1990
Tanjung Selor	<i>Damar, getah merah, getah susu, rattan</i>	<i>Gaharu</i>	Salt, iron, fabrics	Outboard motors, salt, cloths
Long Iram / Mahakam	<i>Getah merah, getah susu, damar, rhinoceros horns</i>	none	Salt, cloth	none
Berau	<i>Getah merah, getah susu, damar</i>	none	Gongs, cloth, salt, iron	none
Sarawak	<i>Getah merah, damar, rhinoceros horns</i>	<i>Gaharu, deer antlers, bears' claws, honey, vegetables, fruit</i>	Old beads, cloth, salt, iron	Gasoline, salt, tin roofs, chainsaws, beads, bullets
Upper Bahau	Gongs, old beads, iron articles	none	Salt	none
Pujungan	Gongs, old beads, swords, poison for blowpipes	none	Salt	none

going all the way to Tanjung Selor to trade. They were forced either to sell their products at a lower price in Long Pengian, down-river from the rapids and the confluence of the Bahau and Kayan Rivers, or to pay high duties to the chief of the Segai, probably with the approval of the Sultan of Bulungan. This situation continued for some time after the Dutch abolished the practice and indicted the Segai chief (Walcheren 1907). For their part, the Dutch later extended their control over the trade in forest products by introducing a tax or *cukai* of 10% of the value of such products with a commercial value.¹⁴ The tax was to be collected by a tax collector in Tanjung Selor. From the ethnographic record it is difficult to infer the extent to which traders of the interior paid the tax, or were even aware of its existence.

Since the late 1950s, many communities have moved away from Apo Kayan and relocated in the lowlands. This trend was predicted and, in principle, supported by some Dutch officials¹⁵, who believed the move down-river could benefit the communities of the interior, as they would then be able to take direct advantage of the economic development of the coastal areas. More than half the population of Apo Kayan migrated to the Mahakam and the lower part of the Kayan River (Eghenter 1999a). Long-established regional trade patterns disappeared in the 1960s (see Table 4). By that time, the major trade article between Apo Kayan and upper Bahau, the salt produced in the Krayan area, had been largely substituted by commercial salt from the lowlands. In the 1950s and early 1960s, the salt was still brought to Pujungan, and the people from Apo Kayan travelled on foot along the old trade route across the watershed to pick it up. Eventually, salt became available in the stores in the interior, where it was flown in by small mission planes.

As regards prestige articles, the greater availability of cash has made these less relevant in transactions. Moreover, changes in the social circumstances of the communities in the interior, such as conversion to Christianity, have contributed to the loss in religious and social, if not cultural, value of some of these objects. Articles that used to be strict markers of social status, used only by aristocrats, were now available to most people. Prestige articles also came to be in short supply after people started selling their 'antiques' (old beads, jars, or gongs) for cash to outside traders in the late 1970s and the 1980s.

Out-migration greatly changed local practices in connection with inter-village trade. Traditional networks collapsed because entire communities moved away. Partners in the trade in handicraft products, household articles and implements left the area. Iron forging declined sharply when commun-

¹⁴ Draft regulation on *cukai* on forest products in Bulungan, 1913 (V 23-07-1913 No. 29, M 1912 1137).

¹⁵ A.M. Sierevelt, 'Memorie van overgave van de onderafdeling Apau Kajan', 1927 (KIT 1066); P.C.J. Scheffelaar, 'Memorie van overgave van de onderafdeling Apau Kajan', 1931 (KIT 1070).

ities with a monopoly on the production of and inter-village trade in iron articles left for the lowlands. People had to travel further up-river to procure rice in times of prolonged drought and famine. The cultivation of garden crops was also affected in that there were fewer buyers for local surplus products. Today there are fewer coconut trees and domesticated pigs, and less corn, sugar cane, and coffee in the Apo Kayan villages than under Dutch rule. The risks and costs of shipping these kinds of products to the lowlands remain too high, and provide a major obstacle to economic development programmes in the area. An inter-village trade continues to be carried on in a few specialized illegal items like animal parts, guns, and bullets, which are not stocked in local shops. More traders in forest products are now operating from the villages in the interior, and local collectors are for the most part selling locally. The resettlement of thousands of people from the interior in the lowlands has strengthened the Apo Kayan – Bulungan trade axis that the Dutch encouraged. Moreover, it gave a new direction to the regional traffic, from down-river to up-river, with Kenyah from the lowland settlements selling raw materials for the manufacture of artefacts as well as finished handi-craft products to communities in Apo Kayan.

Trading across the international border

Kenyah Uma Kulit, Uma Baka, and Lepo Badeng inhabiting villages close to the border between the former British and Dutch territories have been trading in Sarawak on a fairly regular basis for a long time. If this network was 'international' in the sense that it linked two territories under two different, competing political administrations, for the people of Apo Kayan it was a familiar one. Topographically, Sarawak is quite accessible. The route is along a low watershed, with no rapids to cross, and it is only one day's travel from Long Marung to the nearest village on the other side. Moreover, the people inhabiting the villages on the upper Baram and Baluy Rivers are for the most part Kenyah and Kayan who originally came from the Apo Kayan region. The territory across the border was regarded as a familiar region rather than a foreign country, as a common area where people spoke the same language and had the same traditions.

Local collectors of forest products would trade these products with Sarawak Iban in exchange for fabrics and gongs. Alternatively, they would travel to Fort Belaga and other market towns in Sarawak to sell their products to local Malay and Chinese traders (Chew 1990; Rousseau 1990). Many trade expeditions bore a political (peace-making) character as well (Whittier 1973). Occasionally Malay traders would also come from Sarawak to Apo Kayan to sell their goods.¹⁶

Cross-border trade was sometimes subject to rules and regulations imposed by the colonial administration. When between 1910 and the 1920s the growing number of Iban *getah merah* collectors in Apo Kayan gave rise to tensions with the local Kenyah population and headhunting raids occurred on both sides, the Dutch administration, concerned about an escalation of violence and the negative effects of this on trade, asked the government of Sarawak to co-operate in stopping Iban raids into the Apo Kayan area. A clear definition of the rights of access to and exploitation of natural resources between the British and Dutch territories was put on the agenda of the peace conference held in Kapit, Sarawak, in 1924. Kenyah leaders and the Dutch administration agreed to impose some restrictions on Iban collectors/traders, who would be allowed to travel from Sarawak to the Apo Kayan region only via three main trade routes, and would have to collect *getah* by sustainable methods and report to the local Kenyah customary chief. Despite Resident De Haan's disapproval, local Dutch officials regarded the possibility of collectors and traders from Sarawak continuing to exploit natural resources inside Dutch territory as a positive fact. Trade relations were viewed as a means of improving political relations between neighbouring ethnic groups in Apo Kayan.¹⁷ Kenyah leaders remained wary of Iban *getah merah* collectors continuing to wander into the Apo Kayan forests clandestinely, however.¹⁸

Notwithstanding the support of the Dutch *controleurs* in the Apo Kayan area for continued trade with Sarawak, the colonial administration in its official letters clearly encouraged the local population of Apo Kayan to trade with the eastern, Dutch-controlled ports rather than Sarawak. The administration was also directly involved in the introduction of a credit system (Black 1985) and in helping the collectors from the interior trade their forest products at profitable prices. It was said that traders were able to 'do good business thanks to the help of the administration'.¹⁹

The volume of trade with Sarawak generally increased after Indonesian independence and the collapse of the cargo system established and maintained by the Dutch (Whittier 1973; Eghenter 1999a). Whereas in the first part of the century forest products were exchanged for other goods, later on labour became the major commodity and the motive for continual travel

¹⁶ P.C.J. Scheffelaar, 'Memorie van overgave van de onderafdeling Apau Kajan', 1931 (KIT 1070).

¹⁷ Letter from the Chief Secretary of Sarawak, Moulton, to the Government of the Netherlands East Indies, December 1924 (M 305 F520).

¹⁸ A.M. Sierevelt, 'Memorie van overgave van de onderafdeling Apau Kajan', 1927 (KIT 1066); Report by Schippers, Directeur van Binnenlandsch Bestuur, 7 October 1921 (M 305 F511).

¹⁹ Kort Verslag by the Resident of the Zuider- en Oosterafdeling van Borneo, J. van Weert, April 1910 (M 305 F511).

across the border.

Between 1963 and 1965, traditional expeditions to Sarawak were to some extent affected by the confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia. The ethnographic record shows that there were fewer trade journeys to Sarawak via the Pengian and other official routes used by Indonesian troops as the main passage to the border.

In the 1990s, trade expeditions to Sarawak were mostly limited to short trips to logging camps and nearby villages on the other side of the border. The round trip there from Long Nawang may be completed in one day by strong porters. Local shopkeepers bought basic commodities like salt, sugar, gasoline, and tin roofing material on the other side of the border. Occasionally local people would bring handicraft products, deer antlers, bears' claws, bezoar stones, and sometimes *gaharu* to sell to traders there if prices were favourable. The availability of guns has increased and the trade in ammunition between Apo Kayan and the villages across the border has also expanded rapidly as a result of high market prices for forest products like bezoar stones.²⁰

Conclusions: change and continuity in the trade scenario

The above findings on the development and organization of trade networks in the interior of Kalimantan are only preliminary. Nevertheless, their implications for a history of small-scale social and economic networks in different sub-regions in Southeast Asia seem clear. The integration of historical and ethnographic data is essential if the researcher is to understand indigenous trading practices in the interior of Indonesian Borneo as the outcome of the interaction between cognizant individuals, the local agents of trade / traders, and the economic, historical, social, and environmental conditions (see Hawthorn 1991). Such an approach moreover enables us to explain how and why continuities and discontinuities in trading practices have occurred the way they have.

The various factors that have been responsible for the establishment and maintenance of trade networks in the interior of Borneo are evident from the material adduced in the previous sections. Changes in the international demand for particular forest products have directly affected patterns of col-

²⁰ The exchange rate with Malaysia was negatively affected by the economic crisis in early 1998 (when 1 Malay ringgit was worth 3,000 Indonesian rupiah), so that the price of bullets rose considerably (to 25,000 rupiah per unit). In this period less ammunition was smuggled from Malaysia, so that a shortage arose. These circumstances contributed to a noticeable decrease in the number of bezoar collectors in the Apo Kayan region in 1998 and part of 1999.

lection and trade by creating boom and bust periods on the basis of the almost exclusive exploitation of product(s) for which there was the highest demand. Some products (for example, natural latex) enjoyed one brief, historically unique, period of exploitation. Other products (for example, rattan) are subject to cyclical patterns of demand (from 1940 to the 1960s, and the 1980s) that depend largely on prices and national economic policies (Peluso 1992). A few other resources (for example, *gaharu* and bezoar stones) have been subject to intensive, for the most part uncontrolled, exploitation over the past ten years, which many fear will soon result in depletion of these particular resources and the disappearance of the principal economic activity of the local people (see Blajan 1999), although the random distribution of *gaharu* trees over the territory and the selective harvesting practices of the local people may make such depletion unlikely though not impossible in the short term. New policies would have to be implemented, granting exclusive rights of access to and exploitation of forest products to local communities and encouraging the enforcement of customary regulations (Eghenter 2000a, 2000b).

Cash earned through trade and jobs in Malaysia has enabled people of the interior to buy outboard motors for their canoes and to travel to the coast in the small aeroplanes run by the Missionary Aviation Fellowship to trade and purchase goods. Similarly, traders from the lowlands or other parts of Indonesia have access to the Apo Kayan area in larger numbers. There are small stores in all the villages, often run by local people. The logging operations of Sarawak companies have moved closer to the Apo Kayan border and created new trade opportunities for the inhabitants of the interior. There are fewer (and smaller) communities in Apo Kayan as a result of out-migration in the 1960-1980s, but people are coming back from the lowlands to collect forest products and sometimes decide to stay.

Evers maintains (1988:92) that the stability of traditional Southeast Asian small-scale trade is convincingly demonstrated by the existence, and even the growth, of contemporary trading networks. The question is whether trading practices in the interior of Borneo constitute a 'network' in Evers' sense of regular interactions along definite routes, a typical inventory of goods, and distinctive practices, and whether this network has persisted as a social and economic network. It may not be as important to give a definite answer to these questions as it is to interpret 'network' as 'scenario', whereby the activation, development, and disruption of trading arrangements are regarded as being affected by and in turn themselves affecting factors such as political decisions, presence of local skills and entrepreneurship, and economic and environmental conditions.

While there is no evidence to suggest that the people of the interior who operated local networks were lacking in the entrepreneurial spirit or profit-

making motives that typify world trade, it is clear that they took advantage of a situation that was increasingly favourable to trade as a result of the trade policies introduced by the Dutch administration, the suppression of head-hunting, the growing demand for forest products, and improvements in transportation. So one would wonder if more people from the interior traded as a result. The circumstances had definitely become more propitious for this, with the risks of the long journey (accidents, headhunting) having diminished. More traders in forest products were definitely present in Tanjung Selor.²¹

In the Apo Kayan region itself between 1900 and 1999 it is possible to identify old and new forms of trading interaction with distinct 'continuities' and 'discontinuities' in terms of spatial, temporal, and social arrangements. The relations with Sarawak have persisted and look likely to increase; old regional trade networks have collapsed; and there has been a gradual shift in the long-distance trade from the Apo Kayan area to the lowlands of Bulungan in the east. Although Chinese and Arab traders still dominate the trade in forest products, a growing number of Dayak people have become *gaharu* traders and middlemen and have come to control the regional market in handicraft products.

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²¹ The introduction of the per capita tax system in Apo Kayan in 1926 did not induce more local people to take part in the trade in forest products in order to procure the necessary cash to pay this tax. The administration had made the two and a half-guilder tax payable in either cash or rice. The Dutch authorities on the one hand seem to have been aware of the difficulty for the local people to earn cash and on the other hand justified the possibility of payment in rice by the need for provisions for the military garrisons in the Apo Kayan area and at the Brem-Brem rapids.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

F	Microfiche
KIT	Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam
M	Mailrapport
V	Verbaal
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

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