

Chapter 2

Ecological History and Regional Context of Roviana

Abstract This chapter summarizes the geographical, ecological, social, and cultural background of the study site of the Solomon Islands. The high level of biodiversity found to persist there was perceived to have resulted from a lack of human intervention, but archaeological and forest ecological studies have indicated that many of the very old forests that make up the ecosystem in this area had once been cleared by ancestral people. Furthermore, the geological and vegetative characteristics of each island vary widely; this is especially true of the large volcanic island and small barrier islands, even within the limited geographical scale. People depend on root crops as their main source of food. Subsistence gardens, abandoned second-growth forests, and coconut plantations have rendered the landscape a mosaic of various land cover types. All Roviana people share the same culture and similar ecological settings, although the degree of modernization varies among them. Therefore, this area provided an ideal setting for this study's framework.

Keywords Geography • Society • Culture • Ecosystem • History • Study site

2.1 Fieldwork in Solomon Islands

Solomon Islands consists of a double chain of islands that include more than 900 small islands (Fig. 2.1). The country is a high-priority area for biodiversity conservation because of its location in the larger biodiversity hotspot of the East Melanesian Islands (Brooks et al. 2006; Conservation International 2012). Initially, the high level of biodiversity found to persist there was perceived to have resulted from a lack of human intervention, but archaeological and forest ecological studies have indicated that many of the very old forests that make up the ecosystem in this area had once been cleared by ancestral people in the Western Solomon Islands (Bayliss-Smith et al. 2003). Furthermore, the geological and vegetative characteristics of each island vary widely; this is especially true of the large volcanic island and small barrier islands, even within the limited geographical scale of Solomon Islands itself (Wall and Hansell 1975). The land use patterns also differ from one island to another (Aswani and Vaccaro 2008; Furusawa and Ohtsuka 2009; Hviding and Bayliss-Smith 2000).

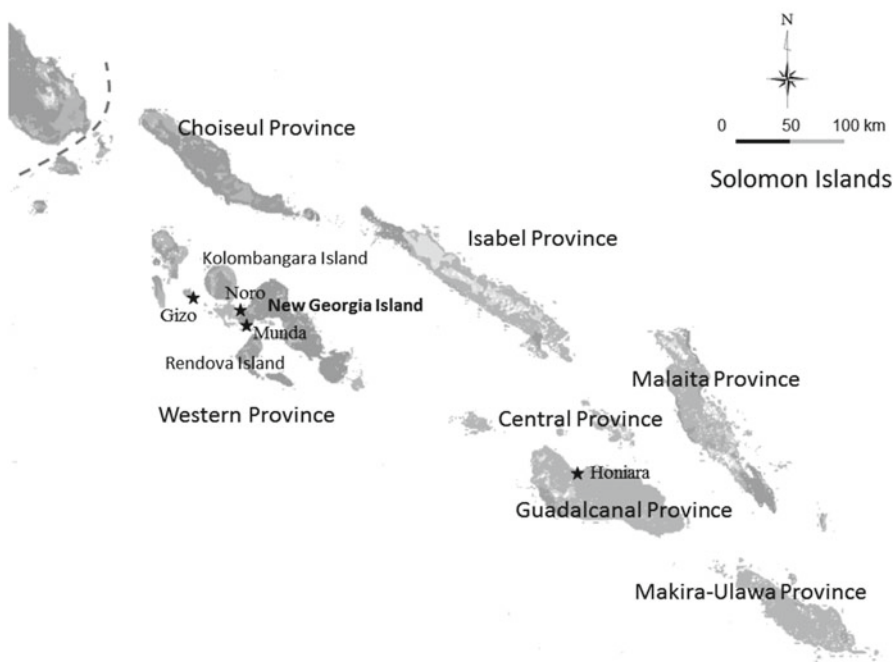


Fig. 2.1 Map of Solomon Islands and the location of Western Province

Traditional land tenure ownership is in effect on about 87 % of the lands. Members of a land-owning clan typically use this type of “customary land” exclusively (Bennett 2000). In these lands, the people must cope with socioeconomic and ecological changes without expecting any support from the government; unlike most other countries, but similar to other Melanesian countries, the government has very limited influence on urban planning. The people are allowed to use lands including barrier islands as long as they belong to the clan that traditionally manages that land. However, in and around urbanized areas, i.e., the center of demographic and economic changes, each household often establishes its own boundaries within the customary land and uses the land as their own *de facto* private territory, instead of resorting to communal use of the clan’s land (Aswani 1999; Schneider 1998). This tendency has begun to spread to the rural areas.

The fieldwork was conducted in the Western Province of Solomon Islands from January to October 2001, from May to July 2002, from July 2003 to February 2004, in September 2004, from July to September 2005, in November 2006, in May and July 2007, in February 2008, in February and August 2009, in February 2010, and in November 2011. All these research efforts were conducted in the Roviana language with the help of two local assistants, Mr. Edwin Huti Vudere and Mr. Rex Dagha.

2.2 Geography and Ecosystem

Roviana lies in the southwestern part of New Georgia Island, near barrier and small islands, and extends for 150 km from Konggu Kalena Bay to Parara (Vonavona) Island in Western Province of Solomon Islands (Fig. 2.2). Geographically, New Georgia Island is covered by tropical forest that remains constantly mesic-wet, with average maximum and minimum temperatures of 30.3 °C and 24.2 °C (in 1993), respectively. The mean annual rainfall is 3458 mm, with little variation in monthly rainfall, ranging from 225 mm in October to 390 mm in February at Munda (Fig. 2.3), about 30 km east of Olive village (data from 1987 to 1993, Solomon Islands National Statistics Office 1995).

Extensive tropical lowland forests and swamp forests or mangroves originally covered New Georgia Island and barrier islands in inland areas and on the coast, respectively (Fig. 2.4). Subsistence gardens, abandoned second-growth forests, and coconut plantations have rendered the landscape a mosaic of various land cover types.

Commercial logging operations by overseas companies began in the western part (Vonavona) of Roviana in the 1960s, although most clans in the eastern part did not allow this type of logging until the 1980s (Fig. 2.5). The impact of logging was reflected not only in the forest environment but also through the change in lifestyles of the local peoples, because logging operations provided the villagers with employment, royalties, and materials for infrastructure, such as schools and medical aid stations (called “aidposts” in the country). Therefore, the difference in time of the onset of logging operations enhanced the variation in modernity in this area.



Fig. 2.2 Map of Roviana and Vonavona Lagoons (Data source: (USGS 2004). *There may be two or more sub-customary land units in each customary land unit; these are grouped into larger groups for convenience)

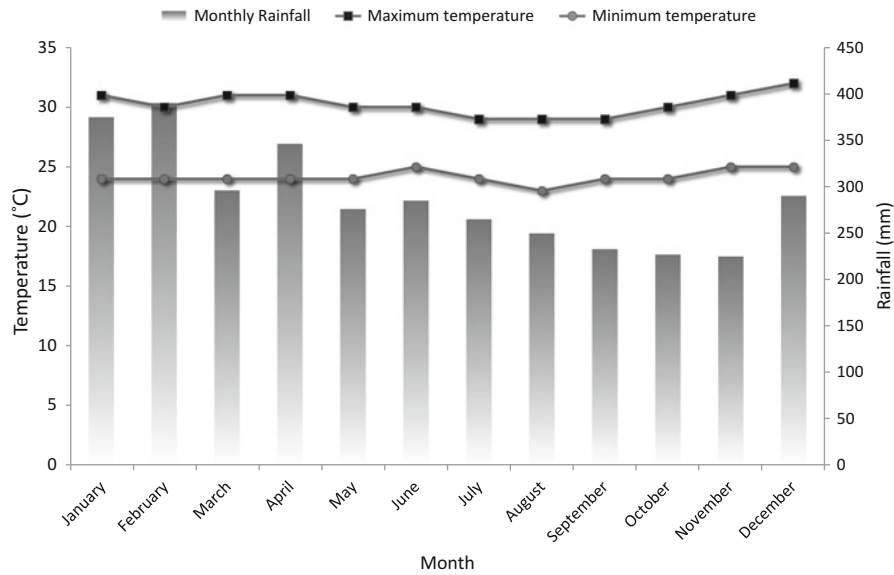


Fig. 2.3 Temperature and rainfall at Munda Meteorological Office (Munda Airstrip), New Georgia Island, based on data from 1987 to 1993 (Solomon Islands National Statistics Office 1995)



Fig. 2.4 A gigantic pandanus plant in swamp forest at Koqu Kalena Bay in 2003



Fig. 2.5 Round logs harvested from forest at Koqu Kalena Bay in 2009

Reforestation with imported commercial timber species such as eucalyptus (*Eucalyptus deglupta*) and teak (*Tectona grandis*) involves some of the most intense activities conducted for cash earnings rather than for ecological purposes (Fig. 2.6). A few decades will have to pass before the villagers will be able to harvest and sell the planted timber species. In 2001, a foreign research team designated marine-protected areas (MPAs) in the territories of Roviana villages, and villagers have been restricted from acquiring resources in these MPAs since 2002. These MPAs were designated in ecologically important areas in an attempt to minimize the effects of humans on fish species; in reality, no adverse effects, such as a decrease of fish catch or an increase in the physical labor required of fishermen to harvest fish, have ever been observed.

2.3 People of Roviana

The people of Roviana speak the Roviana language, one of the four languages spoken in the island of New Georgia (Fig. 2.2). Although the Roviana language and three other languages—Kusaghe, Marovo, and Kalikolo—belong to the West New Georgian language group and exhibit some overlap in vocabulary and grammar, they are mostly mutually unintelligible, and the vernacular names of plants and

Fig. 2.6 Timber plantation of *Eucalyptus deglupta* at Dago in 2007, 6 years after planting seedlings



animals differ from one language to another. Oral histories suggest that all Roviana clans descended from one ancestral group (Aswani 2000; Aswani and Sheppard 2003; Sheppard et al. 2000). Archaeological evidence and oral histories indicated increasing political control by the chiefs of Nusa Roviana, a small island located in central Roviana geographically, during the nineteenth century.

The Roviana people, 14,805 in number in 2010 (Solomon Islands National Statistics Office 2011), are semi-subsistent (Fig. 2.7). The most important form of subsistence agriculture in the Roviana region is the shifting cultivation of root crops, such as sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), cassava (*Manihot esculenta*), taro (*Colocasia esculenta*), and yams (*Dioscorea* spp.), with a rotation of lands between cultivation and fallow ground. While they do go fishing, the Roviana people also spend a significant amount of time earning cash through crop farming and the collection of marine resources. Before the adoption of sweet potato and cassava as staples in the early twentieth century, this cultivation system using cropland rotation required an extensive area of land for cultivation and fallowing; fallow land exceeded the amount of land currently under cultivation by several times to allow the regeneration of trees and refertilization of the soil (Furusawa and Ohtsuka 2009; Whitmore 1998). Forests have provided various kinds of resources, such as building materials, medicinal plants and tools, and products used for magical/ritual purposes.

Westernization or modernization began in the nineteenth century when European explorers first contacted the people of Roviana. The labor trade, called blackbirding, in which local people were recruited or even kidnapped as workers for plantations in Fiji or Australia owned by Europeans, had affected the area since the 1860s (Campbell



Fig. 2.7 A settlement facing a calm lagoon at Nusa Banga in 2005

1989). The introduction of iron tomahawks, rifles, and other weapons was said to have enhanced “head-hunting” warfare. Additionally, Europeans brought infectious diseases to this area that were often fatal to local people who had no natural immunity to fight those diseases (Bayliss-Smith 2006). Accordingly, Roviana societies experienced rapid social changes and depopulation in the latter nineteenth century.

The Westernization further intensified after the attack on Nusa Roviana by the HMS Royalist in 1891. The region was proclaimed a British protectorate in 1893 and Christians established a mission in Munda in 1902 (Table 2.1). Munda has developed into a township since that time. An airstrip built during World War II also contributed to the commercialization of the area, resulting in the present population of 3000. Solomon Islands gained independence from Britain in 1978. Solomon Islands constructed an international port and a large fisheries base (Solomon Taiyo Limited) at Noro, 10 km north of Munda. Munda is the fourth largest town in Solomon Islands, following Honiara, Gizo, and Auki, the national capital, and the capitals of Western and Malaita Provinces, respectively. Munda lies 50 km east of Gizo. In this study, the three commercial centers of Munda, Gizo, and Noro are referred to as towns. Thus, the extent of modernization has varied within Roviana. The creation of a cash economy and the availability of Western materials have generally affected the villages located in Munda and to the west, i.e., villages near Munda, Noro, or Gizo. Most people in Roviana live in Western-style permanent houses. In contrast, the development of towns has had less influence on villages in the east, i.e., the more remote inner lagoon areas that lie far from the towns. These

Table 2.1 Historical chronology of Roviana and the Solomon Islands

Year	Event
~1600s	Establishment of Nusa Roviana chiefdom (Sheppard et al. 2000)
1860s	Onset of labor trade (blackbirding)
1880–1990s	Rapid depopulation from introduced diseases
1891	Attack on Nusa Roviana by HMS Royalist
1893	Proclamation of British Solomon Islands
1902	Methodist missionaries arrive and establish a mission
1941	Start of WWII
1942–1943	Occupation of New Georgia Island by the Japanese Army
1945	End of WWII
Around 1960	Christian Fellowship Church (CFC) separated from Methodist Church
~1960s	Commercial logging in Vonavona
1978	Independence of Solomon Islands
~1980s	Commercial logging begins in Eastern Roviana
1997–2003	Ethnic tension on Guadalcanal Island

people generally live in houses made from sago palm leaves. In contrast, even in the present day, people outside of Munda have few opportunities to obtain a cash income because people in the villages in Roviana Lagoon can only access Munda by boat.

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People depend on root crops as their main source of food. Traditionally, people consumed various species of root crops including taro (*Araceae*) and yams. In the twentieth century, Christian missions introduced sweet potato and cassava which have become the main crops. People were introduced to the concept of a cash economy during the nineteenth century through trade of copra, turtle shells, trochus, and ivory nuts; later, the influence of cash economy expanded through the development of coconut plantations and copra production until the 1980s (Hviding and Bayliss-Smith 2000). Since the 1980s, royalty payments from logging and wage labor provided by logging camps became the main sources of cash income, and the economic impact of logging along with the increased importation of staple foods allowed people to depend on imported rice and flours. Additionally, they enjoyed the taste of rice. The shorter cooking time (<1 h) and smaller amount of firewood required to prepare rice makes it a more convenient food than root crops. The villagers commonly purchased biscuits and increasingly consume doughnuts and ban, two food products made from imported flour.

Villagers now cultivate slippery cabbage (*Hibiscus manihot*), an indigenous green vegetable, and other introduced food made from various species. Fish serve as a main source of protein. People in rural villages catch fish and often trade some fish on the open market in towns. The rural villagers purchase tinned tuna fish (called *taiyo* in pidgin) more commonly than other foods, providing themselves with an inexpensive and stable source of nutrients (Barclay and Wakabayashi 2000).



Fig. 2.8 Stone-oven-baked foods with other fresh foods offered at a wedding feast at Tobo in 2003

Currently, they very infrequently hunt land animals, with wild pigs serving as the main target. Some villagers have domesticated chicken, dugs, pigs, and goats, but animal husbandry is only at small scale. Both wild and cultivated coconut (*Cocos nucifera*) provide people with an important source of nutrients. Mature coconut husk and young coconut juice are high caloric food items. For example, during a 1-day fishing trip, some villagers will eat only the fresh coconuts they collect from the islands they visit.

Motu, stone oven baking, provides a traditional method of heating food, although boiling food in a purchased steel pot has mostly replaced traditional methods. However, people still frequently use *motu* to prepare foods for feasts (Fig. 2.8). They wrap foods in banana leaves, or in leaves of other species of Musaceae or Zingiberaceae, and place them in a pit among heated stones. These foods, including sweet potato, cassava, pudding made from cassava, fish, pig meat, and other local items, are covered with heated stones followed by a covering of soil or banana leaves.

2.4 Social and Cultural Background

Current ecological and botanical research and the associated quantitative data serve as the basis for this book. However, the study site exhibits several unique cultural contexts. The following description and characteristics provide background information.

2.4.1 Kastom

Kastom (spelled *kasitomu* in the Roviana language) is a pidgin word, literally meaning “custom.” This concept usually refers to local traditions, traditional culture, and customs, in contrast to the customs, concepts, ideas, and materials of Western societies. *Kastom* is sometimes only used to indicate traditional ritual or magical power. Scholars have argued that people recognized the word *kastom* as defining them as unique when compared with other communities and as allowing them to establish their own cultural identities (Hviding and Bayliss-Smith 2000; Ishimori 2001).

2.4.2 Chief

In the context of the Solomon Islands, the word “chief” refers to a traditional leader. Typically, the concept of chief indicates the generational transfer of its authority through genealogical relationships, and a chief serves as a leader of people using group-held customary land. This type of chief is called *banara* in the Roviana language. In communities with large areas of customary land or when clan groups are involved, multiple chiefs are under the control of a leading chief who is called a “paramount chief (*ηati banara*)” (Fig. 2.9). Chiefs usually play important roles in land tenure and resource management; they may be the largest landowner or leader of the largest clan in an area of customary land; as a result, in their clan, they serve as the most important stakeholder for discussions with other clans in dealing with the logging issue. In another case with more recent context, when the church leadership recognizes a church leader or other person, then the villagers also call that person a chief. A village organizer, officially appointed as a person connecting villagers to the provincial or national government, is different from a chief, although these two designations may overlap. Even if a leader is not called a village organizer, recently those who are not direct descendants of the chief but who are respected for their Christian church activities or for their success in economic activities have played the roles of a chief in some areas. In such areas, the power of the former type of traditional chiefs is decreasing (Sekine 2001).

2.4.3 Wantok

The people of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands still use *wantok*, a pidgin word meaning literally “one talk or one language” and conveying common linguistic or kinship bonds, to refer to someone with whom a person has a relationship of reciprocal obligation, as opposed to a stranger (Barclay 2004). Because the people speak about 70 languages in the country, strong ties link members within each language group as opposed to neighboring groups and give them a group identity.



Fig. 2.9 The late Reverend Nathan Kera (sitting), the 8th Paramount Chief of the Saikile, is greeted by an elder at Vogu in 2003

Members in a language group usually develop mutually beneficial relationships and thus are likely to form a group in their original location as well as in urban areas. In many cases, these people genealogically or spiritually share the same ancestors; e.g., Roviana people believe they share a common ancestor.

2.4.4 Land Tenure

Land tenure is a very sensitive issue in the Solomon Islands. Land is owned by the clan (called *butubutu* in the Roviana language), unlike European systems of individual ownership, and this customary land is used exclusively by the members of the land-owning clan. However, definition of “clan” is sometimes dynamic because this depends on rules following patrilineal or matrilineal patterns as well as the time when the clan started. Additionally, land boundaries for different areas of customary land have only recently been drawn, so that the actual borders remain unclear. Further complicating the issue, ownership, and rights to use or manage land may vary from place to place. For example, the people consider some types of forest resources to be communal property regardless of the actual land ownership (Miyachi 2001). Even if a person is not an owner or related to the ownership clan,

that person may be allowed to live in a settlement or even make a garden on the land. Land tenure functions to provide exclusive use rights mainly in the case of commercial logging; someone harvesting timber may pay for the right to harvest timber based on land “ownership.” Disputes frequently occur related to land tenure and the right to timber harvest. Note that clan ownership serves as the basis for sea tenure, although open access to marine resources is more likely because of the difficulty in controlling those resources; sea tenure is also transforming based on increasing market economy pressure (Akimichi 1991; Aswani 1999; Foale and Manele 2004). Follow-ups of land dispute cases have suggested that in many cases disputes are irresolvable (Foale 2001).

2.4.5 *Tabu ples*/Hope

Tabu ples (a pidgin word, literally meaning taboo place), called *hope* in the Roviana language, is a sacred place. Figure 2.10 illustrates a representative place where skulls of ancestors are enshrined (skull shrine). Human-made stones established in antiquity make such a *tabu ples* easily recognizable. Therefore, a *tabu ples* often provides evidence of land ownership in land disputes. Such sites are frequently used as tourism resources. Tourism may provide a potential industry in Roviana, but currently few tourists visit the area.

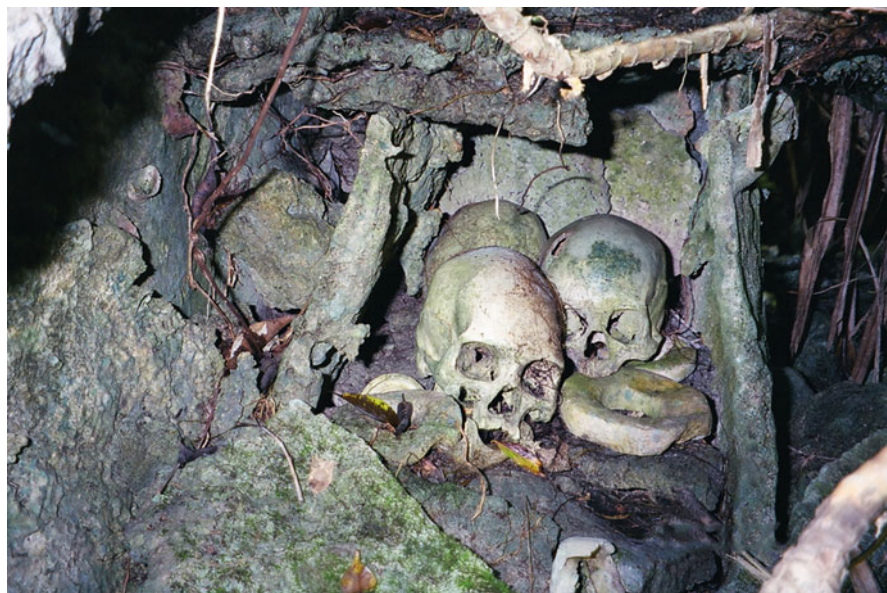


Fig. 2.10 A skull shrine of the Saikile people, located at Saikile Point, in 2001

One type of sacred place is called *hope maṇini* (Fig. 2.11). According to Nagaoka (1999, 2000), *hope maṇini* means “garden shrines”, which were one of the earliest and most fundamental shrines in addition to skull shrines. The priest (*hiama*) often prayed for the fertility of garden plots (*inuma*). A ritual called *sosope la pa reqe* was conducted before cultivating virgin forest and soil; ashes were ritually taken from the shrine to a proposed garden area (Nagaoka 1999, 2000). Chapter 3 also explains the concept of *hope*.

2.4.6 Tension

Tension describes, in a narrow sense, an ethnic conflict fought between indigenous Guadalcanal people and Malaitan immigrants located in the national capital of Honiara, and nearby areas on Guadalcanal Island, that started in 1998 and intensified in 2000. In 2003, a ceasefire was declared with the help of an international force called the Regional Assistant Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI), initially lead by units of the Australian army. In a broad sense, various conflicts between other

Fig. 2.11 A garden shrine (*hope maṇini*) at Dago in 2002



groups (*wantoks*) and relevant criminal issues caused by a lack of law-and-order during this period are also referred to as *tension* (Braithwaite et al. 2010).

2.4.7 Christianity

About 96 % of the people inhabiting Solomon Islands are Christians, and almost all people in Western Province belong to a Christian denomination (Solomon Islands National Statistics Office 2011). The first Christian missionary to visit this area, a Methodist, arrived in 1902 followed by members of the Seventh-Day Adventist (SDA) Church. A number of local population groups, who previously lived in both coastal areas and in inner mountainous areas, resettled in coastal villages where church priests were stationed. Within a few decades, but before World War II, all people were said to have converted to Christianity. Although the Methodists had been the largest sect, a local reverend who had been trained in Methodism founded a new sect called the Christian Fellowship Church (CFC) around 1960. This church partly integrated local beliefs and customs into the new church's theory and activities (Ishimori 2007; Nakazawa et al. 2002); the teachings of this group are said to include avoiding excessive participation in the cash economy and encouragement of traditional resource management. However, this sect also took the lead in several recent rural development projects (Chaps. 3, 9, and 10). After the CFC separated from the Methodist church, the majority of the Methodist followers joined the United Church. Accordingly, the United Church (38.7 %), SDA church (27.7 %), and CFC (14.2 %) are the largest church groups in the province (Rural Development Division 2001); the CFC is the largest in rural Roviana villages and North New Georgia areas, while other churches are dominant in towns, the Marovo area, and other islands. Note that the Church of Melanesia (Anglican: 31.9 %) has the most followers at the national level, followed by the Roman Catholic church (19.6 %), South Sea Evangelical Church (17.1 %), SDA church (11.7 %), United Church (10.1 %), and CFC (2.5 %) (Solomon Islands National Statistics Office 2011). Almost all people in Olive (98.4 %) were followers of the CFC; exceptional cases were those who immigrated to Olive after marriage. The people of Dundie supported various churches: United Church, 58.7 %; Methodist, 10.2 %; SDA, 8.7 %; CFC, 8.2 %; Jehovah's Witness, 3.7 %; Church of Melanesia (Anglican), 2.0 %; and others.

2.5 Main Villages Studied Here

A main target of this book was Olive village, consisting of 357 individuals living in 65 households (as of 2003) (Fig. 2.12). Olive, one of the largest villages in the Saikile Customary Land, lies approximately 32 km east of Munda town and lacks roads or public transportation. The Olive villagers who lived under the control of the



Fig. 2.12 Satellite (Landsat ETM+) image of Roviana and the approximate locations of the main villages studied here (NASA Landsat 7 Program 2008)

chieftaincy of the Saikile clan had rights to use some parts of the main island, New Georgia, and several barrier islands. The Saikile clan, one of the largest land-owning clans, settled in the eastern part of Roviana and had a population of 2068 (Statistics Office 1997); other small villages also lie scattered across the territory such as Ha'apai, Vog, Nusa Hope, Baraulu, and others. Note that the Saikile Customary Land constituted the territory of the Saikile clan, but numerous land disputes have caused ownership of the land to be subdivided into smaller areas based on sub-clans. All inhabitants of the village were engaged in the shifting cultivation of root crops and fishing for their own consumption. The main source of cash income was selling marine resources such as *Nassarius* shells and sea cucumbers for export. In the 1980s, commercial logging started in this customary land, triggering changes by providing the people with employment and income from the sale of logging rights. The profits from the logging company, i.e., employment and royalty payments, have been decreasing since 2001 because of the removal of the logging campsite and intra-tribal disputes related to the logging operation.

A comparative study was conducted in Dundee settlement in Munda Township. Munda consists of a small government station area (Lambete) and five settlements (Dundee, Kekehe, Lodu Maho, Kokengolo, Kindu) in the customary lands, which clans own and control; Dundee, the largest settlement (1065 inhabitants in 202 households in 2003), is divided into smaller segments. The urbanization of Munda town has long influenced the inhabitants of Dundee; the inner Munda area was the original home of the ancestors of all Roviana people and had been the political center before European contact. After the arrival of Europeans, this area became a center for trade between local people and Europeans in the nineteenth century. Christians founded their first mission there in the early twentieth century. During World War II, the Japanese army constructed a base and airfield, and after the war,

the government developed the Lambete area for an airstrip, governmental offices, banks, and other commercial activities. Today, electricity, water, a public phone network, and several stores are available in Munda, not only on the government land but also in Dundee and other settlements. Land cover is changing from forest to cleared land, and urbanization has led to the pouring of concrete for some roads and in some settlements. These conditions satisfy the conventional definition of an urban area (McIntyre et al. 2008). However, the “urban” Solomon Islanders are still tied to their land base and often exhibit a degree of subsistence consumption; in reality, they could be better classified as only semi-urban (Furusawa 2011).

Modern life has affected Olive much less than Dundee. For example, in Dundee and Olive, 86 % and 28 % of the houses are built in a modern style, 93 % and 17 % of the households have rainwater tanks, 33 % and 11 % of households have outboard motors, and the average monthly household income is 1752 SBD (Solomon Islands Dollars; \approx 245.3 USD) and 378 SBD (\approx 52.9 USD), respectively (Table 2.2). Only Dundee has both electricity and water lines. Saikile Customary Land is sparsely populated, with about eight persons per km². Estimating the population density for Dundee proved difficult, because several land disputes make a large portion of the customary land into de facto unavailable land. The author estimates the population density stands at more than 100 persons per km² based on observations of lands used by the people in this area. Meanwhile, the Asian Development Bank estimated 161 persons per km², which was the highest population density in the region (Asian Development Bank 2007b). Regardless of the large economic differences among the communities, oral history and archaeological evidence suggest that the people of Dundee and Olive are descended from a single ancestral population that migrated from Nusa Roviana Island, a small island located near Munda, in the late eighteenth or nineteenth century (Aswani 1999; Gordon Jr 2005). Additionally, ecological conditions are similar throughout the Roviana region.

In the Saikile Customary Land, areas near Olive village were logged in 1993–1994. While the logging negatively affected the forest, the local people profited from employment, royalty payments, and improved infrastructure. The forests surrounding the Dundee area were not logged because the rights to those forests were violently disputed within and among communities and clans. However, the people have benefitted economically from logging operations in nearby areas (e.g., Vonavona, Enoghae) since the 1960s through employment and royalty payments.

Table 2.2 Sociodemographic and modern features of the studied villages

	Dundee (Urban)	Olive (Rural)
No. of households (HHs)	202	65
No. of individuals	1065	379
Permanent houses per HH	0.86	0.28
No. of outboard motors per HH	0.26	0.11
No. of rainwater tanks per HH	0.86	0.17
No. of stores per HH	0.07	0.03

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