

BORNEO RESEARCH BULLETIN

Vol. 8, No. 1

April 1976

Notes From the Editor: Harrisson Memorial Issue, September 1976; Contributions for the support of the BRC	2
---	---

Research Notes

Kadayan Settlement in the Miri District of Sarawak C. A. Sather	3
Caloric Returns to Food Collecting in a Philippine Monsoon Forest . James F. Eder	13

Brief Communications

Brunei's Natural History Tom Harrisson	17
Some Recent Malaysian Government Publications Dealing with Population in Borneo . . Robert F. Austin	18

News and Announcements

Tom Harrisson, 1912-1976. Obituaries London Times	22
Barbara Harrisson	25
Borneo Sculpture in the West End Tom Harrisson	30
Indonesian Agricultural Economics Association, Third National Meeting William L. Collier	31
Biosphere Reserves, Islands for Science, Island Refuges . Pacific Science Association	32
Thirtieth International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North America	32
Aberdeen-Hull Symposia on Malesian Ecology University of Aberdeen, South-East Asian Biology, Bulletin No. 20	33

The Borneo Research Bulletin is published twice yearly (April and September) by the Borneo Research Council. Please address all inquiries and contributions for publication to Vinson H. Sutlive, Editor, Borneo Research Bulletin, Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia 23185, U.S.A. Single issues are available at US\$2.50.



News and Announcements (cont.)

Study of Road Impact International Development Research Centre, News 34

The Contemporary Asia Review S. K. Lee 36

Social Science Research Training Program in Indonesia Peter Weldon 36

Borneo News 38

Book Reviews, Abstracts, and Bibliography

Robert Nicholl (editor): European Sources for the History of the Sultanate of Brunei in the Sixteenth Century Barbara Harrisson 40

Erik Jensen: The Iban and Their Religion Andrew J. Fowler 43
 Victor King 44

Aline K. Wong: Women in Modern Singapore 50

Tai Ching Ling: A Sociological Analysis of Divorce in Singapore 50

G.N. Appell (editor): The Societies of Borneo: Explorations in the Theory of Cognatic Social Structure 51

G.N. Appell: Studies in Borneo Societies: Social Process and Anthropological Explanation 52

Erik Jensen: The Iban and Their Religion 53

NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

The death of Tom Harrisson in January was a grievous loss to students of Borneo. His contributions were many, and his projections for the future numerous. Included in this issue are obituaries prepared by Barbara Harrisson and the London Times. We shall prepare a memorial issue in September, with articles covering the major facets of Tom's life.

The editor wishes to thank the following persons who have made financial contributions for support of the Bulletin: Dr. and Mrs. George N. Appell, A.J. Bacon, Richard Brooks, D.E. Brown, Conrad P. Cotter, Colin N. Criswell, Otto C. Doering, Richard Fidler and Ruth Carol Barnes, Philip Goldman, Barbara Harrisson, Lee Yong Leng, Michael Leigh, A.R.G. Morrison, Carsten and Inge Niemitz, A.J.N. Richards, Gerard Rixhon, Jérôme Rousseau, William Schneider, Peter D. Weldon, Herbert and Patricia Whittier, W.D. Wilder, Leigh R. Wright, Inger Wulff.

R E S E A R C H N O T E S

KADAYAN SETTLEMENT IN THE MIRI DISTRICT OF SARAWAK

C. A. Sather
Universiti Sains Malaysia

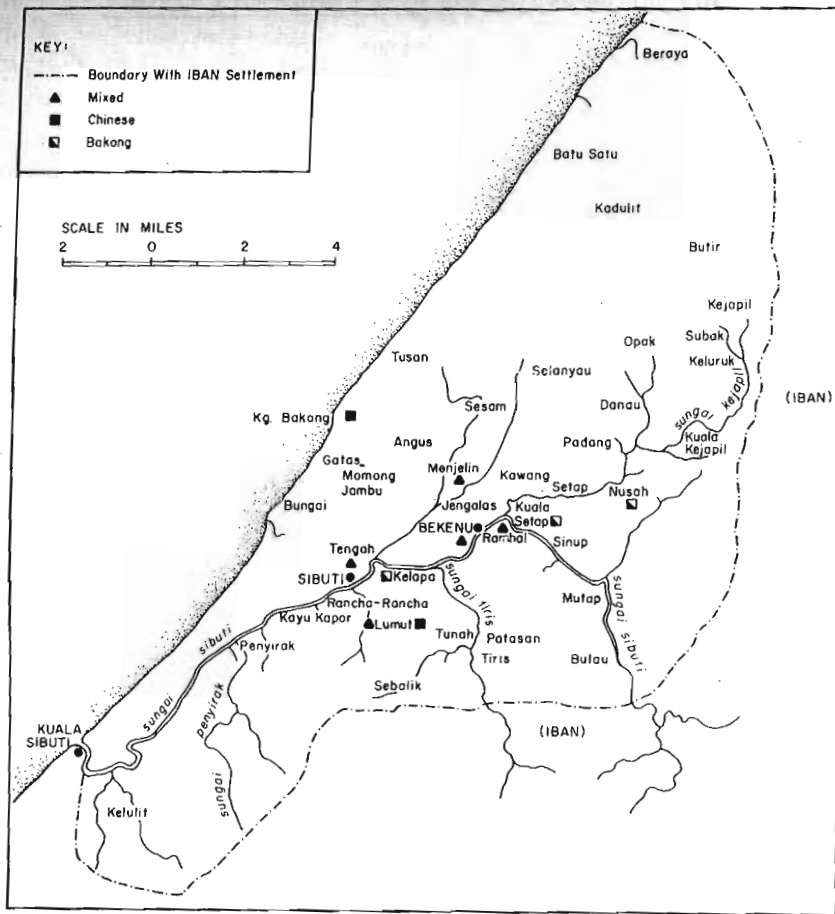
Nearly two-thirds of the total Kadayan population of Sarawak, or 4,472 out of 7,496 persons (1970), live in the Miri District, making it the principal center of Kadayan settlement in the state. Of this number, just under 4,000 persons live in the Sibuti sub-District, where the Kadayan form the largest single ethnic group and hold five of the seven local Penghulu-ships.¹ Nearly all of the remaining Kadayan population of Sarawak, or a further 2,809 persons, live in the Limbang and Lawas Districts of the Fifth Division.

This brief paper is meant to indicate the extent of present Kadayan settlement in the Miri District and to note, in summary fashion, some of the factors that have shaped the development of the Kadayan community locally. It is based on a brief village survey (cf. Sather and Solhee 1974) and a somewhat longer stay of two months made, during the university holidays between April and June 1975, by my family and me at Kampung Kawang, a mixed Kadayan-Bakong village located near Kuala Satap and the main Bekenu road, in the Sibuti sub-District.²

The Kadayan are not, in a strict sense, indigenous to the Miri District. Those who are indigenous, i.e., the Miri, Bakong and Dali peoples, constitute only a tiny minority of the current population. Of those who arrived later, the Kadayan are among the earliest and longest-established group. The first Kadayan settlers arrived from Brunei in what is now the Miri District just under 120 years ago, before its cession to Sarawak and shortly after the beginning of a parallel Kadayan migration to Labuan Island. They settled initially along the lower reaches of the Sibuti River and at Bungai (or Bungei) near the coast parallel to the point at which the Sibuti River begins to bend inland (see Map 1). From here Kadayan settlers pushed overland and up the sidestreams and tributaries of the Sibuti River, following and successively opening stretches of low-laying *tanah paya* or swampland suitable for wet-rice cultivation. To begin with, and continuing in some areas into the 1950's, annual swidden clearance was used as a pioneer method, but once *padi paya* land was located and brought under permanent cultivation, communities stabilized and settlement pattern assumed the distinctive form that continues to characterize Kadayan villages in both Brunei and Sarawak to the present.

Approximately sixty years ago Kadayan families from the Sibuti area opened the Nyalau valley to the south of Niah

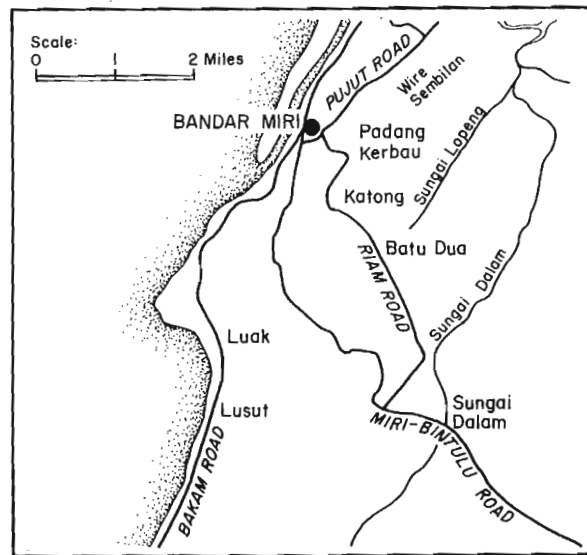
MAP I
THE SIBUTI SUB-DISTRICT



SHOWING KADAYAN VILLAGES UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED

and established an offshoot settlement of three contiguous hamlets in the middle and lower portions of the valley. Prior to their arrival, the Nyalau was reportedly uninhabited, and, until the opening of the Miri-Bintulu road, could only be reached by sea. The valley is now accessible by footpath, although the main Kadayan settlement is said to be more than a day's walk from the main trunk road. With the opening of the area, Iban have recently settled the upper Nyalau where they comprise two longhouse communities of some 30 doors in all. The entire Kadayan settlement is under a single *wakil ketua kampung*, the present headman being the third in succession to hold the office.

Simultaneously with the settlement of Nyalau, Kadayan coming directly from Brunei, or in smaller numbers from Labuan, opened farmland behind Luak Bay and the hills at the back of Miri town eastward to Sungai Dalam (see Map 2). In the latter area, especially in the central Riam Road region, the Kadayan were later replaced by Chinese pepper and produce farmers. The present Riam community was originally founded



MAP 2
KADAYAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE MIRI AREA

by Hoppu Hakka contracted as laborers by Sarawak Shell who were encouraged to take up commercial farming locally upon expiration of their term of employment (cf. Sather 1973). Small Kadayan settlements remain at the periphery of Riam, at Batu Dua, Katoŋ and Sungai Dalam, but many Kadayan families sold out their holdings, and returned to Brunei or took up land elsewhere in the District. At the present time, Kpg. Luak is the largest Kadayan village in the vicinity of Miri town, but some of the farmland originally opened by village families has been alienated or removed from use owing to road construction and town development, and the community is no longer entirely agricultural in nature. A small number of Kadayan families are also present at Padang Kerbau, Wire Sembilan and Pujut (Map 2).

The Kadayan have a well-deserved reputation for being industrious padi growers, and everywhere, even in the vicinity of Miri town, they were attracted to the District by the prospect of opening *padi paya* land. The location of present-day settlement follows closely that of low-lying swampland suitable for wet-rice cultivation, and, for this reason, the distribution of Kadayan population has no precise local parallel. Villages are typically situated away from rivers and estuaries, and are characteristically non-nucleated, with single houses and small dwelling clusters scattered in a way that more closely resembles Chinese farm settlement than that of other indigenous groups, close to fields and interspersed with gardens and orchards. Field boundaries and residential holdings are ordinarily planted with orchard trees. These are valued not only for the fruit they bear, but mark ownership rights, which are not necessarily coincidental, even in the case of house sites, with current user or occupant rights.

Kadayan wet-rice methods are relatively simple. Water is supplied by rain catchment or natural flooding; there is no plowing, but fields are annually burnt over in preparation for planting, and sowing is done in dry, hillside nurseries, rather than in the fields themselves. In the Sibuti area the agricultural year ordinarily begins in late June or July with the clearing of fields (*nabas*). A long-bladed knife (*maang panabas*) is used, and unless new land is being opened, there is no felling stage, but weed growth and rice stocks are simply slashed down and allowed to dry for subsequent burning (*nunu'*). At the same time nurseries are prepared on raised ground and planted in essentially the same way as swidden or dry-rice fields using an ordinary dibbling stick (*tugal*). Nurseries represent, in fact, a kind of temporary swidden, and, in the past, were frequently located in part of a family's annual dry-rice fields. As the newly sown rice plants grow rapidly, transplanting (*nanam*) must be carefully timed, and is done approximately four weeks after sowing. The young plants (*samai*) are taken up, trimmed, bundled and carried from the nurseries to the fields, where they are set out, soon

after firing, using a short planting stick (*pananam*). Fields are weeded until grain begins to form. After this they must be carefully guarded against pest damage. A family member will generally remain during the day in a field hut to watch over the fields, and usually to operate a scaring device, such as the *talintingan* made of cord and cloth strips, to frighten birds. Harvesting (*ngatam*) begins in March or early April and the harvested, unthreshed rice panicles are stored in small, stilted padi-barns (*duung*) close to the family house.

Shortly after harvest, each family joins its bilateral kinsmen locally to sponsor a major "annual feast" or *makan tahun*. Unrelated neighbors, or persons related only by marriage, may also join, but generally the sponsoring group consists, and is thought of by the Kadayan as comprising, bilateral relatives, some possibly from different hamlets and villages. The size and makeup of these groups varies. The Kadayan families of Kpg. Kawang, for example, join one of three sponsoring groups at Kpg. Subak four miles away; there are four feasting groups at Nyalau, while all families in Kpg. Tiris, the largest Kadayan village in the District, sponsor a single *makan tahun* under the guidance of the resident Penghulu. The form of the celebration is said to have altered over the years, and in the past local rivalries were openly expressed in top-spinning contests between host and guest communities. Such contests are no longer part of the *makan tahun*, but feasting and the organization of sponsoring groups continue to play an important part in Kadayan social life, temporarily bringing together kinsmen, village and hamlet neighbors, and unrelated families from surrounding kampungs in a round of visiting and celebration that marks the end of the farming year (cf. Sather and Solhee 1974: 252-53).

A small amount of inshore fishing is done near the coast at Kampungs Luak and Bungai, but everywhere else rice farming is the economic mainstay, both in terms of food production and as a source of cash income, through the sale of surplus padi. In recent years pepper has become an important secondary cash crop in the Sibuti area, and sago is planted on a small scale for domestic consumption, particularly near Kpg. Tiris. But rice is everywhere the primary crop, and "Sibuti rice" supplies a major part of the local urban market demand. One of the major Bekenu rice mills is Kadayan-owned, as are most of the smaller village mills, the latter usually on a share-holder basis, and in recent years Kadayan entrepreneurs have also entered the lower end of the local rice market chain, as crop assemblers supplying town wholesalers on commission terms.

As the agricultural year begins, young couples who have married during the preceding year normally establish a separate household (*umah*) and begin to farm on their own, working land made over to them by either, or commonly both, the husband's and wife's parents. Marriage among the Sibuti Kadayan is most often

arranged between kinsmen, or persons of the same or neighboring villages, in order to keep landed property intact and to ensure that whatever holdings are received by the husband and wife separately are close enough together to be worked simultaneously by the pair and their children. Land ownership is not contingent, however, upon village residence, and, in contrast, for example, to Iban *adat*, there is no notion of a village domain (i.e., a longhouse *menoa*) in which only village members have access and may farm, and even house sites may be owned and inherited by persons who reside in other villages. The house of the senior Penghulu in Kpg. Tiris, for example, is built on land owned (*umpun*) by an elderly man of Kpg. Sebali who originally cleared the land of jungle nearly 40 years ago. In cases of this sort, the owner may often find it impossible to make personal use of land located outside the vicinity of his own village, in which case he is likely to either leave the land idle or grant its use (*makai*) to another person, in the form of a gratuitous loan, for as long as he or his heirs have no need of it.

In the past, rights of ownership were created by the act of jungle felling, and as land was initially pioneered, a great deal of internal movement occurred within the Sibuti sub-District. A few settlements stabilized early on, such as Kpg. Kelulit, but others continued to bud off new villages, or to send out separate families into newly opened land, down almost to the present time. As a consequence, related families and their separate land holdings are frequently scattered, despite the counter-vailing preference for local marriage. In addition to Kpg. Bungai, early Kadayan settlements were established at Kelulit, Penyirak, and Sungai Jaam. Kampung Jaam, the site of which is now part of a communal buffalo reserve, was later abandoned, new land opened and a village founded at Loba, near the confluence of the Tiris and Sibuti rivers. A few families remained behind to establish the present village of Kayu Kapor, while the rest settled at Loba where they were joined by others coming directly from Brunei. Kpg. Loba was subsequently abandoned, some families moving across the Tiris River to Kpg. Kuman, others further upstream to found Kpg. Tunah. People from Kuman later founded Kpg. Tiris, and the Kuman village site was abandoned immediately after World War II.

Kadayan families also settled the area around the former Sibuti bazaar, and, indeed, are said to have originally cleared and planted in orchard trees the hill on which the first government station in the sub-District was later built overlooking the old bazaar. The surrounding area, however, proved not particularly suitable for wet-rice farming, and most families later moved overland or further up the Sibuti River. The present Sibuti and Tengah communities, and the cross-river village of Ranche-Ranche, are mixed Malay riverine settlements, the remnants, in part, of a former Kuching Malay trading enclave. Pushing overland, a small Kadayan settlement was established, and remains, at Lumut, where, in more recent years, a considerably larger Chinese farm settlement has developed.

Families from Kampung Bungai gradually spread overland to open rice-land, and eventually to found or augment new settlements in the region drained by the northern tributaries of the Sibuti River. Here they were met by other families, coming directly from Brunei or from downriver villages, who pushed past Kuala Satap to Mutop and into the middle Sibuti around the turn of the century. At the same time Kpg. Padang was settled north of the Satap River, and in the decades that followed additional villages, including Danau, Satap, and Selanyau, were founded mainly to the east and north of Padang. Kampung Subak was founded during the Japanese occupation. With the later construction of a connecting road from Bekenu, the present sub-District center, to the main Miri trunk road, migration into the latter area accelerated, and land was opened and settled by Kadayan families up to the Kejapil River, which now forms an approximate natural boundary between Kadayan and Iban settlement areas.

The Sibuti area was largely uninhabited when the Kadayan first arrived, except for a small Dali community said to be present near Jengalas and a somewhat larger Bakong population sparsely settled along the lower Satap and Sibuti rivers. Originally the Dali, who are acknowledged locally as the original inhabitants, are said to have lived in defensive longhouses raised over three fathoms from the ground on massive piles. The Bakong reportedly spread into the area, sometime before the Kadayan, from the Bakong tributary of the Baram. Neither group was ever numerous and, as traditional riverine people, both had little interest in the *padi paya* lands sought after by the Kadayan who quickly outnumbered them. As the Dali and Bakong converted to Islam, beginning shortly after the arrival of the Kadayan and ending around 1930, extensive intermarriage and linguistic and cultural assimilation took place, and still continues. At present, the Dali no longer exist as a discrete community, but small numbers of Dali-speakers, intermarried with other Muslim groups in addition to the Kadayan, are found in most ethnically mixed settlements in the sub-District. The Bakong are considerably more numerous and the existing villages of Nusah, Kuala Satap and Kelapa are heavily Bakong in makeup. At Kuala Sibuti is situated a typical estuarine settlement. Except for two Kadayan families, one of them that of the village headman, the community is entirely Mukah Melanau, and, due to its setting, is relatively isolated from the main Kadayan population upriver.

The Iban have recently become the second most important indigenous group in the Sibuti area. The first Iban settlement in the sub-District was established, with permission of the Brooke Government, at Mamut in Ulu Sibuti just under fifty years ago (1927) under the leadership of T.R. Dian and (PENGHULU) Sergeant Barat, both of Undop. The latter was later appointed the first Iban Penghulu and was succeeded in 1960 by the present Penghulu Mancha. Since 1930 the Iban have increased rapidly in numbers and have spread from Ulu Sibuti into Ulu Satap and Tiris, and thus across the entire upriver half of the sub-District (cf. Map 1) where their population now nearly equals that of the Kadayan.

Until the Brunei Rebellion of 1962, the Sibuti sub-District was largely isolated from the rest of Sarawak, without road connection, a system of village schools or local health facilities. The isolation of the area, and the absence at the time of Kadayan government servants, almost certainly contributed, in some measure, to the support which the uprising received locally. Despite the subsequent detention of a number of village leaders, at no time during the brief six days that Kadayan dissidents controlled the sub-District, or afterwards, was there ever a breakdown of public order, or an occurrence of factional violence or serious recrimination within the Kadayan community, with the result that the basic structure of local society was never threatened or seriously disrupted. Since 1962 conditions in the sub-District have radically changed. In addition to a Council clinic, village schools and roads, a major irrigation project has been started (Sather and Solhee 1974), and, as a sign of political development, a Kadayan association, the Persatuan Kebangsaan Kadayan Sarawak, has been founded, centered at Bekenu, to promote the community's interests within the state.

Notes

1. At present two Kadayan penghulu-ships are vacant, one as a result of retirement, the other death.
2. A great many people assisted me in my work, but I wish to express my gratitude in particular to my village host, Tahir Hj. Amit and his family, and to Penghulu Hj. Mansor bin Hj. Yusuf and Sulaiman bin Penghulu Hj. Ladis of Kpg. Rambai, and to W.K.K. Hj. Saban bin Garip of Kpg. Luak.
3. A serious study of this phase of Sarawak history is long overdue. Regrettably two of the local principals, Hj. Ibrahim of Kpg. Kawang, the chief dissident leader in Sibuti, and W.K.K. Betong bin Talip of Kpg. Selanyau, in whose village government officers taken in the capture of the sub-District station at Bekenu were kept in custody, have recently died, and as a result an important part of the historical record may now be irretrievably lost.

Bibliography: Sather, C.A., 1973, Socio-economic survey of the Riam Road Chinese Community, Working Paper, No. 44, Miri-Bintulu Regional Planning Study, p. 48; Sather, C.A. and Hatta Solhee, 1974 "Kampung Selanyau: Social and Economic Organisation of a Kadayan Rice-growing Village in Sarawak," Sarawak Museum Journal 22 (43): 249-66.

Kadayan and Mixed-Malay Kampung in the Sibuti sub-District

(Population figures taken from 1973 District estimates, except where otherwise noted)

<u>Kampung name</u>	<u>Ethnic group</u>	<u>Population</u>
Kpg. Kuala Sibuti	Melanau	297
Kelulit	Kadayan	418
Kelulit (Padama)	Kadayan	190
Penyirak (incl. Kayu Kapor)	Kadayan	91
Lumut	Kadayan	23
Tunah	Kadayan	39
Tiris	Kadayan	724
Sebali	Kadayan	62
Patasan	Kadayan	98
Rancha-Rancha	Mixed-Malay	244
Masjid (Sibuti)	Mixed-Malay	95
Tengah	Mixed-Malay	70
Matius	Mixed-Malay	65
Rambai	Mixed-Malay	111
Kelapa	Bakong-Dali	52*
Satap (incl. Kawang)	Kadayan	201
Sepurau	Kadayan	164
Padang	Kadayan	58
Danau	Kadayan	113
Subak	Kadayan	419
Sinup	Kadayan	121
Mutop	Kadayan	50
Bulau	Kadayan	168
Keluruk	Kadayan	155
Nusah	Bakong	63*
Mejelin	Mixed-Malay	200
Jengalas	Mixed-Malay	125
Beraya	Kadayan	56
Batu Satu (incl. Kadulit)	Kadayan	127
Kejapil	Kadayan	198
Butir	Kadayan	76
Siwa	Kadayan	42
Opak	Kadayan	89
Sesam	Kadayan	40
Pialau	Kadayan	69
Terakat	Kadayan	85
Tusan	Kadayan	35
Angus	Kadayan	140
Selanyau	Kadayan	204*
Momong	Kadayan	122
Gatas	Kadayan	56
Bungai	Kadayan	71
Jambu	Kadayan	85

*own estimate

<u>Kampung name</u>	<u>Ethnic group</u>	<u>Population</u>
<u>Nyalau (Niah sub-District)</u>		
Kpg. Nyalau Ulu	Kadayan	191
Nyalau Tengah	Kadayan	87
Kuala Nyalau	Kadayan	86
<u>Miri Area (Miri sub-District)</u>		
Kpg. Luak	Kadayan	410
Lusut	Kadayan	118
Padang Kerbau	Mixed-Malay	95

After the Bulletin went to the printer, we received news of the death of Bruce Sandilands in Sabah. Details of his death and an obituary will appear in the September issue.

CALORIC RETURNS TO FOOD COLLECTING IN A PHILIPPINE
MONSOON FOREST

James F. Eder
Department of Anthropology
Arizona State University

A major focus of current research interest in the hunting-gathering adaptation, both in Borneo and in general, is the level of productivity in traditional hunting-gathering economies - i.e., the returns to work. Consequently, the Bornean focus of this publication notwithstanding, it seemed appropriate to report here some preliminary research findings on the caloric and protein returns to various forest food collecting activities among the Batak of Palawan Island, Philippines. As a longer and more detailed discussion of these findings is now in preparation, comments or questions about the material presented here would be greatly appreciated. Such comments may be addressed to the author at the Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona 85281, U.S.A.

The Batak are an ethnic group which numbers approximately 350 individuals and inhabits the monsoon-forested interior of central Palawan near the east coast. They are either negrito or of negrito affinities. Batak were traditionally forest food collectors who obtained carbohydrates from wild yams and honey and animal protein from numerous forest and riverine sources. Today Batak economy continues to center on food collecting, but also involves shifting cultivation of upland rice and collection and sale of Manila copal. In their present subsistence adaptation, as well as in other aspects of the culture, the Batak resemble the Batak of the Malayan peninsula recently studied by Endicott - and, no doubt, numerous Bornean groups as well.

The research reported here covered the period 1 July to 6 August 1975 and is part of a larger, ongoing effort to develop a multidimensional model of the impact of modernization on the Batak and, as an adjunct to this, an explanation for recent population decline among them. (The Batak numbered approximately 500 individuals during the 1930's). During the field period I lived in a local settlement of twelve households and timed and weighed the proceeds from as many hunting, fishing, and gathering activities as possible. With one exception, none of the households whose activities I studied had by July any rice remaining from the 1974 harvest, and none were borrowing rice against the upcoming 1975 harvest. Thus the subsistence economy was basically a day-to-day food collecting one but was operating under two basic constraints: the need to guard maturing swiddens against the depredations of monkeys, and the need to earn a certain amount of cash (through the collection and sale of Manila copal) for the purchase of essential consumer

items (principally tobacco, matches, sugar, and salt). Both constraints entailed, presumably, a greater degree of sedentariness than did the traditional pre-agricultural economy. Only data on the returns to the search for calories are presented and discussed here.

The primary calorie sources in the Batak diet during July were two wild yams, *abagan* (*Dioscorea luzonensis* Schauer) and *kudot* (*Dioscorea hispida* Dennst.) and rice, the latter obtained, like the other items noted above, through the collection and sale of Manila copal. These same calorie sources dominate the diet throughout the year, although during the post-harvest months most of the rice consumed comes from own swiddens. In addition, the traditionally-important honey continues to be favored when it is available, and a variety of other swidden cultigens - corn, root crops, and bananas - also are consumed, and in fact contributed to the July diet. Overall, however, disregarding for purposes of the discussion here the contributions of these other foods, I estimate that half of Batak calories today come from wild yams and half from rice, with three-fourths of the wild yam calories obtained from the single species *D. hispida* and two-thirds of the rice calories obtained from the collection and sale of Manila copal (the balance being obtained from own swiddens). Thus throughout the year, as in July, *kudot* and copal rice (as I shall call it) are the two most important single calorie sources. Now *kudot*, as we have seen, is a traditional calorie source, while rice is a newer source - and one now culturally-preferred, a circumstance ultimately reflecting the influence of culture contact and "modernization." Hence comparing the returns to labor for digging *kudot* with those for collecting and selling copal to purchase rice provides an opportunity to assess the impact of changing dietary preferences both on the efficiency of food collection and on nutrition itself.

Several comments on the nature and availability of the two wild yams are necessary. *D. hispida* is available most of the year, from July through April, and its shallow, large tubers are easily dug. The tubers contain, however, a poisonous alkaloid, dioscoreine, and must be peeled, sliced, soaked in water, and rinsed before eating, a process spanning about three days. In calculating below the returns to labor for digging *D. hispida* all required processing times are taken into account, although the returns themselves are stated in terms of weight of peeled raw tuber. *D. luzonensis* is similarly available much of the year but is mainly dug from April to July. Its long slender tuber, growing deep into the ground, is considerably more difficult to dig than that of *D. hispida*, but it may be roasted or boiled immediately, without processing. Both *kudot* and *abagan* are ubiquitous, in season, but travel times increase somewhat as their seasons progress and the nearest tubers are dug. Thus the returns to labor for digging wild yams vary with the season,

although this variation is said to be minimal for *kudot*. The returns to digging *abagan* shown below, however, are based on data gathered during the last month of its season, when many of the remaining tubers, at least those close by, were small, knotty, or somewhat inaccessible. Hence the returns to *abagan* digging at this time were likely less than in earlier months. Manila copal, in contrast, is collected and sold throughout the year. Since collection, however, is easier during the December to April dry season, the returns reported here for this activity may be lower than at other times of the year.

Returns to 95 man-hours of digging and processing *kudot* averaged 1.85 kg. raw edible yam per hour or 14.8 kg. per eight-hour man-day. The corresponding energy equivalents are 1739 calories per man-hour or 12,912 calories per man-day. Cross-culturally, this level of return is very high, comparing favorably with the returns to *mongongo*-nut gathering among the Bushmen as reported by Lee as well as with the caloric returns to labor in many swidden regimes. Returns to 54 hours of digging *abagan* showed this activity to be much less remunerative; Batak could obtain only 4.16 kg. or 3869 calories in an eight-hour man-day. *Abagan*, while tasty and convenient to travelers and others in need of an immediate meal, is clearly a famine food, and not surprisingly *kudot* is the yam of choice when both are available. Finally, returns to 35 man-days of collecting, transporting, and selling Manila copal average 4.95 pesos per man-day. At prevailing (and government-stabilized) rice prices, this money could purchase 2.25 kg. of raw, unhusked rice, equivalent to 8096 calories per man-day. (The nutritional compositions of the various foods discussed here were obtained from the Food Composition Table, National Science Development Board, Manila. Following convention I have expressed times in "man-hours" and "man-days," although digging wild yams is largely a female activity. Only men gather Manila copal.)

What are the implications of these findings? First, to the degree that Batak substitute rice earned by gathering and selling copal for *kudot*, they must work harder to obtain the same number of calories - approximately 1.7 times harder. Several qualifications are in order. One, as we have seen, *kudot* is only available about nine months out of the year and is thus not always an alternative to copal rice. Two, collection and sale of copal is essential to the Batak in order to purchase consumer goods not obtainable in other ways, and thus there is an element of convenience in purchasing rice at the same time. (Overall, about one half of the cash earned through the sale of copal is used to buy rice.) Three, these data alone do not reveal whether the shift from an all wild yams diet to a wild yams and rice diet has seen a net decline in the efficiency with which Batak obtain calories. Not only does part of the wild yam diet continue to derive from *abagan*, which appears to be a relatively unremunerative source of calories, but part of

the rice diet derives from swiddening. Should the caloric returns to rice swiddening be significantly higher than the weighted (i.e., weighted by percentage contribution to the diet) average returns for digging *kudot* and *abagan*, then these returns could offset the comparatively low returns for copal rice. Thus there could conceivably be no difference in the overall efficiency with which calories are obtained under the old and the new regimes. However, without reporting here the limited data I possess on labor productivity in Batak swiddens, I would say that this does not appear to be the case. I.e., the caloric returns to swiddens, while generally higher than those for copal rice, are lower than those for *kudot* except in the most productive swiddens. In any event, the fact remains that during July, and much of the rest of the year as well, Batak today do choose to earn, for whatever reasons, calories from copal rice that otherwise would have been earned from digging *kudot*. The consequent loss in the efficiency of labor at these times represents a directly-quantifiable cost of modernization.

A second and related implication of these findings is that, to the degree that Batak substitute rice, from whatever source, for wild yams, several changes in the level of nutrients in their diet appear likely due to the differing nutritional compositions of these foods. Comparing the available nutrients in culturally-standardized adult portions of *kudot* and rice (1000 grams of raw *kudot* and 250 grams of raw, husked rice, portions equal in their caloric value), we find that *kudot* has 19% more protein and is systematically higher in its vitamin and mineral content. In particular, *kudot* contains significant amounts of vitamins A and C, both lacking entirely in rice. (The vitamin C in *kudot*, however, is likely lost in the processing.) Thus it seems likely that a changing starch staple preference may have brought a certain amount of physiological stress upon the Batak, particularly as increasing sedentariness has probably reduced the (protein) returns to traditional hunting and fishing activities, and other modernizing forces are at work which favor the replacement in the diet of wild-vegetables with domesticated ones. As in the comparison between rice and wild yams, these domesticated vegetables are generally lower in protein, vitamin, and mineral content than their forest counterparts.

B R I E F C O M M U N I C A T I O N S

Brunei's Natural History

Tom Harrisson

The geological and other physical attributes of the State of Brunei have been more fully studied than any other part of Borneo, particularly in relation to the oil-bearing strata which now make the State of such importance.

The "natural history" of Brunei has not fared so well. Insects, mammals, reptiles have been poorly covered, especially as compared with adjacent Sarawak and Sabah. And although B.E. Smythies, author of the Birds of Borneo, was stationed for several years as Forest Officer in the State, he was so engaged in compiling the material for his great book that he did not do much field-work locally.

Fortunately, within the last two years, three keen and expert ornithologists have been employed in the Seria oilfields: Datu Richard Clough, until recently Managing-Director of the field, Dr. Don Griffin, a company Geologist, and Mr. Anthony Smith, M.B.O.U., in charge of the commissariat. They have added two species to the Borneo list, the Spine-Tailed Sandpiper and the Grey-headed Plover (*Vanellus cinereus*). Among the waders, they have added many records of species previously known from one or two skins or observations in the whole history of the island - including the Spotted Redshank, Red Knot, Great Knot, Ruff, Broad-billed Sandpiper, and Black-winged Stilt.

These remarkable wader observations have all been made on the muddy creeks and the small estuary at the eastern end of Seria. Mr. Smith took me there at dusk, and again early next day in his little Mini Austin. We drove along sandy roads and watched many from the car. We saw Bar-tailed Godwit, Rufous and Long-toed Stint, Wood and Common Sandpipers, Grey and Golden Plovers, Kentish Plover, Greenshank and a deal more. We got splendid views of three Chinese Egret, a bird which long baffled us in Sarawak and is discussed as a puzzle by Smythies. Now that I have seen it close in Seria, I can tell it anywhere for certain - particularly by the curious way it swivels its head and body to the right when feeding. Smith tells me that they have not seen a left-handed one yet. Perhaps this lot comes from conservative Formosa, one of the old breeding grounds almost wiped out by plume hunters at the end of the last century.

We also saw what we strongly suspect was a Dowitcher or Red-breasted Snipe. This queer bird, Smythies (No. 133), is

only known from skins. Dr. Griffin had already reported its presence a few days earlier; but it was elusive and hard to pinpoint.

We watched another remarkable bird, the Tiger Bittern (*Gorsachius*), completely tame, walking about between the European staff houses. I will not anticipate the Seria team's observations on the land birds, including records by Datu Clough from the garden of the Managing-Directors' sump-tuous homestead. Suffice it to say, that we evidently have a new bird migration fly-way here, previously overlooked.

At the same time, in December 1975, another encouraging step was the formation, in Bandar Seri Begawan, of a first Brunei Natural History Society. The inaugural meeting elected Officers. An energetic programme is expected. This should encourage study in neglected fields and strengthen the hand of the vigorous, dynamic Brunei Muzium under Pengiran Shariffuddin.

Some Recent Malaysian Government Publications Dealing With Population in Borneo

(With a note on the 1971 Census of Brunei)

Robert F. Austin
Department of Geography
University of Michigan

Several Malaysian government reports dealing with the census of 1970 have appeared during the past four years. As this review is written, in Singapore in February 1976, most of these reports have not yet appeared on local library shelves. For example, the Singapore National Library holds none of these volumes, while the University of Singapore Library has approximately ten. Therefore, it may not be inappropriate to make some comments on the most important of these reports, with information on how they may be obtained.

As yet, no master volumes comparable to those for 1960, 1951, and 1947 have been published for the states of Sarawak and Sabah, and it appears that none are planned. For most purposes, the necessary population information is available in two separate volumes covering the entire nation.

- (1) Banchi Penduduk dan Perumahan Malaysia 1970 (1970 Population and Housing Census of Malaysia), Golongan Masyarakat (Community Groups), Jabatan

Perangkaan Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, March 1972, 292 pages, 2 maps, Malay and English, M\$5.00, Sea-mail postage M\$2.00.

This volume is perhaps the single most valuable report of the census yet available. A general analysis of population appears at the beginning of the volume, with comments on East Malaysia appearing on pages 34-41. The first of the data sections provides information broken down by community groups (ethnic group), by district and by sex, for all of the states of Malaysia (Sabah, pages 87-96 and Sarawak, pages 97-104). In the second section, data is broken down by *mukim* for West Malaysia only. The third section provides a breakdown by community groups by "Towns, Villages and Local Council Areas," for West Malaysia, and in the case of East Malaysia, by "Towns and Townships" (Sabah, pages 279-281 and Sarawak, pages 282-283).

- (2) Banchi Penduduk dan Perumahan Malaysia 1970 (1970 Population and Housing Census of Malaysia), Pembahagian Umur (Age Distributions), Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, September 1973, 198 pages, 2 maps, 3 appendices, Malay and English, M\$5.00, Sea-mail postage M\$1.20. (This volume supercedes the preliminary release volume of the same title.)

This volume provides age distribution data by state, community group and sex, but unfortunately not by district. Following a general discussion, comments are provided on the age structure of the East Malaysian population (pages 69-83). The first set of tables compare 1970 and 1960 age compositions (Sabah, pages 88-89 and Sarawak, pages 90-91). The next set of tables provide a breakdown by single years (with five-year totals), by community and sex for East Malaysia (Sabah, pages 120-135 and Sarawak, pages 136-151) and by five-year age groups for West Malaysia. The appendices provide age pyramids, tables for the conversion of Chinese ages and western ages (as used by the census enumerators) and a Myers' test for age-preferences.

- (3) Banchi Penduduk dan Perumahan Malaysia 1970 (1970 Population and Housing Census of Malaysia), Jilid II - Jadual-Jadual 'Am Bandar-Bandar Utama dan Pekan-Pekan Bahagian XIII - Sarawak (Volume II - General Housing Tables: Major Towns and Townships Part XIII - Sarawak), Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, July 1973, 198 pages, 1 map, Malay and English, M\$5.00.

This volume consists of 26 tables in three groups: "Total Living Quarters, private and Non-Private" (3 tables), "Occupied Private Living Quarters" (18 tables) and "Vacant Private Living Quarters" (5 tables). Information is provided

for selected towns (total of 20, with Bau, Sarikei and Lawas only partially surveyed, but data extrapolated). The topics of the tables include: type of housing, foundation, materials of walls and roof, water supply, lighting, numbers of rooms, and bathing and cooking facilities.

It should be noted that the population data in the volumes of this series does not agree with that in the population reports *per se*. This is because the population census was a *de facto* census, while the housing census was a count of the "usual" occupants, with a recount to verify vacancies.

All of the states of Malaysia are considered in single volumes in this series, with the same format and price per volume. NOTE: Volume I of the housing census is entitled General Housing Tables (M\$5.00 per volume by state). This half of the census is available for Peninsular Malaysia only.

A fourth publication is not strictly a part of the 1970 census, but is based on it and is valuable if used in conjunction with the other volumes.

- (4) Lampiran A Unjuran Penduduk Dalam Tahun Setahun Malaysia 1970-1990 (Appendix A Population Projections in Single Years Malaysia 1970-1990), Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, September 1975, 91 pages, Malay and English, M\$3.00.

The volume to which this is an appendix simply provides population projections for the same period at five-year intervals. Thus, the appendix volume is actually the more useful. For West Malaysia, eight sets of projections are presented, based on four sets of assumed fertility and mortality levels. For Sabah and Sarawak, only one set of projections is provided, based on the assumption of the continuation of the average fertility rates of 1969, 1970 and 1971 (as determined from registrations). The breakdown within each state is by five-year age groups (Sabah, pages 86-87 and Sarawak, pages 90-91). No breakdown by community or district is given.

The Department of Statistics has also issued a Catalogue of Publications (December 1975, 68 pages, Malay and English, free of charge). This catalogue will date quickly, as the Department continues to produce additional volumes. But it is quite useful in that it lists even "out-of-print" volumes, and as such, is a valuable tool for bibliographers and libraries.

Other volumes of relevance to Borneo which are listed in this catalogue, but which I have not examined are:

- (5) An Interim Report on the Post-Enumeration Survey (8 pages, M\$3.00, Sea-mail postage M\$0.40).

- (6) Abridged Life Tables - Malaysia (166 pages, M\$5.00, Sea-mail postage M\$0.70).
- (7) Revised Inter-Censal Population Estimates - Malaysia (110 pages, M\$3.00, Sea-mail postage M\$1.20).

In addition to being a source for such materials as monthly statistics bulletins, the Annual Bulletin of Statistics, The Statistical Handbooks of Sabah and Sarawak and visitor arrival statistics, the Jabatan Perangkaan also provides some other specialized census materials.

- (8) Census of Licensed Trading Establishments - Sabah (Annual, 1972 volume (latest) 108 pages, M\$3.00, Sea-mail postage M\$0.45).
- (9) Census of Logging - Sarawak ("ad hoc," 1970 volume: 69 pages, M\$2.00, Sea-mail postage M\$0.70).
- (10) Census of Wholesale, Retail and Catering Trades in the Urban Areas of Sarawak (ad hoc, 1971 volume: 77 pages, M\$3.00, Sea-mail postage M\$0.70).

The 1971 Census of Brunei is now available under that title, price B\$20.00. The format is the same as for the past two censuses of Brunei, with information in a single master volume of data and analysis.

The Malaysian reports may be ordered directly from: Ketua Perangkawan dan Pesuruhjaya Banchi Malaysia, Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. The normal outlet for all government publications in Kuala Lumpur, Jubilee Bookstore, had only one copy (tattered) of the preliminary field count in January of this year, and they will refer you to the Department of Statistics' address above.

The Brunei Census can be obtained from : The Curator, Brunei Museum, Kota Batu, Brunei.

Conclusion

Writing as a geographer and demographer, two obvious gaps continue to exist in the publications of the 1970 Census which have appeared to date. First, a volume is needed (perhaps a series of volumes by state) combining data on community groups, age-distributions and districts. The volume on age-distributions which has appeared provides no breakdown by district, and therefore precludes much possible analysis.

Second, a volume is needed on migration. At a minimum, correlation should be made of district-of-birth versus district-of-enumeration.

The Jabatan Perangkaan has rightly noted the limitations they have experienced in analyzing and providing commentary in the various volumes. At the same time, the Chief Statistician has solicited the assistance of scholars and researchers who would be willing to undertake sections of analysis. This should be carefully considered by people wishing to make use of the Malaysian Census in the immediate future, as a means of discharging the obligations which area research entails.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Obituary

Tom Harrisson, "Exploring life under cannibals and bombers," London Times, 21 January 1976*

Tom Harrisson, DSO, OBE, the British anthropologist, war-time hero, explorer, ornithologist, archaeologist, pioneer and practitioner of social observation, died with his wife in a road accident near Bangkok last weekend.

In his lifetime he was recognized as a true polymath, but also - by all whose work and interests, in many fields, touched his own - as a truly remarkable man. He was 64 and as deeply committed in his last years, as for nearly half a century, to the search for knowledge and experience which had opened up to him human and other life in many parts of Asia. He and his third wife, a Belgian sculptor and industrialist, were on holiday when a touring bus met with the accident that cost them, and two Thais, their lives.

With so much from primitive peoples on record for posterity in print and on film, there is still to come his last book, primarily a study of behaviour under bombing from the air, the product of his work in the Mass Observation Archive at the University of Sussex.

Tom Harrisson, with Charles Madge, founded Mass Observation in 1937; the unit continues in separate operation, but the archive itself was opened in October 1975. Harrisson, formerly Senior Research Fellow of Sussex University, became Visiting Professor and Director of the archive in autumn 1974. He had finished the manuscript of this first book of a series from the archive, others to be written by younger scholars of the future.

* Reproduced from The Times by permission.

Harrisson was 26 when he published his first anthropological book, Savage Civilization, based on his experiences while "living native" among cannibals in the New Hebrides. It was well received (though "not a book for the squeamish," as one reviewer noted). Born in 1911, he had been educated at Harrow and Cambridge and although, like some famous naturalists of old, he took no academic degree in the subjects that interested him, he rapidly acquired a high reputation as a field naturalist and anthropologist. At Harrow he wrote a book on the birds of the district, and after leaving Cambridge he joined an expedition to Lapland, and then led an Oxford University Expedition to Borneo. He recorded his adventures there in Borneo Jungle, written in a somewhat racy style, redolent at the time of American "journalese." It was a stimulating book and contained much useful information.

In 1936 Harrisson returned to England and with Madge started the new type of social research that became widely known as Mass Observation - an intimate and carefully collated account of the habits of the ordinary people of Britain. In the Second World War he served for two years in the King's Royal Rifle Corps. But his finest and most courageous military exploit was in 1944 when, as a paratroop major with Special Operations Executive, he was one of three men dropped in the interior of Sarawak while the Japanese were still in occupation. There he had the task (which he admirably fulfilled) of organizing guerrillas among the inland tribes in preparation for the allied landings that took place in 1945. Following these landings, some units of the Japanese army endeavoured to escape up country, and it was then that Harrisson's guerrillas played an important part in their elimination. This episode is recounted in what was his best written, and certainly his most exciting, book, World Within. Following the Japanese capitulation, he was appointed in 1946 as Officer Adminstrating Interior, Borneo on behalf of the military administration of the country. His exploits richly merited his DSO.

With the end of the war in the Far East, Harrisson was given the post of Government Ethnologist and Curator of the Museum of Sarawak, and this post he held from 1947 to 1966. It gave him all the opportunities he could have wished for in his studies of the language and culture of the native communities of the country, and of its natural history. The Journal of the Sarawak Museum became revitalized, not only by his own contributions, but by many from the local inhabitants of Sarawak and visiting scientists from Europe whom he had inspired by his own energy. Unflagging in his field work, his drive and initiative led him into many diverse scientific pursuits associated with his museum work - there was so much to be explored and to record in a country the size of England and Wales - mostly uninhabited jungle and forest and but sparsely inhabited in some inland regions that had rarely been visited before.

Harrisson made a number of expeditions into little-known distant parts of the country. He studied the breeding habits of turtles on some of the small islands off the coast of Sarawak. He initiated systematic and intensive excavations in the caves at Niah in northern Sarawak, in the course of which traces of early human habitations were found in occupational levels dated (by the radio-carbon technique) to over 30,000 years ago. He studied the cave swiftlets whose nests have for centuries been exported to China for making birds' nest soup. Later, with Hugh Gibb, he won the Eurovision Grand Prix at Cannes for a since famous film, Birds Nest Soup. He discovered in the mangrove swamps at the mouth of the Kuching River evidence of early Hindu influences associated with an extensive industry of iron ore smelting, dating from about 500 A.D., and he wrote numerous papers on such themes as the origin of the Brunei people, Megaliths in Sarawak, the Malays of South-West Sarawak, and native pottery in Borneo, as well as a series of notes on the local birds.

All these activities (and there were many more) illustrate Harrisson's astonishing versatility and his width of knowledge. His work was recognized by a number of distinctions from scientific societies, among which may be mentioned the Speleological Society Award, 1960, the Founder's Medal of the Royal Geographical Society, 1962, and a mdeal of the Royal Society of Arts, 1964.

Tom Harrisson's first marriage was dissolved in 1954. His second wife, Barbara, daughter of Dr. Gerhart Güttler, worked in close collaboration with him and contributed important articles on the distribution and ecology of the orang-utan, emphasizing the probability of the extinction of these interesting anthropoid apes unless adequate measures could be immediately taken to prevent their illegal export to zoological gardens in different parts of the world. This marriage was dissolved, and in 1971 he married Baronne Christine Forani, a widow, who held the Croix de Guerre.

In 1966, Tom Harrisson received an appointment in the Department of Anthropology at Cornell University, New York - an appointment that did not sever his connections with Sarawak, for he still retained his association with the museum there, with facilities for continuing his field work in Borneo.

The key to Harrisson's preoccupation with social observation lies, perhaps, in his Who's Who entry, which says he determined, instead of studying primitive people, to study the "cannibals of Britain." In the archive at Sussex University are the war diaries of chosen writers among them Naoni Mitchison, Mary Grace (Mrs. Vyvyan) Adams and many people quite unheard of; with reports from a panel of observers once briefly criticized as "[Duff] Cooper's snoopers"; and more from professional investigators.

Such material led Tom Harrisson to claim that a new look at the behaviour of people under bombing, here and elsewhere in the world, would suggest, even now, unexpected conclusions. In particular, he looked forward to a truer understanding of British behaviour than is suggested in colourful phrases about "our finest hours" or, at the other extreme, descent into "panic."

His books spanned a period of over 40 years. At no time did it appear that he was lost for a hundred worth-while things to do; and, although they were mostly done, nothing was ever "final" - each one led on to something new.

Tom Harrisson. Living and Working in Borneo

Barbara Harrisson

Tom and his wife were killed in a road accident in Thailand on 16 January. They were on holiday, soon to return home. Their bus, travelling by night from Chiang Mai to Bangkok, rammed into the back of a timber lorry near Kamphaeng Phet causing four people to die. Consul Thomas Southworth of the British Embassy in Bangkok looked after formal arrangements. Cremation took place on 26 January at Wat Tathong, a Buddhist retreat about 11 km. along the Sukhumvit Highway from Bangkok. A simple Christian service was held, assisted by one of Tom's oldest and closest friends, Charles Letts. Tom was 64 years old.

The British press carried obituaries. The Times of 21 January had a most detailed, formal account. Tom's fair reputation in his homeland stemmed from an early, unconventional writing career, and his intimate, conversational opinion-polling through Mass-Observation, an organization which he founded with Charles Madge forty years ago. Interests in its methods of recording, and in the extensive archives which had accrued in the interval, were revived in 1970. Tom had promoted the take-over and maintenance of these archives as a permanent research facility at the University of Sussex. Only months before his death, he had completed a book on Britain at War under Bombing from the Air. It was to be the first in a series based on these archives and cooperation with Sussex University. It was well received. Tom was on his way to recapture the public eye he had known when he was in his twenties and thirties.

Tom was 34 at the close of World War II, when he decided to stay on in Borneo. He could give a number of reasons why.

Getting away from the notoriety he had created for himself in Britain, gaining time apart from his family to grow and think, being deeply involved with a way of life that suited him well, were all part of his thinking. His formulations rather depended on situation and mood. Tom delighted to startle his counterpart, to put on.

Youthful intensity, love for strange places and adventure had propelled him briefly to Borneo during 1932. That Oxford University Expedition and his account in Borneo Jungle had him already as the instant naturalist, anthropologist and reporter of special Borneana he remained all his life. But he spent the next ten years elsewhere, in Britain, in the army. When he returned it was war. Parachuted into the Kelabit uplands as a Major in 1945, he organized resistance against Japanese forces. He was very proud of the D.S.O. he earned - as he liked to put it, because his late father, a general and D.S.O. himself, had once dared to doubt his ability to do likewise, when Tom was still in his teens at Harrow.

Tom's first years after the war, as Officer Administering the Interior and as Museum Curator thereafter, were a breeze and a bliss. He remembered the glory of being able to stay away from authority for months at a time, to test and record long-house and jungle life with Kelabit, Kenyah, Kayan and Murut friends. Some of this experience is reflected in the reports he wrote for his government, the Sarawak Gazette, and the Museum Journal later. Parts were used in his book World Within. But he wrote that account from memory while on leave in Britain. As with Mass-Observation material collected earlier, a large part of Tom's Bornean observations remained dormant in files. He vaguely intended to revive them with historic perspective, in the many years he saw ahead of him.

When I first knew Tom in 1953 he was 42, impatient with the passage of time. He was tense with ideas. He was an annoyingly clever, infuriating, unflappable and very amusing fellow. He was never in his office. Long before hippies became common-place, he looked and acted like one. He was a tremendous host. But he shared more than he owned or could stomach, and pigeons roosted right in his bedroom. They were fantails. There to remind him of his maternal grandfather, and the ability of birds to come and go as they pleased.

Tom rather liked his terrible reputation. But he was lonely. And getting very worried about the serious and extensive commitments he had drawn up for himself: a new Museum office with library, archives, labs; regeneration of most Museum exhibits, many of them untouched since the turn of the century; an ambitious archaeological program in the Sarawak River Delta, in Niah, and Brunei; zoological research on

the Turtle Islands, sociological and ethnographic surveys among Malays and a host of other peoples. Not to mention extensive plans to write and publish.

Tom loved to write. He wrote at any time of day or night, whenever he could free his mind. Place, position or situation was immaterial. Music and noise helped. Much of his hand is bad because it related to a boat, to walking about, standing, crouching in the rain, to a wobbly long-house floor. He liked to excuse himself from the chore of sticking to one subject. He kept two or three manuscripts at a time, private correspondence besides, each interest accommodating a space on his desk or in his travelling gear. The new was always most important. He carried lots of papers when he travelled. Depending on mood, he pursued one subject or the other, or none at all. Variety, the unpredictable, attracted him. When he felt overwhelmed or burdened, he made a fresh start with something else. The technique was second nature to him, a self-imposed therapy for the depressions he knew and frequently feared.

A substantial part of his tremendous ability to write as he experienced, in almost instantaneous analysis, is contained in the Sarawak Museum Journal. He was its principal author, permanent ghost-writer for less literate contributors, and editor of up to six hundred pages a year. This was no mean achievement in the Sarawak of the fifties and sixties. One had to wade through innumerable corrections, each set of proofs generating fresh errors. Friends and admirers helped with such skills as they could offer. True, the freakish Journal served ego and the joy to write. But it was also essential for building library and research background through exchange materials and relationships. As it grew over the years, it produced rich benefits from all corners of the world.

Tom battled bravely with lack of money, knowhow and experience. He pestered his government year after year for expansion of estimates, for better support of his all Sarawakian staff. He improvised for years while his senior assistants went overseas for advanced training. He built public relations through lectures and in parties, piling glitter and anecdotes on his audience. He gained international finance for special projects. But there was always a difference between intention and result - surprise, which led him into new venture.

Hugh Gibb's interest in serious documentation on film is a good example. Hugh's casual visit resulted in joint production with Tom of six TV programs on Borneo, now classics. Tom persisted with more filming, broadcasts and general writing. He was cited for this part of his service to government when he received his O.B.E. in 1959. He had done more than his share, won important support for Sarawak and Borneo.

The number of visitors, students, colleagues and sheer odd-balls who flocked to Kuching as Sarawak lore spread, was a mixed blessing. Tom loved it, but many admirers were a waste of time, expecting only a free show. Others caused trouble: one anthropologist who wrote anonymous letters to government; another who threatened with an axe; a third who simply disappeared. But other comers responded to the information and support they were able to get through Tom in Sarawak with warm, long-standing friendship and help: Michael Tweedie, who shared Tom's beginnings in archaeology and Bill Solheim, who promoted its development later; Bill Smythies, Gathorne Lord Medway, Bob Inger, who worked closely with Tom on birds, mammals and reptiles; Rob Anderson, Peter Collette, Neville Haile and the late John Seal, always ready to give of their varied backgrounds in the sciences and administration.

The Brunei rebellion of 1962 marked a turning point in Tom's Sarawak career. The Museum was ticking in high gear, bursting with activity, secure and well. Tom refocused. His intimate knowledge of peoples and pass-ways in the interior, his war-time experience as Special Operations Executive were suddenly more important. He was able to assist coordination between government and the military, to enroll the participation of uplanders in the re-establishment of security. As the rebellion dragged into a war of confrontation with Indonesia after the formation of Malaysia, he stayed involved. He assisted old friends to assume new roles of leadership, to discuss their hopes and grievances, and outside perspectives.

The late Temonggong Oyong Lawai Jau and others who came to stay as senators and MP's for weeks on end in our house in Kuching, were a warm counterpoint during the last short Borneo years when Tom's working schedule was always a hectic, haunting theme. His beloved deputy, George Jamuh, died. His own health troubled him. He began to realize that important projects, including fieldwork at Niah and several substantial manuscripts which were to base on materials and archives in the Museum, had to be left incomplete. He was able to see his Malays of South-west Sarawak into the press. When he retired from government service in 1966, he hoped to return to Sarawak for the completion of other work. He was still hoping when he died, ten years later.

I shared only part of these last ten years, but remained always close where Borneo was concerned. The Brunei Museum, which Tom had nursed into being since the fifties, was ready to open. It offered him generous opportunities to travel, to work and write during yearly visits. He assisted Pengiran Shariffuddin, his favorite pupil, to launch the Brunei Museum Journal in 1969. The Sultan of Brunei honored him with a Datoship in 1973. His last piece of Borneana, a

manuscript on the Peoples of Brunei, was assembled this past December in Brunei. He worried that he had written from memory and intended to check back in Leiden before going to press.

Tom was full of plans when disaster struck. He was across difficult times of adjustment after leaving Borneo. He had tested his ability for university teaching at Cornell, right in the prestigious and progressive Southeast Asia Program. He had gone on to a professorship in Sussex. He knew he could attract students and enjoy working with them. Some were well on into serious research on Borneo. Warm friendship and continuing cooperation tied him to Stan O'Connor, his co-author of two major Cornell Data Papers on the Pre-historic Iron Industry, and on Gold and Megalithic Activity in West Borneo. He had continued to write for Datu Mubin Sheppard and the J.M.B.R.A.S. His involvement with international conservation which had stemmed from concerns over turtles and orang-utans in his Sarawak years, had extended. Environmental problems were right up his sleeve. He could produce almost any information from his rich knowledge of Southeast Asia, and place it into striking relationship with a problem at hand.

Tom's private life followed the pulse of his work, commonly in second gear. He was a loner, yet in great need of companionship; a warm, deeply compassionate father and husband, yet unable to support exclusive involvements. His marriage in 1971 to Christine Forani, who was killed with him, had given him a fresh sense of adventure and security. He was ready for more. He liked to test and tease fortune - and himself.

His great love was Borneo, all its ways, its looks, its peoples. Part of his joy in his later years were the rich, intimate memories which connected almost anywhere. As he put it to me from Brunei this last Christmas, only three weeks before he died:

"I woke at four this morning and felt terribly old. But now I am back at the office. The place bulges with expectancy. Of good Moslems working to take three days of Jesus holiday. What a life - if you can get it! Why live anywhere else? This is tolerably affluent and amiable.

Could one last in it tho?"

And later:

"The Hotel continues excellent. It is run by a woman who is a sister to my first clerk. He was

terrible. She seems to think I am nice, tho I sacked him in the end. Before I met you, I think?

This is perhaps the first Christmas I have ever spent alone. It is not bad. The odd thing is that I've got used to the two Chinese 'Associations' opposite. From dusk the noise of *Mahjong* counters is like the washing of shingles on a beach. Sunday it starts at seven in the morning. Tonight the waves are still. I suddenly miss something. I look across the street ... nothing. Lights on, but no one there.

So deep is Christmas, even to the Unchristian. They must be paying lip service at home, with the kids.

8:30 p.m.: I am saved. They are back! The ivory waves wash on the tight shingles of their restless minds ...

It is very, very re-assuring, don't you think?

All this writing is not - as they say in Bolton - "for regular." I am in limbo and think of our previous Borneo Christmases."

Much of Tom's life and attitude was as this writing, not "for regular." His friends loved him for that and the extraordinary times they were able to share with him.

Borneo Sculpture in the West End

Tom Harrisson

An exhibition of carvings, mostly human forms, was on display during 1974 at Gallery 43 in the West End of London where it attracted wide attention. I have written a fairly full review of the assemblage and the issues raised in *RAIN*, the Royal Anthropological Institute Newsletter (November 1975 issue). This note is to draw attention to the wholesale removal of traditional and sometimes very old Dayak art, mostly Ngaju and Ot Danum from Kalimantan. This splendid art has been pouring on to the European market largely through Brussels, where there is a traditional interest in African culture, producing a background of demand. Prices for the large pieces reach well over \$US10,000, most of the good ones having been bought privately. Museums showed little interest although there is very little major work in existing public collections (except, rather thinly, at Leiden, Holland).

This is also to draw attention to the soft-covered catalogue of the exhibition entitled *Divine Gifts*, written by the Gallery owner, Phillip Goldman, obtainable from G.43, Brook Street, London, W1. The author, a distinguished ethnologist and himself on the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute, gives a full and well-documented description of the subject as a whole. He offers some new and interesting ideas on the plastic arts in Borneo. Every piece in the Exhibition is beautifully illustrated by the photographer, Werner Forman.

Mr. Goldman will be glad to correspond with anyone interested from the Borneo Research end.

The Indonesian Agricultural Economics Association

The Indonesian Agricultural Economics Association (Perhimpunan Ekonomi Pertanian Indonesia) held its third national meeting in Balikpapan, Kalimantan Timur on November 5-8, 1975. The topic of the meeting was "Use and Development of Natural Resources for Agricultural and Village Development (Pemanfaatan Dan Pengembangan Sumber-Sumber Alam Untuk Pembangunan Pertanian Dan Pedesaan). A number of papers primarily concerned with Kalimantan Timur were presented at the meeting.

The major research paper of the conference was "Identifikasi Faktor-Faktor Dominan Yang Mendasari Perkembangan Tataproduksi Dan Tataniaga Beberapa Komoditi Pertanian Di Kabupaten Kutai, Kalimantan Timur (Identification of the Dominant Factors that Provide the Basis for Production and Marketing Development of Several Agricultural Commodities in Kutai Kabupaten, East Kalimantan)."

The President of the Indonesian Agricultural Economics Association is Dr. Achmad T. Birowo, Chief, Bureau of Planning, Department of Agriculture, and Director, Agro Economic Survey of Indonesia.

More information on this meeting may be obtained by writing Dr. Birowo, Agro Economic Survey, P.O. Box 410, Jakarta. (From: William L. Collier, The Agricultural Development Council, Inc., P.O. Box 62, Bogor, Indonesia).

Biosphere Reserves, Islands for Science,
Island Refuges

The Pacific Science Association Information Bulletin, issued June 1975, reports that the Third Session of the International Coordinating Council of Unesco's Man and the Biosphere Programme (MAB) was held in Washington, D.C., September 1974. Marked progress was made toward implementation of Project 8, "Conservation of Natural Areas and of the Genetic Material They Contain."

The representatives of 26 countries who spoke on the subject indicated interest in establishing biosphere reserves. The representative of the Philippines reported on the establishment of its first biosphere reserve, a 23,525 ha area in Oriental Mindoro including the town of Puerto Galera and the Abra de Ilog in Occidental Mindoro. The United Kingdom reported its first biosphere reserve, and the United States designated 20 biosphere reserves including 10 major national parks and monuments. Establishment of biosphere reserves was also reported for Malaysia, France, Germany, Austria, Netherlands and the U.S.S.R.

The Thirtieth International Congress of Human
Sciences in Asia and North Africa

The Thirtieth International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa (formerly International Congress of Orientalists) will meet in Mexico City, August 3-8, 1976.*

The host institution is El Colegio de Mexico. For the first time in the century-long history of the Congress, specialists in the field of Asian and North African studies will meet in Latin America. History, sociology, economics, philosophy, art, literature, anthropology, and contemporary problems of Asia and North Africa will be among the main objects of analysis. The scientific program will be divided into sections, seminars, colloquia, and conferences. The sections will be structured according to the following geocultural areas: West Asia and North Africa, Central and Northern Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and East Asia (including (a) China and (b) Japan and Korea).

* Announcement received after publication of September 1975 issue of Bulletin.

The official languages of the Congress are Spanish, English, and French. Papers should not exceed fifteen to twenty minutes. Deadline for the indication of titles and authors: January 1, 1976. Summaries of no more than 200 words must be submitted to the Secretary General prior to April 1, 1976.

Registration and inquiries should be sent to:

The Secretary General
30 International Congress of Human
Sciences in Asia and North Africa
El Colegio de Mexico
Guanajuato 125
Mexico 7, D.F.
MEXICO

Aberdeen-Hull Symposia on Malesian Ecology

The Fourth Symposium, on "The Classification and Mapping of South-east Asian Ecosystems" took place at Tarradale House, Ross and Cromarty on 20-21 May 1975 (see programme in Bulletin No. 19). Twenty people participated from a total of eight nations. It was generally agreed that the four papers and the many hours of discussion went a long way toward fulfilling the primary object of the symposium, to summarize the current state of knowledge of the subject. Also everyone enjoyed themselves, helped by splendid weather, best malt and other delights of Ross-shire. The proceedings will, as usual, be published.

The Fifth Symposium will be held in 1976 or 1977 on some aspects of animal-plant relationships in Malesia. A possible title is: Interactions between forest composition and behaviour of arboreal animals in Malesian forests. The exact content and timing will depend upon the availability of speakers. Anybody wishing to participate in any capacity should contact the Bulletin editor.

The Third Symposium volume (Altitudinal zonation in Malesia) was published in 1974, price £2.00. This, together with previous volumes (Vol. 1 Water relations in Malesian forests £1.50. Vol. 2 The Quaternary era in Malesia £1.80) can be obtained from the Bulletin editor. (From: University of Aberdeen, Institute of South-east Asian Biology, Bulletin No. 20.)

Study of Road Impact

A road to run the length of Sarawak, to connect Kuching in the west to Miri nearly 400 miles to the east, was begun in 1928. It is a road made of stone, gravel and clay, and good enough for traffic to travel on it at speeds up to 50 mph. But it is not yet complete, for a 100-mile section in the middle, between Bintulu and Sibul, has yet to be built.

The land in this middle section, at present an area of forest and jungle crossed by a few tracks and cut by several rivers, is considered by Malaysian authorities to have great potential as agricultural land. Rubber and palm oil estates are planned, and the first palm oil factory in the area recently went into production. There are also plans for exploiting its timber resources.

In consequence, Bintulu has been designated one of Sarawak's main growth centres and the present population of the town of 2,200 is expected to increase to 40,000 in 15 years. A deep water port is to be built, and the Bintulu-Sibul road is scheduled for completion in two years.

Because of the rapid economic development occurring, there is also concern to measure the social impact which the entire road is having, and will have, upon the people who have always lived near or have been attracted to move toward it and its feeder roads. The population of Sarawak is about 1 million, and in the area of road construction the people are primarily Dayak, although Indonesian workers are traditionally brought in to help clear the forest for settlement schemes and estates.

Most road surveys are basically economic studies, and are done at the feasibility stage. Few studies in the Southeast Asian region have been retrospective and designed as an evaluation of the impact which the road's construction has had upon the lives of a population who previously lived in isolated communities or relied on other means of movement.

The grant of \$48,500, which was announced today by the President of the International Development Research Centre, Dr. W. David Hopper, is for a research team from Nanyang University in Singapore to do both an historical survey of the impact which the older sections of the road has had upon the nearby population, and a field survey of the present system of road and river transportation.

The team is led by Niew Shong Tong, a Sarawakian from Miri. Dr. Niew did postgraduate studies at Edinburgh and completed a Ph.D. degree from the University of London before returning to Nanyang University as a professor in the

department of geography. Other members of the team are Mr. Lim Mee Kuok, Mr. Wong Kok Kyen, and Dr. C.A. Sather.

In the first phase, information will be gathered about the flow of transportation over the last 30 years, and about its relation to land settlement schemes and industrial estates. For example, the increase of pepper-tree growing as a small-holder crop around Kuching, and the effect which improved roads in this area have had upon this enterprise, will be studied.

These first studies will help the team identify communities for detailed research. In subsequent phases, the team plans to interview people in six land settlement schemes established by the government as well as in four ordinary villages. They will also interview businessmen in several industrial estates along the highway, to discover the sources of supply of their goods, the origins of their work force and the advantages and limitations of these sites for industry.

While the recommendations emerging from these studies will not affect the actual route of the 100-mile section between Bintulu and Sibul, they are likely to influence the location of some industrial sites and settlement schemes, the planning of social facilities for these schemes and the routes of feeder roads. They will also serve to emphasize the importance of taking human factors into full account during the further development of all parts of the highway. The State Planning Unit of the Sarawak Government is giving the study its full support, and is anxious to receive its findings at regular intervals.

The IDRC contribution will cover the salaries of the three-member research team and support staff for varying periods up to 18 months, together with the cost of travel and supplies such as maps and air photographs. Nanyang University is contributing administrative and research support and computer time for the research team, and the Department of Land Surveys, the Department of Statistics and the State Planning Unit of Sarawak are all giving assistance.

The International Development Research Centre is a public corporation, created by Act of the Canadian Parliament in 1970, to support research designed to adapt science and technology to the specific needs of developing countries. The Centre is unique in that, while it is financed by the Parliament of Canada, it is governed by an international Board of Governors who independently set its policies and priorities.

The Contemporary Asia Review

The Contemporary Asia Review, edited by S.K. Lee, is a multi-disciplinary journal published twice a year in March and September, by the University Education Press, Singapore.

This journal provides a regional and international forum, symposium, seminars or conferences for inter-disciplinary exchange ideas, scholastic pursuits and analysis in the social sciences, particularly in topics related to the Middle East, East and Southeast Asia.

Articles, reports on research projects, notes on regional and international symposium, seminars and conferences related to the social sciences accepted; and book reviews are also welcomed. All contributions should be typewritten with double spacing, and should be addressed to the Editor, Contemporary Asia Review, c/o Newton P.O. Box 96, Singapore 11.

The Social Science Research Training Program in Indonesia

The Social Science Research Training Program in Indonesia began its activities in late 1973 and established its first fieldwork training station in Darussalam, Banda Aceh in Indonesia's most northerly province, Aceh. The aim of the Program is to stimulate the development of social science activity in Indonesia by offering Indonesian teachers and researchers in the social sciences an opportunity to undergo in-country fieldwork training for a one year period. The establishment of the Aceh station in 1974 was followed by the opening of a similar facility in Ujung Pandang, South Sulawesi in 1975; a third station will begin operations in Jakarta in 1976. Each station trains 12 fellows per year under the direction of an Indonesian social scientist and an expatriate research associate.

The Program is directed by an Indonesian Committee, chaired by Dr. Selo Soemardjan, Professor of Sociology at the University of Indonesia; other members are Amran Halim (linguistics), Koentjaraningrat (anthropology), Madjid Ibrahim (economics), Harsja Bachtiar (sociology), Soedjatmoko (history), Radinal Mochtar (regional planning), and Makaliwe (economics). The Aceh Station Director in 1974 and 1975 has been Alfian, a political scientist; he will be succeeded in 1976 by Ibrahim Alfian, a historian from Gadjah Mada University. Stuart Schlegel, an anthropologist from the University of California at Santa Cruz, was the Research Associate in Aceh in 1974 and

was succeeded by Lance Castles, a historian from the ANU. In Ujung Pandang, the Station Director for 1975-76 is Umar Kayam, whose doctoral is in rural education, and who has long been active in the arts in Indonesia; the Research Associate in 1975 was Clark Cunningham from the University of Illinois who will be succeeded for 1976 and 1977 by Peter Goethals. The Jakarta Station will be directed by Mochtar Boechori, whose work has been in education, and the Research Associate will be Mitsuo Nakamura, an anthropologist who has been teaching at the University of Adelaide.

There is no emphasis on a particular discipline in the stations and a variety of disciplines are represented by the station directors, research associates, and the fellows. The last group is drawn from all parts of Indonesia and also from a variety of institutions: state universities, private colleges, state Islamic institutes, teachers' colleges, government departments, etc. A number of fellows have been drawn from universities in Kalimantan:

<u>Name</u>	<u>University</u>	<u>Station</u>	<u>Year</u>
Drs. Iskandari Ekoputro	Lambung Mangkurat	Aceh	1974
Drs. Aspon Rambe	Lambung Mangkurat	U.P.	1975
Drs. Durdje Durasiid	Lambung Mangkurat	Aceh	1976
Issudarsono S.H.	Mulawarman	U.P.	1976
Drs. Pasifikus Ahok	Tanjungpura	Aceh	1976
Drs. James Siagian	Tanjungpura	Jakarta	1976

While it is unlikely that the Program will establish a station in Kalimantan, the Program Committee hopes to continue to draw fellows from institutions there, thus helping to build up a field research capability. The Committee encourages foreign scholars to work closely with these former fellows in joint research projects.

The Program hopes to operate for at least another two or three years; major and initial support has come from the Ford Foundation, but the Australian Government, the International Development Research Centre of Canada, and UNICEF have made significant contributions, thus internationalizing the Program's support. The Government of Indonesia has been providing important facilities for all three stations, and in 1976 will begin providing direct funding as well. Response to the Program has been excellent with an average of 400 applicants a year; the Committee shortlists and then interviews three applicants for every fellowship available.

The Program has some funds for graduate study by Indonesians, both in-country and overseas; it also seeks to work closely with a variety of other donor agencies in finding support for Indonesians going abroad. Funds for a limited number of publications in Bahasa Indonesia are also available; in press are a book of readings based on the work of the 1974 fellows in Aceh, a volume on structural anthropology, and a research monograph on transmigration in Indonesia.

Readers desiring more information on the Program are urged to contact The Secretary, Program Latihan Penelitian Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial, P.O. Box 2030, Jakarta, Indonesia.

B O R N E O N E W S

Regional News

MICHAEL G. KENNY, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C., Canada, V5A, 1S6, desires correspondence on the subject of *latah* in Borneo or elsewhere in greater Indonesia. Symbolic and epidemiological aspects are of particular concern, as are the contexts in which *latah* behavior is elicited. Field reports of *latah* are particularly desired.

Kalimantan News

VICTOR KING has received a grant from the Centre for South-East Asian Studies at Hull to visit the Netherlands in July of this year. This is primarily to continue working with Jan Avé on the translation of Dutch texts relating to classification problems and ethnohistory in West Kalimantan.

Sarawak News

COLIN LEGG and GREG BARCLAY, research students in Botany at Aberdeen, plan a three-month campaign in Sarawak to estimate the vertical distribution of leaf area by two independent methods, along the transects of profile diagrams made by Dr. Ashton in three forest types several years ago. Up until now the only convenient method of studying forest structure has been the profile diagram, a crudely approximate technique which has the advantage of being based on a (relatively) large sample. More refined studies, of vertical and temporal

variation in the light climate and spatial distribution of leaf surfaces, have of necessity been confined to single trees and flowers and are not representative of whole forests. Legg and Barclay will try to bridge the gap.

MICHAEL LEIGH, Waterfall NSW 2507 Australia, has just finished a supplementary six months research in Sarawak. During this time he revised and prepared for publication an ethnographic study of Sarawak - a listing of the population by locality, headman, size of settlement, ethnic group and constituency boundary. The study is based on fieldwork in each of the sub-districts of Sarawak during 1967 and 1968 and is presented in a tentative form with the express intention of inviting comment and correction from those versed in the intimate details of particular localities. The data are published in the Sarawak Gazette, in a series of seven consecutive monthly articles commencing with the July 31st, 1975 issue. He has also completed a study of "Local government: its origins and early development," Sarawak Museum Journal 1975 (forthcoming).

CARSTEN NIEMITZ just finished a contribution to the Sarawak Museum Journal, dealing with the results of his field studies on the Western tarsier (BRB 5.2: 61). Together with his wife, INGE NIEMITZ, he found a noncommercial institution which placed considerable funds at their disposal for publishing their film: The Forging of a Ritual Knife (*pendat*) by Land Dayaks (BRB 7.1: 32). A contribution under the same title, stressing cultural and religious background, will appear in the next issue of the Sarawak Museum Journal. The 16 mm black and white film is silent. However, by the courtesy of the "Institute for the Scientific Film" (IWF), the copy for the Sarawak Museum will be specially synchronized with an English spoken comment. Niemitz also just closed down the evaluation of a 'side-product' of his research stay in Sarawak. Together with DR. DANIEL KOK of Kuching, he studied the vocalizations of a young captive Orang-utan. The latter author cares officially for orang babies, preparing them for the rehabilitation centre at Sepilok.

By an oversight, the name of JEROME ROUSSEAU, Guest Editor, was omitted from the cover and title page of the special issue of the Sarawak Museum Journal, The Peoples of Central Borneo. In the event readers have not received the paste-on corrections from the editors, Professor Rousseau asks that "Edited by Jerome Rousseau" be added below "Special Issue."

BENEDICT SANDIN was extended as Senior Fellow at Universiti Sains, Malaysia, Penang, until April 1976. Sandin has been editing materials on Gawai Burong (Iban Bird Festival Chants), Iban Adat Law and Customs, Iban Code of Omenism, Traditional History of the Iban (Sea Dayak) of Borneo, and Legends and Living History of Borneo.

CLIFFORD SATHER plans to return to Sibuti and eventually hopes to extend his work into a full-scale study of Kadayan land tenure and social organization.

MOTOMITSU UCHIBORI, a Ph.D. student of the Department of Anthropology, The Australian National University, is now doing field research among the Iban of the Second Division of Sarawak, mainly on ritual behavior and conceptions around the phenomena of death. This research is supervised by Prof. Derek Freeman, and the intended period of field research is from March 1975 until February 1977.

B O O K R E V I E W S , A B S T R A C T S A N D
B I B L I O G R A P H Y

BOOK REVIEWS

Robert Nicholl (editor): European Sources for the History of the Sultanate of Brunei in the Sixteenth Century. Muzium Brunei, Penerbitan Khas Bil. 9. 104 pp; paperback, no illustrations. 1975.

This slim, handsome paperback, just out from the Star Press of Brunei with a 1975 Museum imprint, is instructive and useful for anyone wishing to focus on historic Brunei as described in European sources. Editor Nicholl assembled 109 textual passages which describe, mention or report on Borneo and Borneans and on Brunei in particular. He presents these in chronological order starting with the first European in Brunei, an Italian who came in 1505 A.D., and closing with another reference to Italy, a request for Jesuit missionaries to work in Borneo recorded in Rome in 1615 A.D.

The greater part of these texts have been available in English for some time, notably through Blair and Robertson (1903-1909; recently republished). Fifty-seven quotations are to their credit, including the most frequently cited description of Brunei by Pigafetta dating 1521 A.D. Five quotations between 1505 and 1545 A.D. were taken from the work of the Hakluyt Society. These include records of Brunei conditions and trade as seen through the eyes of Odoardo Barbosa, Portuguese factory secretary on the Malabar Coast from 1500 to 1517 A.D., and of his colleague, Tome Pires, who supervised the trade in Malacca between 1512 and 1515 A.D.

Thirty-eight of forty-seven references that were unknown or unexploited by the above were taken from Portuguese sources. Translations into English were by the Rev. Father Manuel Teixeira of Macao whose own 1964 monograph, Early Portuguese and Spanish Contacts with Borneo, started Robert Nicholl's quest for references to Brunei.

The main standby numerically for quotations has been the *Insulindia* records of the Agencia Geraldo Ultramar in Lisbon with twenty-two entries between 1514 and 1579 A.D. They refer to marine traffic in Lisbon up to 1534 A.D. and include a summary dated 1529 A.D. (No. 27, p. 24) which has the northern route via Borneo as a return journey of some fourteen to fifteen months' sail, a slight advantage over the southern route via Banda and Java. But it was difficult to find pilots able to navigate safely (cf. No. 33, p. 27). *Insulindia* has only a few entries after 1552 A.D. Christian mission, rather than communication and trade, comes into focus then. One complaint among Jesuits in 1556 A.D. was that Portuguese craft took Moslem passengers between Malacca and the Moluccas (No. 43, p. 32).

The source next in rank with six references between 1509 and 1610 A.D. was *Asia Portuguesa* as available from the Biblioteca Historica, Livraria Civilizacao in Portugal. It reports the first Portuguese voyage from Malacca to the Moluccas via Brunei in 1527 A.D. (No. 24, p. 22), a notion of Brunei suzerainty east of Borneo in 1530 A.D. (No. 28, p. 24), and the involvement of the Brunei Ambassador to Pahang in the assassination of the Sultan there - who had a passionate affair with the Ambassador's wife in 1542 A.D. (No. 38, p. 30). This event was also reported by Fernao Mendez Pinto, merchant in Southeast Asia between 1540 and 1554 A.D. Nicholl extracted five quotations from him, all referring to Borneana away from the island, the last of 1550 A.D. mentioning extensive trade contacts between Ayuthia and Insular Southeast Asia, including Borneo (No. 41, p. 31).

Of special interest are references which expand the scope of early eyewitness accounts of Brunei, particularly Pigafetta's. There are four of these (Nos. 13-15A, pp. 14-17), one from a prisoner of the *Trinidad*, a vessel of Magellan's expedition captured by the Portuguese in the Moluccas in 1522 A.D.; two by Portuguese contemporaries of Pigafetta who presumably drew their information from *Trinidad* crew; and the reflections of the captain of another expedition vessel, the *Victoria*. Some aspects of these accounts are at variance with Pigafetta's story, but they are generally shorter, different in stance, and in part secondhand.

There are other entries of interest, for instance two, both regarding the visit in Brunei by Ambassador Vasco

Lourenco in 1526 A.D. (Nos. 25-26, pp. 22-23, published in 1585 and 1777 A.D. respectively). He offered gifts to the Sultan while on his way to Malacca. One item, a tapestry which apparently portrayed "life-sized" the 1509 A.D. marriage of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, offended the ruler who suspected evil magic thrust onto him. He inclined by way of defense to have the Ambassador assassinated, but a Portuguese trader who had been in town for some time, solved the problem by burning the offending images in front of the Sultan.

There is distinct advantage in the pursuit of history from one place and in one perspective, taking events in chronological order. For one thing, the considerable number of references that are gradually emerging, particularly through microfilm, is well demonstrated. But weakness connects with the relative brevity of the quotations or references which do not allow readers to assume sensibility regarding the significance or credibility of any one source without editorial aid.

Such footnotes as are available are "purely elucidatory, to make the text intelligible, where otherwise it might have been obscure," according to Nicholl (p. 1). He leaves it to Brunei students of history to evaluate and to draw their conclusions. This is fair proposition so long as the elucidations by the editor, or alternatively by Father Teixeira, who is supposed to have provided some footnotes also, are referred back to an authority followed - at least in such cases where several interpretations are possible. The greatest difficulty is to have blanket or generic terms such as "Borneo" (and derivatives) or as "Lucoes" (and derivatives) summarily identified with the Brunei Sultanate or its developmental stages, particularly since it is clear from the quotations themselves that a number of Bornean locations and "Lucoes" participated in entering these records including on Brunei Bay itself.

There are seven appendices which include a fourteenth century description from the Sarawak Coast and seventeenth century details of Christian missionary activities. An index neatly closes this valuable contribution. (Barbara Harrisson)

Erik Jensen: The Iban and Their Religion. London: Oxford University Press. 242 pp; plates, maps, figures, tables, bibliography, index. 1974.

What is the significance of this book? In the constant stream of books written about Sarawak and its peoples, this Oxford Monograph on Social Anthropology is the first book-length systematic study published on Iban religion. This book can serve as an excellent introduction to the Iban people.

Dr. Jensen's purpose in this book is not historical. No attempt is made to trace the sources of Iban religion (though he hopes to undertake that fascinating study at a later juncture). His purpose is not "comparative." Comparative material, for the most part, in the vast literature on the Malaysian-Indonesian area and peoples is outside the scope of this volume. Within the limits of this study he does not set out to compare the Iban of the Second Division interior with Iban living in other areas. What he does attempt to do, with considerable success, is "to provide an ethnographical account of Iban behavior, the religious beliefs which are the basis for their way of life, the framework within which these exist, and the ends to which they are directed" (p. 5).

His account describes the situation in the Ulu Undup, Lemanak and Ulu Ai areas as it was in the years 1959 to 1966. However, the significance of his study goes far beyond these areas, for Dr. Jensen effectively communicates the worldview which informs Iban traditional practices and ways of thinking. His insights are important for anyone who would understand the Iban, the most populous community in Sarawak.

What suggestions could be made for future editions? Jensen's "Table 4" (p. 14) on the population of Sarawak includes a 1965 "estimate" of Iban population which, had it been correct, would have meant that the Iban population was increasing at an average annual rate of only .69 per cent. However, according to the 1970 population census (Chander 1972: 46), the Iban population was increasing at an average annual rate of 2.15 per cent during the period of the study. On "Table 5" (p. 22) the ongoing Iban migration could be further documented. The 1970 population census revealed that the Iban population in the Baram had grown to 11,940 (Chander 1972: 101). A correction in an Iban word should be noted. The word for "head-hunting expeditions" (pp. 23, 140, 228) should be *kayau* (Scott 1956: 80). The valuable summary of "Myths and Legends" (29 pages) whets the appetite for a fuller treatment. There is now developing in Sarawak, in the Iban language, a whole shelf of books relating myths and legends, published by the Borneo Literature Bureau. One of the most

valuable of these, Sengalang Burong by Benedict Sandin, is listed in the bibliography, but future bibliographies would be even more helpful if they include a complete listing of the relevant books in the Iban language. Monographs on societies in developing nations should be printed in paperback editions with every economy used to bring the price down. Back in the 1950's the Colonial Research Studies (including J.D. Freeman's Iban Agriculture) were printed in paperback for mass circulation. Can this not be done for significant monographs today? (J. Andrew Fowler)

Bibliography: Chander, R., 1972, Banchi Penduduk dan Perumahan Malaysia 1970: Gulongan Masharajat (1970 Population and Housing Census of Malaysia: Community Groups), Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia; Scott, N.C., 1956, A Dictionary of Sea Dayak, London: School of Oriental and African Studies.

Jensen's 'The Iban and Their Religion': A Review*

Dr. Jensen's recent book is welcome on two counts.¹ It provides the first systematic ethnographic study of Iban religion, and secondly it deals with Iban communities which have not as yet received much attention in the literature. The data relate to the situation in the Second Division of Sarawak during the years 1959-1966 when the author was living and working there. A significant part of that time was spent in Iban villages in the Ulu Undup and Lemanak.

Prior to Jensen's present study, the post-war ethnographic work on the Iban falls into two main categories. First, there are the more specifically anthropological studies of Iban social organization and agriculture by Freeman.² His fieldwork was centered on the Baleh Iban in the Third Division of Sarawak. Secondly, there is the detailed material on Iban lore and religious texts recorded and translated by Harrison and Sandin, from the Saribas region of the Second Division.³ Although Jensen states at one point that his intention is not to compare Second Division interior Iban with those from the Baleh (p. 4), his data nonetheless offer extremely useful comparative material.

Jensen's introductory chapters on social and economic organization are very much in the style of Freeman with frequent use of tabulated statistical material. His findings accord in general with those of Freeman.

The remainder of the book, in Jensen's own words, "attempts to provide an ethnographical account of Iban behaviour, the religious beliefs which are the basis for their way of life,

* This review also will be published in the Belgian journal, Cultures et Développement (Université de Louvain) in 1976.

the framework within which these exist, and the ends to which they are directed" (p. 5). Some parts of the book have already appeared before in a slightly different form. Jensen's early paper entitled, "The Iban World" (1966), gives a general sketch of Iban religion, and it is this which supplies part of the framework for the present work. Three other papers previously published in the journal Folk form the substance of Chapters VIII ("World View"), X ("Sickness and Healing"), XI ("Attitudes to Rice"), and XII ("The Annual Cycle"). Overall his description of the various aspects of Iban religion is succinct, carefully qualified, and corrects or elaborates certain points made by previous writers. One minor point which emerges from Jensen's description of the Iban shaman and curing practices is the omission of any reference to Freeman's important paper, "Shaman and Incubus."⁴ Since Jensen does refer to Freeman's less important article on Iban pottery, it is somewhat unfortunate that he excludes a very insightful analysis of the Iban shaman.

Leaving aside Jensen's admirable ethnography and his clarity of expression, there are a few points which emerge from his work and which are of more general interest for the student of Bornean peoples and for the anthropologist concerned with religion. One feature of the Iban way of life which constitutes the main focus of Freeman's attention and which now takes up a large part of Jensen's study is the Iban commitment to and involvement in hill rice cultivation. Of course, rice is the basic subsistence food in the Iban economy. Any surplus is used to purchase prestige property as well as other items necessary for everyday life. Farming is tied closely to the observance of rituals and restrictions, and this in turn stems from the fact that rice is thought to possess a spirit or soul (*samengat*). If the harvest is to be plentiful, then the rice spirits must be treated with reverence and care. In fact, central to Iban religion is their rice cult, and this preoccupation is expressed in the Iban saying "*adat kami bumai*" ("we farm [hill rice] and live according to the order revealed by the spirits"). There is a very close association between the spirit of rice and that of man since Iban conceive a cyclical process in which the souls of dead Iban eventually dissolve into dew which is absorbed by the ears of rice to be consumed in turn by human beings.

The general impression one gains from Jensen's account of Iban agriculture and its associated rituals is that Iban are in general accomplished farmers (e.g., p. 155) and intensely committed both religiously and practically to hill rice cultivation. But the emphasis on rice agriculture as synonymous with the Iban way of life must not lead automatically to the assumption that Iban are good farmers and conservationists. Freeman had indicated that Iban farming practices in the Baleh were prodigal of natural resources, and indeed, certain non-Iban peoples in Indonesian Borneo (Kalimantan), such as the Maloh⁵ and Ot Danum⁶ consider Iban to be particularly bad farmers. This is not to malign Iban agriculture in general, but simply to suggest that in Indonesian Borneo at least,

Iban farmers seem to be less diligent and conscientious and more wasteful of natural resources than other neighboring peoples. Their apparent commitment to hill rice cultivation and their rice cult certainly does not prevent significant numbers of males from periodically leaving the village in search of work and adventure (*bejalai*), and as Jensen notes, "The appeal of *bejalai* overrides the domestic requirements of rice cultivation ..." (p. 52). Furthermore, attention to rice declines markedly when there is the promise of relatively large cash returns from the collection of illipe nuts (*tengkawang*). It might even be suggested that to a certain extent the large ritual input in Iban rice cultivation compensates for, or is at least related to the generally low degree of Iban diligence and practical commitment to agriculture. Be that as it may rice cultivation does take up a large part of the Iban year, and Jensen's descriptions of this and particularly the rice cult provides much-needed additional material to supplement Freeman's rather brief survey of Iban agricultural rites.

One striking aspect of Iban culture is its uniformity given certain obvious local variations in detail. Jensen rightly emphasizes this aspect (pp. 55-59), but he does not explicitly account for it. Iban have lived for a long time in isolated and separate river valleys and have spread themselves widely over Sarawak and the Kapuas lakes area in Indonesian Borneo. As Jensen indicates, they have also come into contact with other peoples and adopted some of their customs (p. 55). Perhaps one answer to the problem of uniformity is that Iban communities all trace their origins from a common source in fairly recent historical times. The main migrations into Sarawak's Second Division occurred, according to Sandin,⁷ between about 175 and 400 years ago, and the peopling of the Kapuas lakes and the Third Division of Sarawak and beyond date from the early nineteenth century. As Jensen comments, after the initial settling of the Second Division, "All subsequent migrations can be traced to one or other of the early river groups" (pp. 19-20). This at least provides a plausible explanation for the uniformity in culture.

A significant point which Jensen makes, however, is that the Saribas-Krian Iban are a partial exception to this rule. Interestingly these are the Iban from whom Harrisson and Sandin obtained much of their data on religion. Apart from some brief comments by Richards,⁸ up to the time of Jensen's present study it perhaps has not been fully realized that Harrisson and Sandin were describing a rather special Iban variant, and that their religious texts and lore were not typical of all Iban. This is all very well if they had not also claimed from their Saribas standpoint that some of Jensen's earlier data on religion (especially myth and genealogy) collected from a non-Saribas area were "confused" and indeed "wrong" in some instances. For Harrisson and Sandin

their accounts were the "correct" ones. This not only fails to acknowledge that the Saribas-Krian Iban are to some extent different from other Iban, but it also shows a lack of appreciation of the nature of oral tradition. This at least is put to rights in Jensen's general discussion of Iban culture and his particular description of Iban myths. In these myths he finds not only "inconsistencies" but also "contradictions" (pp. 71-72). Unfortunately having made this point Jensen glosses over these inconsistencies since he notes that for the Iban the truth of myth is not a problem; they are simply interested in its ability to explain the functioning of Iban religion (p. 72). Confusions in creation myths are also excused in that for Iban these myths "are not considered particularly significant" (p. 73). It is tempting to suggest that a structural analysis might be appropriate in the Iban context to examine the internal logic of particular myths and the way in which myths relate one with another. Despite certain problematical elements in Lévi-Strauss' approach, an analysis along these lines can reveal, as Douglas has said, "unsuspected depths of reference and inference meaning."¹⁰ Of course, this suggestion demands extensive and detailed knowledge of Iban culture, but on the basis of the data Jensen gives us on Iban myths, there seems to be scope for the extraction of meaningful relations between various elements in these myths. Aside from myths involving the creation of the earth, the sky, and the first man, the main myth complex centers on two figures, Pulang Gana associated with the earth and the rice cult, and Sengalang Burong connected with the sky and the social order and augury.

In his discussion of the inconsistencies in myth, Jensen also refers to Leach's work on the Kachin of Highland Burma (p. 72) and to Leach's statement that myth, like ritual, is a form of symbolic statement about the social order (p. 210). But it must be remembered that Leach uses the term myth in a rather unorthodox way to cover not only tales concerning deities and spirits and the like, but also stories of recent events involving human actors.¹¹ Leach emphatically relates inconsistency and ambiguity in different versions of a myth to factions, conflict and self-interest in the social order. The implication in Jensen's reference to Leach, is that he sees Iban myth and society in the same terms. But this is not in fact the case. Jensen's use of myth is the classic anthropological one, and inconsistencies in Iban myth remained unexplained. Jensen is much more concerned with the function of mythology as well as legends and ancestral tables in expressing and delineating relations within the spirit world and between spirits and men (p. 210). Myths help in explaining a social order which is described mainly in "ordered" terms.

To be sure there are relations of conflict, but Jensen sees these mainly in terms of the occasional clashing of the rather different interests of men and spirits. Overall the

total Iban universe "is not a universe of conflict, since both men and spirits are subject to the same social code devised to ensure the well-being of all" (p. 211). This order is embodied in the concept *adat* which not only embraces the notion of a "divine cosmic order and harmony," but also that of "life and actions in agreement with this order" (p. 112). In summary, despite Jensen's reference to Leach, his own purposes, perhaps dictated by the nature of his material, but also by his particular definition of "myth" and "social order," are quite different. He is not so much interested in problems of structural change, conflict and inconsistency, but in order and harmony.

Pursuing this theme, an important section of Jensen's study deals with the contacts and relations between men and spirits. As we saw with the Iban rice cult, the human soul is closely associated in a metamorphic process with that of rice, but more than this all spirit is conceived of anthropomorphically. The search for order in a tropical rain forest environment which is at once "intensely arbitrary and inconsistent" (p. 209) is facilitated by the Iban's ability to comprehend the actions and behavior of spirits. He does this by crediting them with human qualities. On this basis meaningful relations can be established between men and spirits through the medium of dreams, charms, bird omens, divination, *nampok* (the process of deliberately seeking out spirits), *ngarong* (the acquisition of spirit support), and shamanistic contact.

A final point of analytical interest is Jensen's discussion of Iban symbolic classification in which he provides evidence of dualism or complementary oppositions in Iban thought. There is, for example, an obvious distinction between the physical-human and spirit world, the profane and sacred, male and female, and right and left. Other examples are associated with relations between the land of the living and that of the dead (*Sebayan*); the land of the dead is the opposite of this world since blindness here "may signify sight in *Sebayan*" (p. 104), what is visible becomes invisible, day becomes night, light becomes darkness, and so forth (pp. 109, 145). This is why the Iban shaman (*manang*), who diagnoses the spirit cause of an illness, is commonly a person suffering from blindness or poor sight. Nevertheless, governing this classification into opposites is the principle of balance "which lies at the centre of Iban thought" (p. 104), and along with this the fact that this "balanced dualism of Iban thought lacks the strong antitheses elsewhere associated with right and left" (p. 109). Here Jensen is referring in particular to Needham's penetrating total structural analyses of societies such as the Purum, Aimol and Meru.¹² In the Iban case, although there is evidence of complementary dualism and the analogous relation of some pairs of opposite terms (pp. 110-111), these opposites are seen as having "comparable value" (p. 211). Unlike certain other societies, there is no pre-dominant or privileged alternative between, for example, right or left or male and female.

The Iban material presented by Jensen tends to support Needham's tentative suggestions about the relation between the symbolic and social orders in cognatic societies. Unlike lineal systems with prescriptive marriage alliance in which there is a marked and comprehensive structural correspondence or concordance between the two orders, in cognatic societies the relation between the symbolic and social may, as Needham suggests, be "indefinite" or "minimal."¹³ In addition, lineal systems without prescriptive alliance may demonstrate the relation "in a range of particulars, or in certain institutions, but not usually in any comprehensive manner."¹⁴ Nevertheless, one observation may be advanced on the relation between the symbolic and social orders in the Iban cognatic system. Certainly there is apparently very little thorough-going concordance between Iban symbolic dualism and their social order. But what does permeate this dualism is the notion of balance, or perhaps one might say the equality of opposites, and this notion is found both in the symbolic system and in the social order. Jensen notes that the division between male and female "is reflected in the balanced distribution of rights and responsibilities in Iban society" (p. 211). In Iban social organization, as Freeman takes great pains to demonstrate, there is no particular preference both in ideal terms and in practice between affiliation with one's mothers or one's father's household. Likewise at marriage virilocal and uxorilocal residence are equally permissible. Therefore, it seems that there is some concordance between the social and symbolic orders in the Iban context, a concordance based on balance and quality, rather than on the structured inequality of prescriptive alliance systems.

The purpose of the above comments is to point to possibly fruitful areas of study in the future. However, analysis of Bornean symbolism and classification cannot easily proceed until we have more detailed, up-to-date ethnographic data of the quality contained in Jensen's book. The publication of this monograph on an important Bornean people is applauded as a step in the right direction, but much still needs to be done by other workers in the field. (Victor T. King, University of Hull)

References: 1) Erik Jensen, The Iban and Their Religion, Oxford, 1974; 2) J.D. Freeman, Iban Agriculture. A Report on the Shifting Cultivation of Hill Rice by the Iban of Sarawak, London, 1955, and Report on the Iban of Sarawak, Kuching, 1955; 3) See, for example, Tom Harrisson, Borneo Writing, Bijdragen tot de taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Vol. 121, 1965, pp. 1-57, and Tom Harrisson and Benedict Sandin, Borneo Writing Boards, Sarawak Museum Journal (Special Monograph No. 1), Vol. 13, 1966, pp. 32-286; 4) J.D. Freeman, Shaman and Incubus, The Psychoanalytic Study of Society, New York, International Universities Press, Vol. 4, 1967, pp. 315-343; 5) Victor T. King,

- Migration, Warfare, and Culture Contact in Borneo: a Critique of Ecological Analysis, Oceania, 1976, in press;
 7) Benedict Sandin, The Sea Dayaks of Borneo Before White Rajah Rule, London, p. 28; 8) A.J.N. Richards, Review of Borneo Writing and Related Matters, (ed. Tom Harrisson), Man, Vol. 2, 1967, pp. 488-89, and Iban Writing Boards, Correspondence in Man, Vol. 3, 1968, p. 132; 9) Tom Harrisson and Benedict Sandin, op. cit., pp. 261-62;
 10) Mary Douglas, The Meaning of Myth, in The Structural Study of Myth and Totemism, ed. Edmund Leach (A.S.A. Monographs, 5), London, 1967, p. 66; 11) E.R. Leach, Political Systems of Highland Burma, London, Reprint 1964, p. 277;
 12) Rodney Needham, A Structural Analysis of Purum Society, American Anthropologist, Vol. 60, 1958, pp. 75-101, A Structural Analysis of Aimol Society, Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Vol. 116, 1960a, pp. 81-108, and The Left Hand of the Mugwe: an Analytical Note on the Structure of Meru Symbolism, Africa, Vol. 30, 1960b, pp. 20-33;
 13) Rodney Needham, op. cit., 1960a, p. 105, 1960b, p. 22;
 14) Ibid., p. 105.

ABSTRACTS

Women in Modern Singapore

Aline K. Wong, Ph.D., University Education Press, 1975, US\$10

This is the first sociological study made on the social, economic and political statuses of women in present-day Singapore. The book comprises three parts. Part I, which is based on extensive statistical data, examines the consequences of industrialization and modernization for the legal and social positions of women, and the opening up of educational and occupational opportunities in the past two decades. In spite of such advances, however, a considerable amount of discrimination against women is found to be existent still. Part II and Part III complement Part I on the basic themes, and allow two small samples of women and men to speak on their own perceptions of women's various roles in the family and in society.

A Sociological Analysis of Divorce in Singapore

Tai Ching Ling, University Education Press, 1975, US\$1.50

The danger jobs ... 11-year study shows that those in the administrative, managerial and executive occupations are the most prone to divorce, and that women are usually the petitioners.

The Societies of Borneo: Explorations in the Theory of Cognatic Social Structure

G.N. Appell, editor

The contributions to this volume are primarily concerned with the nature of social entities in cognatic societies, the procedures by which these are identified and analyzed, and the property relations involved. This volume will appear in the Anthropological Studies series of the American Anthropological Association.

Table of Contents

Preface	G.N. Appell, Brandeis University
Introduction: The Director of Research in Borneo: Its Relevance for the Development of Social-Anthropological Theory	G.N. Appell, Brandeis University
The Jama Mapun of Cagayan de Sulu: A Samalan Group of Northwestern Sulu	Eric S. Casino, Mindanao Executive Development Agency
Kinship and Continuity: Variations in Social Alignment Among the Semporna Bajau Laut	Clifford A. Sather, Universiti Sains Malaysia
The Rungus: Social Structure in a Cognatic Society and Its Ritual Symbolization	G.N. Appell Brandeis University
Hamlet Organization and Its Relation to Productivity in the Swidden-Rice Communities of Ranau, Sabah, Malaysia	Robert Harrison, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Problems in Land Tenure	H.S. Morris, London School of Economics
Conceptual and Analytical Problems in the Study of the Kindred	Victor T. King, University of Hull
The Cognitive Tactics of Anthropological Inquiry: Comments on King's Approach to the Concept of the Kindred	G.N. Appell, Brandeis University
References Cited	

Studies in Borneo Societies: Social Process and Anthropological Explanation

G.N. Appell, editor

The contributions in this volume illustrate how an adequate understanding of Borneo societies requires the interpretation from a variety of theoretical approaches. The papers, in addition to their theoretical contribution to our understanding of Bornean social processes, are concerned with the problem of the relationship between social anthropological inquiry and historical interpretation, with the interpretation of religious phenomena, and with the developing field of symbolic analysis. This volume is to appear as a Special Report of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois, U.S.A.

Table of Contents

Preface	G.N. Appell, Brandeis University
Introduction: Borneo Ethnography and Contributions to this Volume	G.N. Appell, Brandeis University
Social Science Research in Sarawak	G.N. Appell, Brandeis University
<u>Social Anthropological Theory and Historical Perspective</u>	
Interethnic Relations and Culture Change Under Colonial Rule: A Study of Sabah	I.D. Black, University of New South Wales
Social Structure, History and Historiography	D.E. Brown, University of California, Santa Barbara
<u>Religion, Symbolic Analysis, and Social Anthropological Theory</u>	
<i>Ngerufan</i> : Ritual Process in a Bornean Rice Harvest	Jay B. Crain, California State University, Sacramento
The Iban <i>Manang</i> : An Alternate Route to Normality	Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr. College of William and Mary
The Berawan Afterlife: A Critique of Hertz	Peter Metcalf, Harvard University

Human and Proud of It! A Structural Treatment of Headhunting Rites and the Social Definition of Enemies Robert McKinley,
Michigan State University

Bibliography

The Iban and Their Religion

Erik Jensen, Clarendon Press, 254 pp., \$4.50

The Iban and Their Religion relates the main features of Iban social organization and economy to their religious beliefs and practices as these obtained in Sarawak at the time of research (1959-1966). The Iban themselves express the interdependence of their social organization, agriculture and religion most succinctly when they say: "*Adat kami bumai*," which means, "We farm (hill rice) and live according to the order revealed by the spirits." "*Adat*", often translated "customary law," may mean much more. To the Iban it involves the basic values of life, their system of agriculture, as well as the code according to which their society is ordered. It also concerns the "correct" manner of behavior - for animals and natural phenomena as well as men.

The facts of Iban social organization and their rice-centered economy are followed by a summary of the principal myths, an account of their beliefs in spirits and ordered world view, the pattern of the seasonal rice cycle, and a description of the major rituals which are the social culmination of one agricultural season and ritual inauguration of the next.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Appell, G.N., 1975, *Indigenous Man: Chemotherapeutic Explorations*. News from Survival International 10: 7-10.
 Appell, G.N., 1975, *Indigenous Man: Creator, Inventor, Discoverer*. News from Survival International 9: 10-12.
 Appell, G.N., 1975, *The Pernicious Effects of Development. Fields Within Fields* No. 14: 31-41.
 Appell, G.N., 1975, *Social Impact Research*. TA Update 2, 1: 6,9.
 Appell, G.N., 1974, *Societal Impact Research*. TA Update 1, 3: 6.
 Austin, Robert F., 1974, *Land Policy and Social Change: The British Presence in Sarawak*, M.A. Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Michigan.

- Austin, Robert F., Periodical Migration in Sarawak, Malaysia, ADC December 1977, University of Michigan.
- Burrough, P.A. and J. Boenisch Burrough, 1974, Sabah - 1963-1973: Ten Years of Independence. Review of Indonesian and Malayan Affairs 3: 25-61.
- Corpuz, V.M., 1972, The Cowie Harbour Mangroves, Their Exploitation, Utilisation and Proposed Research. Proceedings of the Fourth Malaysian Forestry Conference 1972 K.L., pp. 172-176.
- Fabia, M.P., 1972, Plywood and Veneer Industry in Sabah. Proceedings of Fourth Malaysian Forestry Conference 1972, K.L., pp. 57-64.
- Fogden, Michael P.L., 1972, Some Aspects of the Ecology of Bird Populations in Sarawak. University of Oxford, D. Phil in Biological and Agricultural Sciences
- Fox, J.E.D., comp., 1973, A Handbook to Kabili-Sepilok Forest Reserve. Sabah Forest Record No. 9. Kuching, Borneo Literature Bureau for Sabah Forest Department.
- Goto, S., Sado M., Yano, K., Takeuchi, M., Ichikawa, Y., Ogaku, S., Inoki, S. and Mukherjee S.K., 1974, A Survey of Infant Mortality Rates in Sarawak 424-429. Southeast Asian Journal of Tropical Medicine Public Health 5(3): 333-475.
- Harrisson, T., 1973, Stone Sculptures from South-West Borneo (Kalimantan Barat). Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 45: 179-184.
- Jacquet, F.G.P., 1973, Lijst van stukken deel uitmakende van de collectie Korn (Or 435). Leiden. IV, 56 pp. Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
- Jacquet, F.G.P., 1973, Overzicht van het archief van de adatrechtstichting. Leiden, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 21 pp.
- Jantschke, Fritz, 1972, Orang-Utans in zoologischen Gärten. Munchen: Piper.
- Jones, Russell, 1973, Earl, Logan and "Indonesia." Archipel 6: 93-118.
- Lewis, A.N. et al., 1973, Falciparum Malaria Resistant to Chloroquine Suppression But Sensitive to Chloroquine Treatment in West Malaysia. Transactions of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene 67: 310-312.
- Liew, T.C., 1972, Development of the timber economy of Sabah. In the ECAFE Region. ECAFE Report No. RP/TTP/ (1)/5.
- Liew, T.C., 1972, The Importance of Forest Management and Research in the Development of Sabah. Malaysian Forester 35: 252-259.
- Liew, T.C., 1972, Role of Tree Physiology in Forestry with Particular Reference to Malaysia. Malaysian Forester 35: 37-46.
- Liew, T.C. and M.S. Charington, 1972, Chemical Control of Giant Stranglers - Ficus. Malaysian Forester 35: 13-15.

- Marshall, David, 1971, Singapore's Struggle for Nationhood, 1945-1959, Singapore: University Education Press.
- Motha, Philip, 1976, Valuation and Land Economy in Singapore, Singapore: University Education Press.
- Poore, Duncan, comp., 1974, Ecological Guidelines for Development in Tropical Forest Areas of South East Asia, IUCN Occasional Paper No. 10.
- Ras, J.J., 1973, The Panji Romance and W.H. Rassers' Analysis of Its Theme. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 129: 411-456.
- Reece, Robert Harold William, 1976, The Cession of Sarawak to the British Crown in 1946, ADC March, Australian National University.
- Rousseau, Jérôme, 1974, The Social Organization of the Baluy Kayan, PH.D. dissertation, Cambridge.
- Sabah Forestry Department, 1972, Negeri Sabah Lapuran Tahunan Bagi Cawangan Penyelidik Jabatan Hutan Untuk Tahun 1972 Disusun Dan Diterbitkan Oleh V.M. Corpuz Pemangku Pegawai Penyelidik Kanan Dan P.F. Cockburn Ahli Kajitumbuhan Hutan. Laporan Penyelidik Hutan 1972. Negeri Sabah.
- Shaw, K.E. and George G. Thomson, The Straits of Malacca, Singapore: University Education Press.
- Taylor, C.E., C. Leslie et al. (including F.L. Dunn), 1973, Asian Medical Systems: A Symposium on the Role of Comparative Sociology in Improving Health Care, Soc. Sci. Med. 7: 307-318.
- Udarbe, M.P., 1972, The Implications of the Forest Resource Inventory on Forest Development in Sabah, Malaysian Forester 35: 285-291.
- Ward, Marion W., and R. Gerard Ward, 1974, An Economic Survey of West Kalimantan, Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies 10: 26-53.
- Yeh, Stephen, ed., 1975, Public Housing of Singapore, Singapore: University Education Press.
- Zoh-Tsung, Hsia, The Bitter Cup, Singapore: University Education Press.

ADDENDUM TO LIST OF FELLOWS

The following names should be added to the list of Fellows which appeared in Volume 7, Number 2:

Robert F. Austin
Department of Geography
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104 U.S.A.

A.R.G. Morrison
26 Canning Street
Ainslie, Canberra A.C.T.
AUSTRALIA 2602

Robert G. Breunig
Museum of Northern Arizona
Harold S. Colton Research Center
Route 4, Box 720
Flagstaff, Arizona 86001 U.S.A.

Niew Shong Tong
Nanyang University
Upper Jurong Road
Singapore, 22
SINGAPORE

Mr. and Mrs. Rod Brindamour
Orangutan Project
P.O. Box 21
Pangkalan Bun
Kalimantan Tengah
INDONESIA

Endang Soekara
Biology Faculty
Universitas Nasional
Jl. Kalililo 17 - 19
Jakarta N/4, INDONESIA

Suharto Djojosudharmo
Biology Faculty
Universitas Nasional
Jl. Kalililo 17 - 19
Jakarta N/4, INDONESIA

Sugardjito
Jl. Gandaria VII/13
Kebajoran Baru
Jakarta, INDONESIA

Jaumat Dulhajah
Biology Faculty
Universitas Nasional
Jl. Kalililo 17 - 19
Jakarta N/4, INDONESIA

Yatna Supriatna
Kompleks B.P.K. I No. 12A
Palmerah, Kebun Jeruk
Jakarta Selatan
INDONESIA

Barita Oloan Manulan
36 Jl. Karet Kubur
Jakarta Pusat
INDONESIA

THE BORNEO RESEARCH COUNCIL

The Borneo Research Council was founded in 1968 and its membership consists of Fellows, an international group of scholars who are professionally engaged in research in Borneo. The goals of the Council are (1) to promote scientific research in the social, biological, and medical sciences in Borneo; (2) to permit the research community, interested Borneo government departments and others to keep abreast of ongoing research and its results; (3) to serve as a vehicle for drawing attention to

urgent research problems; (4) to coordinate the flow of information on Borneo research arising from many diverse sources; (5) to disseminate rapidly the initial results of research activity; and (6) to facilitate research by reporting on current conditions. The functions of the Council also include providing counsel and assistance to research conservation activities, and the practical application of research results. Support for the activities of the Council comes from subscriptions to the Borneo Research Bulletin, Fellowship fees, and contributions. Contributions have played a significant part in the support of the Council, and they are always welcomed.

Fellows of the Borneo Research Council

The privileges of Fellows include (1) participation in the organization and activities of the Council; (2) right to form committees of Fellows to deal with special research problems or interests; (3) support of the Council's program of furthering research in the social, biological, and medical sciences in Borneo, (4) subscription to the Borneo Research Bulletin.

The Fellows of the Council serve as a pool of knowledge and expertise on Borneo matters which may be drawn upon to deal with specific problems both in the field of research and in the practical application of scientific knowledge.

Fellowship in the Council is by invitation, and enquiries are welcomed in this regard.

INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

Research Notes: These should be concerned with a summary of research on a particular subject or geographical area; the results of recent research; a review of the literature; analyses of state of research; and so forth. Research Notes differ from other contributions in that the material covered should be based on original research or the use of judgement, experience, and personal knowledge on the part of the author in the preparation of the material so that an original conclusion is reached.

Brief Communications: These differ from the foregoing in that no original conclusions are drawn nor any data included based on original research. They also differ in consisting primarily of a statement of research intentions or a summary of news, either derived from private sources or summarized from items

appearing in other places that may not be readily accessible to the readers of the Bulletin but which have an interest and relevance for them. They will be included with the contributor's name in parentheses following the item to indicate the source. Summaries of news longer than one or two paragraphs will appear with the contributor's name under the title and prefaced by "From."

Bibliographic Section: A bibliography of recent publications will appear in each issue of the Bulletin, and, consequently, reprints or other notices of recent publications would be gratefully received by the Editor.

Other Items: Personal news, brief summaries of research activities, recent publications, and other brief items will appear without the source specifically indicated. The Editor urges those contributing such news items to send them in the form and style in which the contributor wishes them to appear rather than leaving this to the discretion of the Editor.

All contributions should be sent to the Editor, Borneo Research Bulletin, c/o Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, 23185, U.S.A.

STYLE FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Please submit all contributions double-spaced. Research Notes and Brief Communications should be limited to approximately eight double-spaced pages. Footnotes are to be avoided wherever possible. Bibliographies should be listed alphabetically by author at the end of contributions; author should appear on a separate line, then date, title of article, journal, volume, number, and pages. For books include place of publication and finally publisher. References in the body of contributions should be cited by author's last name, date, and page numbers as follows: (Smith 1950: 36-41). For punctuation and capitalization, refer to Bibliographic Section.

Names mentioned in the News Section and other uncredited contributions will be capitalized and underlined.