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 .................... 3
Caloric Returns to Food Collecting in a Philippine Monsoon Forest. James F. Eder 13

Brief Communications
Brunei's Natural History . . . . Tom Harrisson 17

News and Announcements
Borneo Sculpture in the West End . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 25
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 Malayan Ecology . . . . University of Aberdeen, South-East Asian Biology, Bulletin No. 20 33

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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.

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 keru 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
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, Katong 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 Kerkaw, 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 paga 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 may resemble Chinese farm settlement than that of other indigenous groups, close to fields and paths 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 panamas) 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-ridge 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-ridge fields. As the newly sown rice plants grow rapidly, transplanting (sama) must be carefully timed, and is done approximately four weeks after sowing. The young plants (sama) 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 (panamas). 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 (ngatarn) 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 feastng 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 uniting otherwise unrelated kin and village, hamlet, 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: 222-25).

A small amount of inshore fishing is done near the coast at Kampungs Luak and Bungai, but everywhere else rice farming is the primary industry, 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. The 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 (uma), 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
Chinese farm settlement has developed. at Lumut, where, in more recent years, a considerably larger overland or further up the Sibuti River. The present Sibuti suitable for wet-rice farming, and most families later moved and Tengah communities, and the cross-river village of Rancha-part, of a former Kuching Malay trading enclave. Pushing over- Rancha, are mixed Malay riverine settlements, the remnants, in land, a small Kadayan settlement was established, and remains, in the vicinity of his own village, in which case he is likely to either leave the land idle or grant its use (maksai) 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, ownership of land was created by the act of jungle felling, and as land was initially planned, 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 separa- tions 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 marriages. In addition to Kpg. Bungai, early Kadayan settlements were established at Kelulit, Penyirak, and Sungai Jamm. 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 con-fluence of the Sibuti and Sibuti rivers. A few families remained behind to establish the present village of Rayu Kapor, while the rest settled at Loba where they were joined by others coming directly from Brunei. Kpg. Loba was subsequently abandoned, some families moved across the Tirai River, and in 1960, the present 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 Tekah communities, and the cross-river village of Rancha-part, of a former Kuching Malay trading enclave. Pushing over- Rancha, are mixed Malay riverine settlements, the remnants, in part, of a former Kuching Malay trading enclave. Pushing over- land, a small Kadayan settlement was established, and remains, at Kumut, where, in more recent years, a considerably larger Chinese farm settlement has developed.

In addition to the Kadayan, from the Bakong tributary of the 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 Sibuti rivers. Originally the Dali, who are acknowledged locally as the original inhabi- tants, 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 Barat. Nei- ther group was either Muslim or an traditional riverine people, both had little interest in the old world padi 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 British Raj in the 1920s, wider ranging intermarriage and linguistic and cultural assimilation took place, and still con- tinues. At present, the Dali no longer exist as a discrete community, but small numbers of Dali speakers, intermarried with other 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 Nakah, Kuala Satap and Kelapa are heavily Bakong in makeup. At the same time, a typical example is the settlement of 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 inhabi- tants, 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 Barat. Neither group was either Muslim or an traditional riverine people, both had little interest in the old world padi 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 British Raj in the 1920s, wider ranging intermarriage and linguistic and cultural assimilation took place, and still con- continues. At present, the Dali no longer exist as a discrete community, but small numbers of Dali speakers, intermarried with other 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 Nakah, Kuala Satap and Kelapa are heavily Bakong in makeup. At the same time, a typical example is the settlement of Kejapil River, which now forms an approximate natural boundary between Kadayan and Iban settlement areas.

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 Manut 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. Morsi bin Penghulu Hj. 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.


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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kampung name</th>
<th>Ethnic group</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kpg. Kuala Sibuti</td>
<td>Melanau</td>
<td>297</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kelulit</td>
<td>Kadayan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kelulit (Padama)</td>
<td>Kadayan</td>
<td>190</td>
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<tr>
<td>Penyirak (incl. Kayu Kapor)</td>
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<td>Lumut</td>
<td>Kadayan</td>
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<td>Ranchu-Rancha</td>
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<td>Masjid (Sibuti)</td>
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<td>Kelapa</td>
<td>Bakong-Dali</td>
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<td>Satap (incl. Kawang)</td>
<td>Bakong-Dali</td>
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<td>Segurau</td>
<td>Kadayan</td>
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<td>Nusah</td>
<td>Bakong-Dali</td>
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<td>Batu Satu (incl. Kadulit)</td>
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<td>71</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jambu</td>
<td>Kadayan</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
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</table>

*Own estimate
Kampung Name | Ethnic group | Population
---|---|---
Nyalau (Niah sub-District) | Kadayan | 191
Kpg. Nyalau Ulu | Kadayan | 87
Nyalau Tengah | Kadayan | 86
Kuala Nyalau | Kadayan | 86
Miri Area (Miri sub-District) | Kadayan | 410
Kpg. Luak | 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 Batek 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
without processing. Both kudot and abagan are ubiquitous, returns to labor for digging wild yams vary with the season, ground, is considerably more difficult to dig than that of sons progress and the nearest tubers are dug. Thus the ous alkaloid, dioscoreine, and must be peeled, sliced, soaked in season, but travel times increase somewhat as their sea-

three days. In calculating below the returns to labor for its long slender tuber, growing deep into the larly available much of the year but is mainly dug from April and its shallow, large

kudot 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 (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 poison-ous 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 further processing. Both kudot and abagan have about 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 pur-

chasing 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 yam diet to a wild 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 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 yam diet to a wild 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 swiddening, 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.

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. 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 Egrets, 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-Director's sumptuous 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 Museum 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.


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 "Empty 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.


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 PostEnumeration Survey (6 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$1.00).

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 M$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 Perangkaan 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-ofenumeration.
Harrison was 26 when he published his first anthropological book, Savage Civilization, based on his experiences with "primitive" New Hebrides cannibals in 1937. 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 national heroes of old, he had no academic training in the subjects that interested him, he rapidly acquired a high reputation as a field naturalist and anthropologist. At 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 Harrison 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 creating a network of 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 Harrison'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 Administration 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, Harrison 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. Unflaging in his field work, his drive and initiative led him into many diverse scientific pursuits associated with his museum work - there was the need to explore a country of size of England and Wales - mostly uninhabited jungle and forest and but sparsely inhabited in some inland regions that had rarely been visited before.

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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 Harrison, DSO, OBE, the British anthropologist, wartime 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, written, and certainly his most exciting, book, World Within. 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 national heroes of old, he had no academic training in the subjects that interested him, he rapidly acquired a high reputation as a field naturalist and anthropologist. At 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.

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Harrisson made a number of expeditions into little-known districts 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 Hinom 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 medal of the Royal Society of Arts, 1964.

Tom Harrisson's first marriage was dissolved in 1954. His second wife, Barbara, daughter of Dr. Gerhart Guttler, 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 Naomi Mitchison, Mary Grace (Mrs. Vyvyan) Adams and many people quite unheard of; with reports from a panel of observers once briefly criticized as "[Dull] Cooper's snooper", 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 be killed. 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 Thos 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. Youngful 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, unfailingly and very amusing fellow. He was never in his office. Long before hippies became commonplace, he looked and acted like one. He was a generous host. But he shared more than he owned. He 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 situ- ation with material. 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 stick- ing 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 for a man 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 experi- ence. He posted his government year after year for expansion of estimates, for better support of his all Sarawakan 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 produc- tion 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 govern- ment 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, Cathorne Lord Medway, Bob Inger, who worked closely with Tom on birds, mammals and reptiles; Rob Anderson, Peter Collenette, Neville Halle 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 enrol the participation of uplanders in the re-establishment of security. As the rebellion turned 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.

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 Prehistoric 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. 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 Pemangkasan Sumber Alam Untuk Pembangunan Pertanian Dan Desa)." A number of papers primarily concerned with Kalimantan Timur were presented at the meeting.

The major research paper of the conference was "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).

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 Sibu, 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-Sibu 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 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 to do both an historical survey of the older sections of the road and river transportation, 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 Moe 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 Sibu, 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, 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 Aman Halim (linguistics), Moentjamarangrat (anthropology), Madjid Ibrahim (economics), Harisja Bachtiar (sociology), Soedjatmoko (history), Radinal Moochtar (regional planning), and Makalwe (economics). The Aceh Station Director in 1974 and 1975 has been Alfiyan, a political scientist; he will be succeeded in 1976 by Ibrahim Alfiyan, 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:

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<th>Name</th>
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<td>Drs. Iskandari Ekoqutoro</td>
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<td>Drs. James Siagian</td>
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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.

BORNEO NEWS

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 Ave on the translation of Dutch texts relating to classification problems and ethnography 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, surface of necessity have 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 the publication of his 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" (INF), the copy for the Sarawak Museum will be specially synchronised with an English spoken comment. Niemitz also just closed down the evaluation of a 'side-product' of his research stay in Sarawak. Together with DB, DANIEL KOK of Kuching, he studied the vocalisations 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 Omensim, 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.

BOOK REVIEWS, ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOK REVIEWS


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 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).

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 1619 A.D. was Asia Portugeta as available from the Biblioteca Historica, Livraria Civilizacao in Portugal. It reports the first Portuguese voyage from Malacca to the Moluccas by Brunei in 1527 A.D. (No. 19, p. 42), 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 Mendes Pinto, merchant in Southeast Asia between 1540 and 1554 A.D. Nicholl extracted five quotations from him, all referring to Borneans 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 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)


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, Ibanization of his study goes 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: 40), 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: 60). 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)


Dr. Jensen's new book is welcome on two counts: 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 Lemadan. 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. 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. Although Jensen states at one point that his intention is not to compete with Second Division interior Iban work 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, 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 earlier work, "The Iban World" (1963) 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 ("Ibanness and Healing"), XII ("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." 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 as a subsistence food in the Iban economy is an important item used to purchase prestige property as well as a staple food for everyday life. Farming is tied closely to the observance of rituals and restrictions, and the reason for this is said to stem from the fact that rice is thought to possess a spirit or soul (samengat). If the harvest is not 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 kam 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 rice is thought to have 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 rice is a highly accomplished form of cultivation (e.g., p. 155) and intensively committed both religiously and practically to hill rice cultivation. 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 prodigious of natural resources, and indeed, certain non-Iban peoples in Indonesian Borneo (Kalimantan), such as the Maloh and Ot Danum 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 areas, and as Jensen comments, they have spread the Kapuas lakes area in Indonesian Borneo and have included it 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 the 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, between about 175 and 400 years ago, and the Third Division, of myth, in 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, 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, but they had ideally described the Saribas-Krian Iban and not also claiming 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 one 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 executed with some regard for Iban "the myths are not particularly significant" (pp. 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."

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 his emphasis on the 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 in the life of the Iban, but recent events involving human actors.11 Leach emphatically relates inconsistency and ambiguity in different versions of a myth to actions, 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
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 alliances 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 strata may, as Needham suggests, be "indefinite" or "minimal." 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." 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 be expected 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)


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 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

Introduction: Borneo Ethnography
and Contributions to this Volume

Social Science Research in Sarawak

Social Anthropological Theory and Historical Perspective

Interethnic Relations and Culture
Change Under Colonial Rule: A
Study of Sabah

Social Structure, History and
Historiography

Religion, Symbolic Analysis, and Social Anthropological Theory

Ngerufan: Ritual Process in a
Bornean Rice Harvest

The Iban Manang: An Alternate
Route to Normality

The Berawan Afterlife: A Critique
of Hertz

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