

File XII A (e)

Jensen
PhD Thesis - comment

e
ii

Too much
for details

31 December 1968

Dear Erik,

I enclose comments on your 'Iban belief and behaviour'. I am sending a copy to Morris with the script because minor corrections are among them and there's no need to dig those out twice. The script is unmarked except for some obvious typing errors, and a few emendations in pencil.

I sat down with scrap paper to read it through, and jotted down this and that as I read. I never expected to have 11 sheets left after taking out words and phrases onto my cards!

Congratulations on it. I have no broad comment because I agree with the general thesis. Continuing argument on the translation of lemanbang and the origin of petara are incidental. As for the latter, it seems to carry the meaning of Avatara, however its sound originated.

Special sections on such subjects as manang (and ayu) would better left, I think, unless relegated to an appendix; otherwise the work may become unbalanced and might be delayed. One thing there must be, and that is an index.

The sooner this effort gets into print and becomes generally available the better, if only to enable people doing research to avoid having their legs pulled too much.

With best wishes for the New Year,

This
Copy kept

COMMENTS ON Jensen's 'Iban belief and behaviour' a study of the Sarawak
Iban, their religion & patri cult.
Dec 1968

(Numbers refer to pages) Ph.D. Oxford 1968.

- 15 Jensen
16 Munir.
8. (Manang, and headhunting, mentioned only in passing)
The latter -- 'since 1920's' -- not played a significant role...
I doubt this but have no evidence: my suspicion is that, where
old heads are not available, he who has taken a life has honour.
- 13 'montane zone' -- but they live in what the foresters would call
lowlands too.
14. 'not a harsh environment' -- Banks called it a sandstone desert.
It is cruel and hard in its own way.
- 22-23. Iban - ivan - Southwell's Kayah dictionary (unpublished) gives
it in various uses meaning son-in-law. A term of address? Ibans
did (notably Koh) become sons-in-law on their travels.
- 25 'lived in S. 15 generations' -- Tindin was 15 generations ago and
came from the Skrang into Saribas. Iban must have lived in Sarawak
(Kumpang) for about 20, or 400 years.
26. The Saribas had Lugu in the lower reaches and Melanau on the coast.
- 27, top line. 'died', not 'dies'
28. 1850s. Dayang Isah of Banting, who was about 18 in 1790, lived
near Kanowit for a time (probably between 1800 and 1840) and fought
the Kayans who appear to have been moving down the Rejang then.
She was one of the 2 old Malay ladies who were such a nuisance to the
First Rajah in the 1840's.
- 32 'no (traditional) area leader' -- but there were the Malay titles
like Rekaya (Saribas) and Temonggong (Btg. Lupar). Jugah says there
was a sort of Patinggi in the distant past.
- 33, footnote. The Balleh is where the Penghulus all belong to the same
family and the office is nearest to being hereditary.
- 36 The Tuai Rumah is often a 'wealthy' man chosen to represent the
community to the outside world, particularly to Government.
38. Headman usually gives his name to the community, but less often
in longer settled areas where pioneering, and so frequent movement,
is at an end.
Usual width of a bilek is 3 depa (say 15-20 feet) so that a 12
door house would be about 200 feet long.
40. Minimum ten doors. Less than this usually recognised where close
to a station and likely to be much called on for messengers and
levies. The rule was always more honoured in the breach. Most of
the year was spent in dampa anyway, and the longhouse only for
official occasions and major gawai.
43. Official statistics vary: where Fisher's "tan system" was operated
as in the Rejang, absent members and kampar are enumerated. No doubt
Freeman checked the official figures for himself, at least in the
area where he stayed most.
44. Separate but related families often occupy adjoining bilek (middle para.)
and a connecting door between bileks is usually an indication of such
relationship.

48. Marriage. Iban say that, though they marry early, they rarely ~~stttt~~ settle down with a wife until they are about thirty - as a result of ~~tra~~ travel, etc. (table ~~xxxx~~ 28 on p. 71; bejalai, p. 57, 70)
50. Cousin marriage. This is the case among Malayssalso, but they follow Minangkabau custom in following the wife (except where agriculture is not the main means of livelihood).
51. St John. If, as often happens, the cousin has been formally or informally adopted in to the uncle's or aunt's bilek, she would be regarded as a sister.
53. The staking - pantang aur -- needs some explanation. There is nothing to show here whether it is still practised or not. (It probably was till 100-200 years ago.
54. 'Major incest' is not named - mali besai, nua menoa -- Say "These latter incestuous relationships fall into two categories..." I may be dim but I find table 16 hard to follow. Suggest dotted lines or numbers and examples.
55. Table 17. In a case of besapat heard at Kapit (Koh, Jugah and me), Koh woke up and stated the fine as \$75, which was paid without demur. Sibat told us later that this was the Kenyah fine!
Repun, tangga. Now also rubber mangles and padi mills. What about communal property in land? Payong rumah, tembawai, pendam, some near forest, and in some cases unallocated temuda?
58. E.g. Song (slaves), Machan (Kanowit: gongs and guns): but this probably represents a local peace-making. The Paku peace described by Sandin as a dynastic marriage was also probably marked by an exchange of property.
 (End of 2nd para.) Do I say they are communal? -- suggest "... but, as Richards says, they are not communal."
- (Foot of page) But in some sophisticated areas like Lower Rejang the customary recompense of ritual (operating as a purchase of right of user for a season) (Tungkus asi, tasih), has been extended to mean a price for purchase outright.
59. Also bulih utai, to acquire property (chattels, prestige property). Borrow discreetly -- madi (padi), usually by leaving a gong or other pledge of return (now also a price).
- 60 The wife usually finds nothing but padi, and so has to mill a supply (nutok): and the man finds no firewood in his in-laws' house. These activities get the young couple well acquainted withtheir in-laws.
63. Surely the man wields his dibbling stick and the woman puts the seed in the hole! In weeding, while the women weed the men guard the boundaries with spears in war and generally by building fences and traps or by hunting the pests.
- 65 Winnowing needs two, usually man and wife: working at right angles, the man facing along the house if he is 'blowing'.
- 78 Howell & Bailey's distinctions were doubtless valid when written. (Footnote 2) Malay settlements were formerly much further upriver than than they are now. Other influences in Saribas are Melanau from the

coast and Chinese. Stephen Ningkan is part Chinese. The Paku Iban employed at least 800 Hakka Chinese in their rubber gardens in 1941. The Malays are also a great mixture, having adopted Chinese girl children and taken wives and concubines from among the Dayaks. The extent of this is concealed because new Malay names are always given.

80. (Footnote 1) "They are not typical". Harrison's retort to this is that they are as typical as any other (which supports Howell's distinctions?). The Saribas-Krian block is centred on Paku and Ulu Rimbis: it doesn't include Spak, Ulu Layan, or much of the Krian.

(Footnote 3) Burong malam. Others say this is a bird of night and death, so the Saribas emphasis may be only a symptom of the importance attached these days to the Gawai Antu and the dead generally. If this amounts to a form of ancestor worship it may be derived from Chinese.

83. The Tuai Rumah is officially recognised. He used to be exempt from poll-tax, but is not now exempted from the Local Government rates which have taken its place.

85. Para. 1. They set out to describe the obtaining of benefit from the deities appropriate to the occasion, usually ritually expressed as 'charms' brought down the the "heavenly guests" to the gawai. It is not simply background, but an expression of contact between the ~~anti~~ deities and the community.

86. Some specialise in sampi rather than pengap. I agree the "liturgical bard or cantor", but the singing home of godlike guests and the benefits they bring could be called a ritual process or act. The 'shrine' (pandong etc.) is ready to receive the charms or blessings. At the ngalu antu or ngalu petara procession the deities are believed to be present and, according to Pengarah Montegrai, older people used to pass into a state of ecstasy or trance at this point. The lemambang is responsible for this presence.

87. "Stones and bones". The manang's charms may be of any material including stone, but any such charm is referred to as batu, as batu ikan, (and a batu inyak would be a small bottle of coconut oil). There is no evidence of any reference to petrification myths.

88. Footnote 4. St John. The reference is to I, p. 62 in my copy (1862 on title page). 'Blinding the patient's eyes' is also mentioned. They use a pengrabun (batu rabun) to blind the enemy, i.e. to render them invisible on their journey to the spirit world.

The only manang I knew well (Entabai 1946) was entirely normal and very tough: I hear (1967) that he is still in demand and going strong, which means much travelling in a hilly area.

(p. 86 Footnote 4) -- I have no evidence that a manang is any of the four things suggested by H. & Sandin: but a lot of his work is done by an understanding of psychology, and perhaps for this reason he refers in his chants to all kinds of common things which need not have any special religious significance.

I can't find any etymological origin for lemambang or manang.

89. "recognised forms..." and others (e.g. sanggai, pelandai, timang)

90. Perham's view -- prolix in manner of utterance but the verbosity is not meaningless (even though Sandin often doesn't bother to translate) All is full of metaphor and riddle (karong jako, entelah).

92 Lembang --- not lemamabang

Papan turai -- strictly limited in use -- Yes! but by no means all acknowledged experts use them, and those who do use them for teaching (p. 85, novices). Usually the papan cover only the more intricate parts of the 'story', e.g., the list of people and places visited in search of charms by the 'deity' before setting out for the gawai as guest. There is no need to cover the batang or main framework of the chant: Ibans tend to use their memories rather than memoranda.

93 (top). Inferior. I suspect that the attempted elevation of papan turai derives from a natural desire by an elite to show that Ibans are not inferior to anyone. This desire is sharpened by the tendency of mainland Malays to look upon people of Eastern Malaysia as country bumpkins.

Some sybols are pictographs, some are traditional and are found in weaving designs too. A comparison ranging over S.E.Asia might be very profitable.

94 "decorative words with no real meaning" -- they have meaning but the meaning is elusive. 'Ginselan' --- both Howell and Scott have genselan, which I prefer.

96, 3rd para., line 2. 'incidentally'

97. Ensera often (= kana) are sung in verse with occasional episodes in prose. They can also deal with the subject matter described for jerita tuai. This is a Kanowit (ex Skrang, Lemanak and Saribas) and Rejang usage, where the simpler prose 'folk-tales' are called jerita.

100. Ini Inee ? -- Ini-ini, surely?

104. There is a common Malay legend about a girl found crying in a bamboo, and brought up by the finder when he has split the bamboo to get her out. Dayang Isah Tandang Sari (Borneo Lit, Bureau, ?1963), about the story from Pusa (Saribas), and in Skeat, Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, II, 343.

110. Para. 2, line 4. say 'tobacco and wrapper leaf'
Piring lapan is referred to in sampi but means the eight portions into which the ingredients are divided before the rite is performed. There may be only one actual offering made from them.

111. There is one of the ancient tales from India (in a book of Buitenen's translations, I think) which tells of the hero going through a 'cave' into another kingdom. (Curing a slave) and the youngest of seven -- cf. the Melanau story of Siong and Tugau and curing the daughter of the Boar King. (S.M.J. about 1947?)

112. Giling chiping -- the yeast grinder?

113 While visiting an ancient Malay grave, a storm was averted by sprinkling yellow rice which some thoughtful character had brought along.

At Iban burials, the burial party cooks and eats rice and chicken before crossing the river to perform the actual burial: no food may be carried to the grave or away so that any left over is scattered on the ground.

"educated Christian converts" --- omit 'converts'.

115. Singalang Burang. The pronunciation is not Sing'a-lang, but si-nga'lang. Therefore why not si- (common prefix for names), ngalang (verb form of galang, a supporting beam or roller put under a boat or heavy post), to give the meaning "the foundation (stone) of bird (lore)? Lions are not otherwise mentioned as far as I know.

115. Para. 3, line 1. expressem.
116. Footnote. Kayans use Lang as a major omen bird.
117. Skirt loss, or loss of any part of personal clothing, is much feared (Malays too). It is assumed that the stealer will have power over the owner. It is assumed that the theft is for the purpose of working spells against the owner. Hence also careful disposal of nail-parings and hair, (which even now I find to be a habit!)
118. Footnote 1. These stories (like the one about the loss of writing) are of course still told: there is no evidence that the first to publish them was the only one or the last to hear them, as Harrison seems to conclude.
Wild fig tree. The Iban will not fell a parasite fig if its roots have reached the ground. Foochoos accordingly exclude such trees specifically from felling and clearing contracts.
There is a comical version -- Apai Saloi won't harm the birds but ties them to his sirat till they are so many that they fly away with him.
119. Galiggam, can't be! Gelinggam = paint (prob. not geliga). Sudan appears as a name for several such ladies: it is one of the names of Kumang of Gelong (Panggau) too.
122. Bintang Tujoh. This is told of Jubang (a Lemanak ancestor) who set out with six brothers to heaven. The six found girlfriends in Panggau and stuck there: Jubang went on alone and had a rare old time with the seven sisters, until he looked through the forbidden jar and became homesick whereupon they told him of stars for padi ...
123. Footnote. Not "not yet" full members of the house: more likely to be poor and not close enough related to use bedurok to the full and so unable to get material to build at the same time as others. Note that Nendak always asks his Mother for leave to go on the long journey to the Wind.
126. No. 6. Pinggai besai (not Panggau).
127. P. Narok (Skrang) tells how the people of Panggau came as guests in their terrestrial forms as snakes in the house. Aki Lang is indeed white-headed and fiercely judicial -- see the coloured plate in Smythies.
128. Turmeric (kunyit) --- para. 3, line 2.
129. Ulit (to sing a lullaby, Malay - Wilkinson). Release is by ketas. The many restrictions go on longer for the immediate bilik than for the longhouse as a whole.
130. Temaga Gelang. ? the same as Tembawai Juah (mentioned in the Undup) said to be in the lower Ketungau. The Engkari have a story of the Kayu Minong (collected by Percy Majeng) bearing different fruits on each branch. Quarrel between parents of Kling, Ribai & Co. led to dispersal.
These antu have Malay counterparts. Koklir = Pontianak? There is an Antu Tinggi on the GolfCourse at Kuching!
131. But Freeman is right: Leach tried to match Saribas tusut in the Rejang and so did I, but neither got more than half a dozen generations. One reason may be that the spread of kaban belayan is much more important to a rapidly shifting, recently migrated 'pioneer' group than to a more settled and stay-at-home lot. Another may be that not much is told to junior officials like me then.

ref page 142 5(a)

SCHUBRING, Walther. The religion of the Jainas. (Transl. from the German by Amulyachandra SEN and T.C.Burke; Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, No. 52(Lii), Studies No. 31). Calcutta, 1966. Page 22.

Cosmography - the Heavens and Hells.

The scene of the rebirth of the souls is the world, which is surrounded by the completely unlimited non-world. The form of the world can be compared with a three-dimensional figure 8, whose upper and lower loops correspond to the curvatures of the upper and lower worlds, while their junction represents the world we live in. In the view of later writers, these curvatures are replaced by angular forms, while yet other authors, who are probably confused by the mere shape as roughly described in older accounts, imagine the world to resemble the figure of a man.

Let us examine the most important aspects of this threefold cosmos beginning, as the Jainas do, at the bottom and proceeding gradually upwards. The underworld consists of seven regions situated one beneath the other and separated by unmeasured distances. These regions of torture and terror, which are dark, plain, foul smelling and painful to the touch of their inhabitants, lie next to one another, mostly in rows. The horizontal middle world consists of the circular continent Jambudvīpa, of other continents and of oceans, which form concentric rings round Jambudvīpa. In the southern segment of J. itself, plains alternate with chains of mountains, while the other segment has the reverse sequence of mountains and plains. In the middle zone there stands the cosmic tree Jambu (a concept introduced from Brahmanism) and its northern counterpart.. At the exact centre of J. and thus of the whole world, stands Mount Mandara or Meru. The world accessible to man extends ~~upward~~ up to the central mountain range running in a circle through the second of the ring-shaped continents surrounding J. beyond the second ocean. Only up to this range do time and other physical and cosmic factors operate. A tiny southernmost portion of J. is called Bharatavarsha, i.e. India.

The region of the stars still belongs to the middle world. At an immeasurable height above the stars begins the upper world, which in its tower-like structure is an inverted replica of the underworld except that several of its storeys (Kalpās, with names reminiscent of Brahmanical tradition) contain two heavens, one above the other.

Corresponding to the various hells of the underworld, the heavens of the upper world contain the abodes of the gods, and in place of the darkness of the underworld, they have a lustre which, at first coloured and then white, becomes increasingly pure in its indefinable brilliance. At the very apex where the world ends

ends is situated the abode of the "perfected" souls...

The hells of this cosmos are inhabited by creatures with repellent features and a shape that is no longer human; they are chaotically huddled together and the lower their hell, the more painful are the tortures to which they are constantly subjected.

On the other hand the gods (whose connection with the Brahmanical tradition is apparent) have a glorious and lustrous appearance, and they form states with rulers, privy councillors, armed forces and citizens. The division of the gods into four classes originated partly in popular belief. Three of these classes also inhabit our world and two of them discharge functions even in the uppermost storey of the underworld. These are the gods of fire and water: they preside over the directions, i.e., the points of the compass, and are active in the wind, lighting, thunder, etc. Each of the stellar deities, who too are present in our world, has a double: thus there are said to be two suns..... The same is true of the moon and other heavenly bodies... The gods of the fourth purely heavenly class dwell in the upper world. Their purity increases with the height of the region they inhabit. These gods are able to manifest themselves on earth.

Between these two extreme classes of beings is the world of animals and men. The word "animal" includes the most simple forms of animate beings. Of the greatest interest to us are ~~the~~ beings with only one sense - souls which are embodied in plants and in the smallest particles of earth, water, fire and wind. They occur both in gross and subtle forms. In the subtle form they are imperceptible to our senses.....

... man ... lives in Bharatvarsa and on certain other continents extending chain-like into the ocean in the intermediate directions (SE etc.)....

[This corresponds more or less with Hindu ideas: Another form of the world of men is that there are seven continents radiating from Meru and separated by as many 'oceans'. Jambudvipa (J. Island) is one of them. (Mukherjee, in discussion). "Ulak Jawa tujoh nanga?" Schubring goes on to explain that the Jainas have systematised all this in the greatest detail.]

137. Spirits of the dead = Sebayan. (Se-baya-an --he of the grave goods?).
138. Petara is occasionally used, also Raja, as an honorific for the Governor. (But I don't know about the present one!) *See attached sheet (a)*
140. Not pasan. It is pasun in Howell and Scott. (Macpherson gets corrupted to pasun).
(Foot of page). Antu are regarded as giants and shown on pua as having long fangs or only one eye. The general idea seems to be that they are humans but monstrous in some way. (Lapa! Sigi orang indu! Utai enda melintang: reti, ukai antu).

141. (Middle para. line 5) hyphen "sequences - are..."

142. Belian logs in rivers (where there is no tradition of the timber having grown) are called Tangga Beji. Similarly there are fruit groves attributed to Kling and gardens to Kumang in 2nd and 3rd Div.

See attached sheets SCHUBRING ---

(last line) - and manang too: Langit consists of layers-- Menjaya lives tujoh serak dalam nyin. Panggau is in the mountains by which the Door of Heaven is approached.

Menoa Sebayan (Sungai Mandai) is also approached by the Pintu Tanah a broad but close-fitting ~~xxxxxx~~ double door of stone (like the entrances to Etruscan tombs); then past various trials and terrors to go downstream on the Mandai to the final home. All these rivers meet at Ulak Jawa Tujoh Nanga (the sea?), in which there is also the great whirlpool with the Pauh Bali tree growing out of it....

The terrestrial Mandai is a tributary of the Kapuas (through the Bunut?) and runs north from the high mountain area of the Madi Plateau. Bukit Mandai is the stump and the Plateau is the rest of the mythical ficus felled by Bungai Nuing (people wanted to remove the chill of its shade but couldn't fell it with stone hand axes: B.N. taught them to put handles on).

143. Opposites. (and see p. 150) This is why grave goods must be broken: Sebayan can only carry water in a sieve and store rice in a holed jar.
4th line from bottom -- underline Sebayan.

146. Line 1. proved? or 'been proven'

147. Line 6 from foot -- 'force which'

148. 'settle down' -- this does not appear from sabak where the singer is at pains to allay such fears by having the deceased conducted by ancestors to a welcome in their menoa.

Final burial rites -- the periodical gawai sungkup (gawai antu)? This too might be copied from the Melanau or Kayan practice. Instead of primary and secondary burial, or cremation (and seeing that the final stage if the journey of the dead is downriver) may they not once have been set adrift?

150. Baiya broken -- see note p. 150

Right and left. See p. 186 (house omens). I think I've heard that Sebayan are left-handed: but I have found no indication of the male/female associations described by Schaerer (e.g. different coffins), but the spirits of weaving and dyeing are water spirits while Lang belongs in the sky.

WHAT ABOUT THE CONCEPT OF AYU? Another soul?

Yule & Burnell: Hobson-Jobson. London, 1903

AVATAR, s. Skt. Avatāra, an incarnation on earth of a divine Being. This word first appears in Baldaeus (1672) in the form Autaar (Afgoderye, p. 52), which in the German version geneeally quoted in this book takes the corrupter shape of Altar.

1784. -- "The ten Avatars or descents of the deity, in his capacity of Preserver." -- Sir W. Jones, in Asiat. Res. (reprint) i. 234.

BATARA, s. This is a term applied to divinities in old Javanese inscriptions, &c., the use of which was spread over the Archipelago. It was regarded by W. von Humboldt as taken from the Skt. avatāra (see AVATAR); but this derivation is now rejected. The word is used among R.C.Christians in the Philippines now as synonymous with 'God'; and is applied to the infant Jesus (Blumentritt, Vocabular). [Mr Skeat (Malay Magic, 86 seqq.) discusses the origin of the word, and prefers the derivation given by Favre and Wilkin, Skt. bhaṭṭāra, 'lord'. A full account of the "Petara, or Sea Dyak gods," by Archdeacon J. Perham, will be found in Roth, Natives of Sarawak, I. 168 seqq.]

Ref also PLATT Dic of Hindu m. Oxford 1965
avatara, bhaṭṭāra

Encyclop. of Buddhism II fasc 3 p 448 Ceylon 1967
Avatara

Dawson Dic of Hindu Mythology - London 1941
pp 33-38

153. Not shara hukum but hukum shara'.
155. Murder --- killing of kaban, but not munsuh?
159. "To ignore ..." may lead to madness, as it did with a Tuai Rumah in the Sebauh (Assan's home).
160. trebai --- terbai? (Scott has terebai): cf. p. 168.
163. The dream apparition -- often an animal - becomes the yeng or guiding spirit of the manang or lemambang, and appears again and again. Ordinary men (?warriors of note) have similar spirit helpers called tua (?ngarong covers both). See p. 169
168. Shield - trebai. Cf. p. 160. (trabai, terabai is not the same as 'to fly').
169. Tuah is (good) fortune (Antu Tuah) and not the same as ngarong/tua (where tua has the glottal stop).
170. Aya Nali and the cobra. Normally a snake in a building is like laba on a farm needing to be intu, and potentially very bad.
Footnote 3. Criticised also by Assan (verbally) as being altogether too ~~elementary~~ elementary: he either never collected or was keeping out fuller information.
173. Aji -- a moon rat? Is it also a bat?
174. Bubut is now the Common Coucal, Centropus sinensis. Centrococcyx is the old name now superseded (see Smythies' appendices). Menoa Bubut is passed on the journey of the dead (in sabak) near the Pintu Tanah: his call is 'bau but'.
175. Why not list the birds in the order given on page 123? Ketupong is generally the eldest and associated with war: Nendak the youngest.
177. Line 3 from foot -- bisa, not bisar.
179. Burong malam as an omen 'bird' is related to war and death. See bubut, p. 174. This is according to people in San (Undup), Ulu Ai and Julau (1967). He might therefore be appropriate in Gawai Antu and Burong (increasingly important in the Paku/Rimbas area) but cannot supersede Nendak for any other purpose. There is no description of Burong Malam in any published text in spite of H. & Sandin. In the original version of one of Sandin's texts (about 1954, unpublished) there is no mention of B. M. but Nendak does say 'tua' we two, and he would be unlikely to set out on such a journey alone.
180. Appearance of Lang -- important to Kayan/Kenyah.
182. Underline ensing. Sepepat, not sempepat (to be consistent).
186. Building. Papau is used for some stages (to mark menoa boundary at river crossings? To keep enemies away?).
Buring pindah -- on moving to a new site (moving in), not necessarily to a new district.
187. What about other (minor) forms of divination -- besudi, betenong, etc.
188. Pig's liver. My information is that a liver is scrutinised (kelala) at every gawai where there is a pandong; i.e. major gawai. The washing

is done by women: killing by anyone 'suitable'. The liver is put on a sabang leaf, on a plate (which in turn may be on a folded pua), and presented for inspection by the woman who holds the plate. This on the tanju. The spear is set point down in a dulang containing water and a stone.

Killing is after pengap and ngalu antu.

Books I have consulted name the parts as if the liver is viewed from the visceral side (as for omens) -- so your 'left' and 'right' need changing round. It seems that Iban take the right medial (not 'central') and lateral lobes together as one on the 'mensia' side.

Left lateral	-- petara	(?included in terasit)
Left medial	-- antu	-- terasit, teresit or telasit
Right medial	- mensia	) (Your dulang gayu)
Left medial lateral	- mensia	
Quadrate lobe	-- (mensia)	anak hati (Ulu Ai, terasit)
		(This is under or to one side of the gall bladder and small)
Caudate lobe	-- mensia	(variously named) terinsong, dulang gayu, dulang Sempandai, sempuyong (Sempandai)
		(sempuyong is Undup for tersang)
Gall bladder		empedu
Cystic duct	tali klingkang	(Your andau)

Terinsong is probably your terentong. This name and the rest of the liver is important in padi farming. The caudate lobe under the other names is important in treating the sick (nimang orang sakit).

194. Denial of access for survey: still done at some stages of growth (e.g. on Oya Road in 1963).

Puni. This should be explained briefly. It is not exclusive to Ibans. I think of it as a sort of personal or individual kudi.

undah -- should be udah?

I get the impression that the men bring charms for success and the women (are the first at least to) dissolve into dew. But a sabak at Julau is not very clear on this.

196. Kapuas Lakes. The one who tripped was running away from Orion: since Orion is male (?) the stories accord with Chinese myth about cowherd (Orion) and the handmaid of the Queen of Heaven who are separated by the Milky Way for most of the year.

Underline Bintang Tiga.

197. Underline Bintang Banyak. "... appear above the horizon..." at dawn or just before dawn. Planting should be finished by the time Orion and the Seven Sisters are equidistant from the zenith (again just before dawn).

203. Para. 3. "Number and size..." What is the size of^a bird call?

205. Footnote. Decoration, or for fun (even a joke against the women). As a riddle -- "Who's the naughty old man who always peeps up the women's skirts?". The hard wood plate or board at the foot and the head of the steps (landings) are, however, paid attention.

206. Line 2. "in either order" (Left - Right or Right - Left?) not clear. sangking rice. Cross ref. to p. 230 for meaning.

- 206/207 Sampi. Ngeruga is to grope (like a sneak thief): rerigau has similar meaning. Ngalangga = ngelanggar (or ? ngelangkah) -- meaning Don't pass over it, or come (outside of) beyond it. Ngalui should be ngelui. Pangkalan is correct (from Malay) as spelled on p. 109. I can't find temian: is it temiang referring to the miang of bamboo which would grow at a pangkalan.
207. New whetstones take power from the bilek by being touched to the old ones.
Do they actually stop their ears: gongs are sounded to drown omens.
- 209 (top). Surely the woman makes the first cutting? Harvest is likened to childbirth, as sowing is to copulation. (Penti) -- these operate with others as long as the land is tegalan (i.e. until the padi is growing well and turning the field green. Underline the names?
210. Merema = belemak (soft) I suggest:-
Ngambi padi kami enda begilik,
Enda pitak, enda bepiak,
Nyadi engga kaki sampai ka punjong.
Let our padi not be rolled over or heaped (in one place)
so that it grows evenly from the foot of the hill to the crest.
(This is young growing padi, not the grain). In matah padi it is asked that the crop be heaped up, and overflow and increase of itself.
silit kayu -- selit, as a sword in its sheath.
211. Pencharan -- here = enclosure or pen. Kroa = doa (pray, Malay)?
Pemumbai = pem(em)bai, the bringer? Why not call them charms and omit 'stone' -- I don't think there's any reference to petrification here.
The 3 lines - Rinda besira.... can you give the separate meanings of the words?
213. Ulu Ai say they work a full day after the third day (? because they take rice with them).
214. Para. 2. Heart/liver of what?. Laut Bunut --in the Kapuas. Sungai Bunut is between Kapuas Lakes and Sg. Mandai in a swampy area. But bunut is a plant and a common place name.
nuchoh -- can't find. Is it a presage, a sign (given by laba omen)?
216. Described in Kalaka as omens heard before leaving the mosquito net.
Underline bird names?
217. Line 6 from foot. Longhouse members -- or dampa; i.e., those using the same track or in the same group of farms, not necessarily the whole longhouse.
220. Ginselan. Spell genselan, to be consistent.
221. Compensation. This consultation is important now for economic reasons (fear of harming fruit or rubber trees). In worn out land of poor regeneration, burning too frequently destroys the trees on the patch intended for next year too -- and so upsets the already tricky situation even further.
223. Kendawang
Tedong
'will be sparsely covered...' -- 'will grow sparse and thin...'

226. Padi pun. It is this which is referred to simply as the padi in inheritance disputes. Antu rua means here the rusa and other pests, who invade the padi from the forest.
2nd para. Delete 'And'. "A fowl is waved over the sacrifice and the party..."
229. Noted guru, not buru: but what does guru mean?
230. Footnote 1. Gift of Ribai -- padi pulai. There was a rumour that Pulang Gana was no more. Is semambi rice a variety, or rice that has been ambi?
234. Item 14. Dara tuai: an older, unmarried girl. Use either colon or hyphen in this list but not both.
237. Mali umai -- from bali: not mali (pemali) & has glottal stop. Means to turn over to success (like turning a new leaf!) Crocodile is, or used to be, carved on doors in relief, head upwards; and is a common figure in pua.
238. Snails are likely to climb up plants in wet weather, as snakes etc., do in real flood conditions.
241. Premature -- meaning the padi is not quite ripe.
Penyedai -- the 'corduroy' platform on which the mat is laid?
242. Ngelesak - in multitude? Can't find. Rari ambis, rari lengis -- or rari ambih, rari lengih, but a bit of both!
- 244/245. It is more usual to urinate in a squatting position anyway.
248. 3. This category has some significance as 'feasts of merit', to increase local standing, or to prepare the way and add to stature in the next world. This aspect is important in Burma, and among the people of North Thailand. (S.J. Tambiah in *Dialectic of Practical Religions*: Camb. Anthropol. Papers, 5, -968).
4. Also called Gawai Sungkup (Kanowit) where it is adapted as a Christian feast and recognised by the R.C. Church.
Sebayan, Sabayan -- which? I prefer Sebayan.
249. Sandau hari is usually on the tanju and by daylight.
"a slab" -- not a dulang or feeding trough? brass iron -- which? selong, sengkelong: this is common Ulu Ai and Balleh practice for anyone who makes an offering. The equivalent of the iron for kring semengat given to a lemambang or manang?
- 250 Betampah bulu, mensali -- can't find. Meaning? Setungah also?
252. New stones are selected, and then made ritually valid at the gawai itself (early stage) by touching to the old stones, possibly in the langkau (p. 253)
254. Ngelembong = nyagu. The rhythm beaten with staves on the floor is four to a phrase.
255. 1. Not always a knife, often a piece of iron suitable for making a knife. One lemambang I know has so large a collection that he has to turn blacksmith to get any value out of it!
256. (Top). The journey out and back from where? When the spirit prepares himself to attend, he calls his people (with a drum) and they

go out to seek charms which they bring back to their own house. (Ketupong gets a head). The spirit's wife then wa the charms (swings, sings to and describes them) and only then do they set out for the gawai in the Iban house. As they go, they pass the menoa of various spirits, some of whom go along while some decline. The party usually comes across the sea (Ulak Jawa) and upriver to the gawai.

Heroes (orang Panggau) are not mentioned because the 'story' of the pengap starts with Panggau as if the gawai is held there. Harrison and Sandin say this is a compliment to the tuai of the gawai. In any case, it makes a convenient poetical form to suit any occasion.

burang-orang = be-orang-orang (in the shape of a human)

258. Datu Nuga is historical; but he is credited with having (half) killed the tidal bore in Saribas in revenge for the drowning of his child. (Perhaps he cut through a tanjong?).

This part is all about people who are present - udah ga datai ditu. The travelling begins when Nendak sets off.

260. Endu S. Tanah Tumbuh -- the termite who makes the earth 'grow'. A termite heap growing under a bilek in a longhouse is considered very lucky.

261. Kuong Kapong (not Kuaong Kapong) is the Indian Cuckoo, Cuculus micropterus. (Foot of page)-- they walk the length of the house as well as circling the pandong.

262. No ceremony attends the arrival of the spirits? -- not in Gawai Batu in some areas perhaps, but usually there is a ngalu petara or formal procession with flag, offerings, dancers, drums and gongs, and most of the people.

264. (middle) ... jungle as threatening. Don't they look on the forest much as the English look on the sea?

268. Footnote -- cf. the frequent theme in current science fiction (e.g. Dr Who) where evil beings from outer space take over and or inhabit the minds or bodies of humans.

271 (top) If the Ibans had had any religious or political hierarchy, they might have brought rubber and the like into the system and caused less social disruption.

285. Line 2. Sarawak, which forms the north-western part (let Runciman have Pontianak on the East coast!). State of Malysai - use capital S for State? heterogeneous

286 (top) His power to administer small fines is officially recognised.

287 (last line) 'to memorize the more difficult stages of the journey.

288 (middle). Simpang-Impang ... and beginning to plant rice.

289 Semengat -- attributed to rice and important trees also?