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Unity, formalism and structure: Comments on Iban augury and related problems. With a rejoinder by Peter Metcalf

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UNITY, FORMALISM AND STRUCTURE: COMMENTS ON IBAN AUGURY AND RELATED PROBLEMS

This paper was, in part, stimulated by Peter Metcalf's recent article in *Bijdragen* on 'Birds and Deities in Borneo' in which he describes Berawan augural belief and practice and compares it with that of the Iban (1976:96-123). Metcalf has provided us with interesting and much needed data on a vitally important but as yet neglected area of Bornean belief, and I would not wish to question his exposition of Berawan augury as such. On the other hand his description and interpretation of the Iban data does deserve some additional comment and qualification in the light of literature on Iban augury prior to his publication, as well as more recently published Iban material which may have been unavailable to him at the time of writing. I begin with a critique of Metcalf's article in the light of the literature available, which later leads me to a discussion of other related aspects of Iban belief and some of the problems involved in a structural analysis of Iban religion.

Sources on Iban Augury

Metcalf relies exclusively on Derek Freeman's paper entitled 'Iban Augury' (1961),¹ which is based on data from the Baleh region of the Third Division of Sarawak, and this may have partly led to his particular conception of Iban belief.² But it should be noted that Freeman's intention was not to provide an exhaustive exposition of Iban augural belief and practice. He continually refers to his limitations of space (e.g. pp. 145, 146, 151, 152) and notes that his is 'no more than a summary account of Iban augury' (p. 165). To date there has been no definitive study of this topic among the Iban, but additional data can be found in Harrisson's brief critique of Freeman (1965:6-7), various

¹ Originally published in B. E. Smythies' book *The Birds of Borneo* (1960: 73-98); reprinted in *Bijdragen* (1961: 141-167). My quotations and references are from the reprinted version.

² This is not to suggest that Freeman himself has a similar conception.

passages and scattered references in Harrisson and Sandin's absorbing paper on 'Borneo Writing Boards' (1966, esp. pp. 171-172, 263-265, 279-286) and Jensen's general article on Iban religion (1966, esp. pp. 9-10, 15-18).³ More recent publications are Richard's paper called 'Iban Augury' (1972: 63-81) and Jensen's book *The Iban and their Religion* (1974, esp. pp. 83-93, 110-111, 125-138).

From these sources there does not seem to be much dispute among Bornean anthropologists and 'Ibanists' that, in general, Iban religion and other aspects of their culture exhibit a marked uniformity or homogeneity despite the fact that Iban communities are spread extensively throughout Sarawak and some adjacent areas of Kalimantan, and are often separated by difficult and hilly terrain. This has been emphasized recently by Jensen (1974: 55-59), although he notes that there are local variations or 'differing details of expression and emphasis' (p. 56) in, for example, agricultural rituals and the ordering of society. He considers (pp. 56-59, 66, 72) Iban tradition to be more or less uniform with one partial exception — that of the Sariibas-Krian bloc in Sarawak's Second Division from which Harrisson and Sandin collected much of their folklore data (e.g. 1966: 32-286). This exception was also noted earlier by Richards (1967, 1968).

In Iban augury in particular certain differences have also been recognized. For example, the relationship between the high spirit/deity of the omen birds, Lang Sengalang (Singalong/Singalang) Burong, sometimes simply called Lang (the Brahminy Kite) and the seven principal omen birds⁴ is variable. Metcalf, following Freeman (1961: 143-144), states that *five* of the 'bird-deities' are sons-in-law of Lang, and all the omen birds along with Lang live in one celestial long-house (p. 112). Harrisson and Sandin, commenting on Freeman, made great play of this by noting that on their information there were *six* true bird sons-in-law and not five, and that furthermore *nendak*, the seventh omen bird, lived outside Lang's long-house proper (1966: 265, 283).⁵ Their criticism that Freeman 'misunderstood' this symmetrical and

³ For earlier descriptive material, most of which is available in the later references mentioned, see also Perham in Ling Roth (1968: 191-201, 221-231), Hose and McDougall (1966: 85-88) and Gomes (1911: 152-161). For a general paper on the complex and multiple relations between men and birds in Borneo see Harrisson (1960: 20-61).

⁴ These are *pangkas*, *beragai*, *ketupong*, *embuas*, *papau*, *bejampong* and *nendak*. For a more detailed description of these see Freeman's article, Richards (1972: 64-66) and Jensen (1974: 128-131).

⁵ See also Jensen (1966: 17).

'logical' patterning (i.e. six birds, three living on each side of Lang's central long-house apartment, and the seventh outside) can be resolved simply by the recognition that there are regional variations in cosmology (cf. Richards, 1972: 68).⁶ In addition, *ketupong*, the senior of the principal augural birds, is said by Freeman's informants, to live in Lang's family apartment (p. 144). But from his Second Division standpoint Harrison strongly denies this possibility and states that *ketupong* must live in the apartment to the right of Lang's central room in the long-house (1965: 7).⁷ All this goes to show that there are some differences in Iban belief, albeit small ones, once one moves beyond Freeman's paper. But, for practical purposes these different familial and residential arrangements dissolve in the more general belief that the seven main omen birds are in some sense Lang's family and in consequence are collectively known as Lang's sons-in-law (*menantu Lang*) (cf. Jensen, 1966: 9-10; 1974: 89).⁸

Rigidity and Formalism

In his comparative section Metcalf notes that Iban and Berawan augury 'share a number of fundamental features although there are also important differences between the two systems, revealing a rigidity of form and doctrine in the Iban system that the Berawan system lacks' (pp. 97-98). He suggests that this 'rigid formalism' (p. 110) in Iban beliefs associated with augury and the contrasting 'openness' and 'fluidity' (pp. 98, 110) in those of the Berawan are also found more generally in their respective conceptions of the spirit world. This notion of overall rigidity and formalism in Iban religion does, I believe, present a rather misleading characterization, and I suggest that this largely derives from the recognition that their belief system, in its ideal form, exhibits the marked homogeneity referred to above. In other words what seems to have happened in Metcalf's discussion is that unity and general agreement about basic pattern in Iban augury and belief have somehow been translated into notions of rigidity and formalism (cf. Metcalf, pp. 110, 115). All these aspects may be related on an ideal level, but in a consideration of both ideology and practical religion their relationship demands considerable qualification, and it is only by im-

⁶ Harrison admitted this possibility but suggested that this spatial variation would be 'remarkable, as the issue appears basic' (1965: 7).

⁷ Jensen also states that Freeman's information seems improbable in this instance (1974: 136).

⁸ Freeman also implies the same thing (1961: 143-144).

perceptibly shifting between ideas and practice that Metcalf can demonstrate a seemingly striking contrast between Iban and Berawan religion. First, he does not make explicit the two very different senses in which he uses the term 'interpretation' in augury. At one time it seems to apply to the process of understanding the meaning of an omen in a particular context, at another he uses it to refer to the symbolic meaning(s) of an omen (cries, habitual behaviour, flight pattern, plumage colour) independent of the particular situation in which it is encountered (cf. pp. 107-111). The first applies to practice and is subject to variation, the second is ideal and generally is not subject to variation. Secondly, the contrast between the Iban and Berawan systems of augury would have been less marked if he had more explicitly distinguished, at least in the Iban case, between omens which are deliberately sought in the context of particular activities (e.g. stages of rice cultivation or house-building) and those which are met with accidentally or casually (see below).

Bearing these distinctions in mind, let us examine Metcalf's sketch of the augural map in some detail. He states that, unlike the Berawan, the Iban have 'exactly eight omen animals, no more and no less' (p. 110). These comprise Lang and the seven *menantu*. This again conveys an impression of rigidity in Iban augury, but there is a major problem with this observation. A superficial reading of Freeman might suggest that there are indeed eight omen birds, since he only really deals with these in detail.⁹ On the other hand he does mention in footnotes other possible omens such as the behaviour of various animals, reptiles and insects (p. 143) and also the *engkerasak* (Little Spider-hunter) and other birds which have 'a very minor significance in Iban augury' (p. 146). Along the same lines Harrison, in his critique of Freeman, points to 'the considerably smaller part birds play in Iban augury if seen in the full context of omen mammals, reptiles, insects, flowers, trees, intestines, stones, charms and — in parallel contexts — accidents, positions, contacts, dreams' (1965: 6).¹⁰ What I am in fact

⁹ Harrison and Sandin also refer to the existence of eight Iban 'omen birds' (1966: 284). But the eighth is not a bird as such but Burong Malam, the cricket, who is married to Lang's youngest daughter. However, Jensen indicates that despite the role of Burong Malam in some unsought or accidental augury, he is not considered generally as a true omen bird (1974: 132).

¹⁰ See Richards (1972: 75-79) for omens outside those in deliberate augury which involve other birds and creatures, and see Jensen for a more complete, although by no means exhaustive list of non-bird omen creatures (1966: 15). See also Perham (1968: 192) and Harrison and Sandin (1966: 54-59, and other scattered references).

leading to is the suggestion that outside the so-called deliberate augury involving the seven principal omen birds in which the sequence and symbolic meanings of omens are more generally agreed upon, there are a host of other potential omens with considerable scope for variation. It follows logically from this that Iban augury is less different from that of Berawan than at first appears.

Linked to the above problem in Metcalf's schema is his lumping together of Lang with the other seven omen birds, since the facts, as presented by Freeman and others,¹¹ do not seem to warrant this conclusion. In fact, in Freeman's discussion of the deliberate seeking of omens there are only seven birds which figure prominently (pp. 144, 150-151, 158-160). He states quite specifically that 'The Iban do not use the Brahminy Kite in deliberate divination (*beburong*)' (p. 146), and also that Lang, although he appears as a Kite to men 'does not deign to do this often, electing instead to make his will known to men through the agency of his *menantu*, or sons-in-law . . .' (p. 146). If we refer to Jensen's earlier article then we also find that 'Lang Sengalang Burong, the Brahminy Kite, is not strictly speaking an omen bird. It is his sons-in-law who regularly relay messages to men' (1966: 17). More recently Richards states quite categorically that there are seven birds whose omens are used in deliberate divination, and that Lang does not normally give omens directly (1972: 64).¹² This is not meant to imply that the Brahminy Kite is not an omen bird. It is, but not in the context of deliberate omen seeking.¹³ On the other hand this distinction between Lang and the seven birds serves to further modify certain of Metcalf's comments on the position and role of Sengalang Burong in Iban religion, and to highlight the important distinction between deliberate augury and unsought omen occurrences.

Freeman himself is quite clear about the distinction between the two types of omen (esp. pp. 157-158), but he does nevertheless concentrate on the seven principal omen birds. Yet Harrisson's charge that Freeman 'accidentally underestimates' certain factors in augury (1965: 6), is perhaps best met by the recognition that Freeman did not intend to describe in detail all relevant aspects of augury. Recently Richards (1972: 69, 75)

¹¹ See especially Perham (1968: 192).

¹² See Jensen for the importance of the number *seven* in Iban thought (1974: 110).

¹³ Cf. Harrisson (1965: 5). As a qualification it should be noted that in the context of deliberate augury Lang *may* be added to conclude a set sequence of omens and its appearance to the Iban in any context is 'invariably noted' (Jensen, 1974: 132, 136).

and Jensen (1974: 133-138) have restated the distinction between deliberate omen-seeking (*beburong*) to determine whether such activities as house-building, farming, and warfare are to be successful or otherwise, and unsought omens. These latter can be divided into two main sub-categories — *jeritan* which are omens given by birds, animals or things confronted accidentally before the beginning of or during a particular activity, and *laba* which are strictly omens 'whose relevance is not apparent' (Richards, p. 75).¹⁴

I suggest that the impression of rigidity in Iban augury might be based on the fact that the Iban appear to employ the deliberate seeking of omens more frequently and extensively than the Berawan. (But this point is difficult to determine.) It seems that the Berawan only use their major omen bird, *plake*, the Black Eagle, or if appropriate the Brahminy Kite or Blyth's Eagle Hawk (p. 99), in deliberate augury. Unfortunately we cannot establish how often Berawan 'call' *plake*; they do so to find out such things as the chances of a good harvest, of recovery from illness, of the likelihood of death and, in the past, 'before all major decisions in warfare and headhunting' (p. 101). This may mean that in the past, and perhaps even today, Berawan deliberate augury may not have been all that less frequent than that of the Iban focused on their seven birds.

To my mind there seems to be little difference in the deliberate augury of the Iban and Berawan since in both societies symbolic meanings, rules for identification and interpretation and procedures for obtaining omens are *more or less* defined. But although 'certain principles are valid' (Jensen, 1974: 136) in Iban deliberate omen-seeking even here there is scope for individual variation in the actual birds sought, their number, position (e.g. to the right or left of the observer), sequence and combination (p. 136).¹⁵ Freeman makes this point clearly when he states that:

Although standard procedures are recognized it is usual for each case to be fully discussed and any special features it possesses to be taken into account. The problem facing the experts who join in such a discussion is the selection of those auguries best calculated to make auspicious a particular undertaking. In making this selection the symbolic significance of the various augural birds is again of prime concern, but weight is also

¹⁴ Jensen mentions *laba* which refers to 'omen birds, animals, or insects... encroaching on the farm or entering the longhouse' (1974: 133). There is also another class of omens termed *jalah* which are in general inauspicious and constitute a warning.

¹⁵ See Richards (1972: 70-75) for variations in permutation of omens.

given to permutations of auguries which, in the experience of the experts, have proved efficacious on comparable past occasions. Despite a general acceptance of the meaning of augural signs it is not unusual, therefore, for the recommendations of one augur to differ from those of another (p. 158).

Therefore, despite a general agreement on symbolic meaning and procedure, in practice there is some variation in Iban deliberate augury, and overall it is similar to Berawan augury centred on *plake*.¹⁶

On the other hand in a consideration of Iban 'unsought omens' we find that there is considerable scope for variation. But again I suggest that there is still no fundamental difference between Iban and Berawan belief and practice which would warrant the respective characteristics 'rigid' and 'fluid'. Metcalf firstly implies rigidity by stating that Iban have 'exactly eight' omen animals, whereas Berawan have 'an indeterminate number'. We have already seen that in the case of unsought omens Iban have more than eight and these are variable according to circumstance. Metcalf also states that 'all [Iban omens] have clear rules for interpretation' (p. 111), but he also notes that in Iban, as in Berawan, the process of interpretation is 'situational in nature' (p. 110). This would tend to suggest, despite Metcalf's different uses of the term 'interpretation', that unlike deliberate augury chance encounters of omens can lead to variation in interpretation according to context. On the other hand his suggestion that outside *plake* there are no clear rules in Berawan for interpreting other augural signs also seems to be overstated (p. 111), since there appears to be some Berawan agreement on symbolism associated with the colour of bird plumage, bird calls, and on the greater 'strength' of right-hand omens (pp. 107, 108, 110).

An interesting point here is that Metcalf mentions the preference among both Iban and Berawan for right side omens (p. 110). However, there is a difference between the actual sighting or hearing of a bird on the left or right, and flight *from* left *to* right and vice versa. In Berawan the actual location of omens to the left 'give(s) a weaker reading', than those to the right. By the same token movement *to the left* (presumably from the right) is also less 'emphatic' (p. 107). On the other hand Freeman does not mention relative strength or weakness of actual location, only that flight from right to left carries 'more force' than movement in the opposite direction (p. 153). This, in fact, con-

¹⁶ Presumably variation and fluidity would also depend on which informants are used. If they are laymen, rather than expert augurs, then a greater degree of imprecision, uncertainty and variation in beliefs might be the impression conveyed.

trasts with Berawan in which movement to the left is weaker. I would not like to state positively that the Iban system also recognizes right-hand omens as 'stronger' than those on the left, although this may be implied in the association of the right side with 'maleness'.

Fluidity in the Iban practice of non-deliberate augury can be illustrated in a number of ways.¹⁷ The significance of omens which are encountered when no particular activity is imminent or under way is frequently uncertain. Freeman notes that in a circumstance such as this 'Considerable conjecture will often follow . . . without any clear consensus of opinion being reached as to its significance' (p. 155). There is also quite often manipulation of omens in various ways to serve human ends (pp. 156-7), and the elements of personal experience and precedent are usually influential since Jensen states that 'some birds . . . are attributed differing significance by different individuals' (1966: 18). Furthermore, innovation is quite acceptable to the Iban for 'there is no categorical objection to describing a bird call in a new way relevant to a particular situation or individual . . . Individual Iban are permitted their own interpretation and the validity of this is borne out by the subsequent failure or success of their undertaking' (Jensen, 1974: 131). Finally, Jensen sums up by saying that 'With the exception of a general pattern and certain characteristics usually associated with a particular bird, there are few hard and fast rules in Iban augury. Much inevitably depends on the circumstances and situation' (p. 137). A similar view was put forward by Perham many years before when he pointed out that 'The [augural] system, as carried out by them [the Iban], is most elaborate and complicated, involving uncertainties innumerable to all who are not fully experienced in the science, and the younger men have constantly to ask the older ones how to act in unexpected coincidences of various and apparently contradictory omens' (in Ling Roth, 1968: 191).

The above comments in fact present a rather different view of Iban augury from that of Metcalf, although one must remember that this applies much more to practical augury in which omens are not deliberately sought. If we now take Metcalf's 'fluid' characterization of Berawan 'non-plake' augury it sounds very much like the kind of system which

¹⁷ I am dealing mainly with practice to illustrate variation in Iban augury. I admit that on an ideal level Iban augury appears fairly uniform. But Metcalf himself does not confine his arguments to the ideal system. He also uses examples of actual practice to arrive at his rigid/fluid dichotomy (e.g. pp. 107-110).

I have set out in the Iban case above. He says '... the interpretation of omens from the lesser omen creatures is much more idiosyncratic: a mixture of imaginative symbolism, personal preference and previous experience, and subject to only vague rules' (p. 107). Furthermore, Metcalf's example of contradictory symbolic interpretation in Berawan augury to illustrate its variable quality (cf. p. 108) can be duplicated by similar examples cited by Harrisson and Sandin (p. 264) and Freeman (p. 156) for the Iban.

In concluding this extended comment on augury I would simply like to suggest a reformulation of Metcalf's Table 2 on p. 111. Mine would read, and this is subject to modification in the light of more detailed data:

<i>Iban</i>	<i>Berawan</i>
indeterminate number of omen animals	indeterminate number of omens (<i>aman</i>)
subdivided: * (i) 'high spirit of the omen birds (Lang), also associated with warfare (ii) seven principal omen birds (iii) others	subdivided: (i) chief omen bird (<i>plake</i>) and spirit associated with warfare (ii) seven others of major eight (iii) others
(i) gives omens principally by means of the seven main omen birds who are his messengers. The seven, unlike (i) and (iii) are usually deliberately sought	<i>plake</i> is usually called deliberately unlike (ii) and (iii)
in general there is agreement on symbolism in augury on an ideal level and on its practical interpretation in deliberate augury; there is variation in selecting omen permutations and so on in deliberate augury and more significantly in interpreting situational meanings in omens usually encountered casually.	in general there is agreement on symbolism and its practical interpretation in the case of <i>plake</i> . There is some (?) agreement on symbolism in non-deliberate augury, but in situational interpretation there is variation.

* The Iban subdivision would be rather different if one took into account the distinction between deliberate and accidental/casual augury. It would divide broadly between the seven principal omen birds on the one hand and Lang plus other omen creatures on the other. However, the dividing line is not clear-cut because the seven omen birds also occur in non-deliberate augury as does *plake* in the Berawan system. But in structural terms the seven principal Iban birds would be equivalent to Berawan *plake*, and Iban Lang plus others equivalent to the Berawan 'seven others of major eight [birds]' plus others. This tends to go

against Metcalf's schema (pp. 111, 115-116) in which Iban Lang and Berawan *plake* are apparently juxtaposed. I suggest that in their respective symbolic identifications as 'war chiefs' or 'deities of war', they are equivalent but in deliberate augury they do not occupy a similar position within their respective augural complexes. However, Lang is thought to be the source of omens and the seven birds are his messengers so that Lang could be assimilated to the seven principal omen birds and in that way juxtaposed with *plake*.

Augury and the Spirit World

It remains now to consider the place of augury within the religious system of the Iban. Metcalf relates the two by suggesting that Iban notions of the spirit world are, like their augury, rigid and formal, whereas in Berawan both are fluid. He also employs the relation between them to answer a puzzling problem. This is that both Iban and Berawan augury are based on the belief that omen birds can only advise humans, 'they cannot act independently either to help or harm men' (p. 98). Metcalf states that Iban more or less hold to this tenet, yet Berawan rather curiously accord their major omen bird, *plake*, the status of a deity in its own right and the power to directly aid humans. This apparent anomaly, he suggests, is resolved by the recognition that the structural parallelism between the Berawan spirit world and their augury results in *plake* (in augury) being identified with, and therefore indirectly deriving power from Bili Ngaputong (the supreme god in the spirit world), i.e. Bili Ngaputong: other spirits::*plake*: other omens (*aman*). On the other hand in Iban augury Metcalf suggests that Sengalang Burong simply advises (p. 116), but apart from offering a similar structural analogy which perhaps implies that Lang can also aid humans directly in other contexts he does not take the Iban data any further, i.e. Lang: other deities::Sengalang Burong: other omen birds. As it stands, this analogy is meaningless since Lang *is* Sengalang Burong.

There are a number of further problems with Metcalf's characterization of the Iban spirit world. These too are the result of his almost complete reliance on Freeman's paper which is a rather strange source to use for data on the total Iban spirit world. A reading of Jensen's early paper and more particularly Harrisson and Sandin's work on Iban chants would have provided more detailed and wide-ranging material giving a rather different view of the Iban cosmos.¹⁸ True, the Iban omen birds can be seen as deities or spirits with Lang at their head, all resident with their kinsmen in the celestial long-house. But contrary

¹⁸ See also selections in *The Sea Dayaks and other Races of Sarawak* (1963), and Perham (in Ling Roth, 1968: 169-200) and Gomes (1911: 194-208).

to Metcalf's schema spirits involved in Iban augury certainly do not exhaust the total supernatural field, and if we take them all into account, the supposed rigidity of the Iban spirit world and its contrast with that of the Berawan is again much less marked. For example, Metcalf fails to mention, among others, Pulang (Simpulang) Gana, the spirit associated with the earth and rice cultivation. This figure is, as we shall see, vital in any structural analysis of Iban religion.¹⁹

There is one important contrast between Berawan and Iban cosmologies and that is the presence and domination of an 'all-pervading supreme god' and creator, Bili Ngaputong, in the former and the absence of a similar figure in the latter (cf. Metcalf, p. 112). For the Iban it is Sengalang Burong, Pulang Gana and their 'siblings' who are directly relevant to Iban practical religion and who dominate the most important myth complexes. But it should be mentioned that Iban do have a variety of creation myths and refer to a creator, although for practical purposes the recognition of this deity is minimal. A particular creation myth refers to Bunsu Petara, the general 'maker of all things' (Harrisson and Sandin, pp. 50, 123, 186, 260)²⁰ and he has the synonyms Allah Taala and Raja Entala. According to Harrisson and Sandin (pp. 50, 125-6, 259-261) Bunsu Petara is believed to have delegated his powers to others such as Sengalang Burong, Pulang Gana, Anda Mara and Menjaya Manang Raja, although his and his wife's specific representative at Iban festivals is the priest, Bikku Bunsu Petara, a sibling of the others. It would seem that the powers and functions united in the person of the Berawan supreme god are, in Iban, divided between a number of spiritual entities.

Leaving aside for the moment Sengalang Burong and his 'siblings', one finds, merely by glancing at Jensen's paper, that there is a whole host of spirits in the Iban cosmos which Metcalf virtually neglects. Outside the augural complex Metcalf only refers to Iban 'nature spirits' (p. 111). On the other hand Jensen mentions other kinds of supernatural beings such as the lesser deities and mythical heroes (e.g. Kling and his relatives and friends), and spirits and demons (1966: 11-12). If we take Harrisson and Sandin's data we find more details of various spirits, including ancestor spirits (e.g. pp. 86, 115, 121, 129-130), others representing natural elements (e.g. the 'Wind God'), evil spirits (e.g. *antu grasi* [*girgasi*], *antu buyu*, *antu tinggi*) and those guarding such things as lakes, boat-sheds, planks, trees, entrances and so on (e.g. pp. 122, 123,

¹⁹ For more detail on this spirit see Sandin (1967: 245-406).

²⁰ See also Jensen (1966: 6-7; 1974: 73-76).

192, 193). Jensen's more recent book also mentions other spirits, particularly evil ones, in the context of sickness and curing (1974: 141-150).

It seems that Berawan, unlike Iban, do not have a well-defined pantheon of major spirits or deities, but when one looks at the total Iban cosmos, there are a bewildering variety of other spirit entities which provide just as marked an impression of complexity and fluidity (cf. Metcalf, pp. 112-113). However, from Jensen's early paper (1966: 11, 13) and his recent book (1974: 100-103) there emerges a broad two-fold division of the spirit world into *antu* (spirits, usually evil, but not always so, including *girgasi*, *buyu*, 'ghosts') and *petara* (important spirits/deities such as Sengalang Burong, the omen birds and Pulang Gana), and these are in turn distinguished from men (*mensia*). But according to Jensen, although the natural, spiritual and human worlds can be 'divided into distinct regions', the way in which they relate to one another 'is not always clear' and the appearance of the universe is itself not 'consistently described' (p. 103). In addition the terms *antu* and *petara* are often used flexibly and the line between them is indistinct (p. 102). The category *antu* also appears to cover the lesser deities (outside the well-defined pantheon) and mythical heroes such as Kling (1966: 11).²¹

Metcalf's comments on Berawan knowledge of the spirit world to the effect that it is frequently 'incomplete', has 'inconsistencies', is 'full of uncertainty', is 'derived from several sources', recognizes 'religious innovators' (pp. 113-114) can equally well apply to the Iban case. Certainly there are very few, if any, individuals in Iban society who would claim complete and certain knowledge about the spirit world and as Jensen notes Iban myths contain 'contradictions' and 'inconsistencies' (e.g. pp. 71-72). Harrison and Sandin can also be consulted for different versions of the myths (1966: 261-262). I am also in disagreement about Metcalf's suggestion that 'Iban doctrine is resistant to basic change' (p. 115). It is not as clear-cut as this. For example, Freeman mentions changes in Iban beliefs, although augury is more resistant to change than other areas of Iban culture. Furthermore Jensen's comments on change (1974: 213-214) also lead me to suggest that Iban do innovate and take ideas and practices from others. All this then presents a rather different picture from the one provided by Metcalf, and again I suggest a modification and elaboration of his schema (Table 3, p. 111) of the Iban and Berawan spirit worlds as follows:

²¹ See also Perham (1968: 169-183).

Iban
Berawan

limitless spirit world	limitless spirit world
subdivided: (i) Bunsu Petara (ii) other <i>petara</i> mainly centred on Sengalang Burong and Pulang Gana (iii) <i>antu</i> a. mythical heroes/ancestor spirits b. demons, ghosts, etc.	subdivided: (i) Bili Ngaputong (ii) heroes and ancestors (iii) nature spirits
(i) is the creator but insignificant in belief and practice; (ii) are the chief foci of attention in myths, festivals and some rites; (iii) demons etc. are important in everyday occurrences of illness, death and misfortune.	(i) is the creator
(ii) the main spirits in general and some of the <i>antu</i> are known in detail. There are several inconsistent and contradictory myths about (i). Myths about (ii) vary in detail. There are variations in belief about some of (iii).	(i) is well known, but (ii) and (iii) are not known about in detail
in general the <i>main</i> outlines of the cosmology are widely agreed on.	cosmology locally variable

The Structure of Iban Thought and the Nature of Sengalang Burong

Rather than the limited structural analogy which Metcalf provides for Iban augury and cosmology, there seems to be a more meaningful structural principle, based on complementary opposition, which can be discerned in Iban thought. This in turn may perhaps lead to more general propositions about the relationship between the symbolic and social orders in cognatic societies. Richards, for example, has noted that in Iban augury 'there is the general reference of left hand omens to the women and right hand omens to the men (1972: 69).²² He goes on to suggest other possible oppositions in Iban thought. This type of

²² However, there is no sign of a thorough-going dualism of various pairs of opposites in Iban augury (cf. Jensen, 1974: 136-137). See also Harrison's brief reference to dualism associated with the hornbill (1960: 27). In analysing the operation of a dualistic principle I am not suggesting that dualism is a pervasive feature of Iban thought, nor am I arguing that this is the only possible mode of analysis. I simply believe it to be a suggestive, thought-provoking principle.

dualistic relationship is more fully explored by Jensen (1974: 110-111) when he derives, principally from augury, the following complementary pairs:²³

man	woman
right	left
<i>mimpin</i> ; 'stronger' flight, from right to left	<i>raup</i> ; 'weaker' flight, from left to right
<i>ruai</i> ; covered long-house verandah	<i>bilek</i> ; a family apartment in long-house
up-river	down-river
and to some extent also:	
hard soil	soft soil

Richards also suggests:

light	dark
open	enclosed
visible	invisible (?)

Jensen also mentions another important duality in the spirit world which was not taken up by Metcalf, and which has a direct bearing on augury, and that is the distinction, not absolute, between Sengalang Burong and Pulang Gana. Jensen says:

They [the central myths] can be divided into two main groups. Pulang Gana... is the central figure of the one group and the myths are primarily concerned with the fertility of the earth and padi cultivation. Sengalang Burong is the focal person of the other, which is mainly occupied with augury, the conduct of warfare, ritual celebrations and the ordering of society... (1966: 6-7).²⁴

There are a number of versions of these myths (Jensen, 1966: 8-10; 1974: 78-93), but I was impressed by the imagery associated with Sengalang Burong as a wise and venerable grandfather, the ancestor deity of the Iban in that his daughter married a human being, and his symbolization in augury as the strong and powerful Brahminy Kite (Harrison, 1960: 23). On the other hand Pulang Gana is usually seen as 'imperfect' and sometimes 'downtrodden', perhaps implying 'weakness'. In one version he is cheated by his siblings, in most versions he

²³ Concerning this structural principle Needham has already pertinently stated that 'Dualism is manifested in symbolic classifications throughout the world, and at all periods of history, with such constancy (though with varying degrees of elaboration) as to lead one to ascribe to it a natural and perhaps logically necessary character' (1960a: 103). See also Needham's defence of this kind of structural analysis (1960b: 31).

²⁴ See also Jensen (1974: 59).

is created from 'blood thrown away' or is 'limbless'. There are no human descent lines from him. On some occasions both Sengalang Burong and Pulang Gana are related as brothers, but at other times they are seen as separate and their activities take place in different parts of the cosmos (Jensen, 1974: 71).²⁵ But despite the differences in imagery, both figures are associated with life and success, rather than death and misfortune. Sengalang Burong's progeny ensured the continuation of the 'human' Iban by means of the earthly Menggin's (sometimes called Siu) marriage to Sengalang Burong's eldest daughter who in turn gave birth to Seragunting/Serong Gunting. Sengalang Burong is also associated with success in warfare and prosperity in general. Pulang Gana is closely linked with life in his capacity as guardian of the earth, fertility and rice cultivation. On the other hand his more 'imperfect' nature may reflect his symbolic position in relation to the left side, the earthly domain and snakes. This dualism centred on Sengalang Burong and Pulang Gana has led Richards (1972: 68-69) to suggest a series of complementary pairs:

Sengalang Burong (?)	Pulang Gana
birds (hornbill?)	snakes (Naga?)
sky/heavens	earth/water/stone (?)
male	female
warfare	weaving/dyeing

Richards notes that some of these above complementary oppositions 'may be associated' with those divisions discerned in augury proper. Certainly they are all governed by the same dualistic structural principle and this, I would suggest, is one way in which augury and the Iban cosmos can be seen as part of a total system. Dualism is also readily apparent in Iban thought in the following divisions:

<i>petara</i>	<i>antu</i>
good	evil
success	misfortune
life	death

On a more all-embracing level Jensen has set out a list of complementary pairs which can be summarized under the categories 'the world of physical experience' and 'the spirit world' (1974: 110).²⁶ The complementary pairs are:

²⁵ See also Sandin (1967: 245-247, 284) and Harrisson and Sandin (1966: 265).

²⁶ Jensen draws attention to the phenomenon of reversal in the dichotomy between this world and the other world. For example, 'light'/day/seeing in the former signifies 'darkness'/night/blind in the latter and vice versa (1974: 93, 109).

(living) men: <i>mensia</i>	spirits and the dead: <i>petara</i> and <i>antu</i>
the body: <i>tuboh</i>	the spirit/soul: <i>samengat</i>
mortal	immortal
visible	invisible
substantial	insubstantial
the ordinary and profane	the sacred
the earth	the sky

According to him these oppositions are 'associated with' the following:

<i>pemali</i> (prohibitions)	<i>adat</i> (universal order)
<i>angat</i> (heated, feverish, infected)	<i>chelap</i> (cool, tranquil, healthy)
even numbers	odd numbers (esp. 3 and 7)
dark, dull, no particular hue	light, bright (esp. red)

Jensen then goes on to suggest that this physical world/spirit world dichotomy 'can be extended to include' (p. 110) the dualisms discovered in augury. But it is difficult to see what he has in mind in his arranging of such terms as profane/mortal/visible/substantial/earth/heated/even numbers/dark in the same column as the augural oppositions man/right/'stronger' flight/up-river (pp. 110-111). Again both sets of items are related by the principle of complementary dualism, but I find Jensen's schema somewhat misleading. It would seem that he should have made explicit the fact that both clusters have been found in different contexts, and that the division between the 'profane' and the 'sacred' is on a broader level than the oppositions contained in the more limited context of augury.

Pursuing this theme of 'vertical links' between items in the same column of a dual classification, it is necessary to draw attention to Jensen's statement that in Iban culture the left side (and presumably such analogous items as woman/'weaker' flight/down-river) "does not as a rule have 'sinister' or unclean associations" (p. 109). I have also indicated that Pulang Gana, despite his earthly associations, is more clearly linked to life/success/goodness rather than death/misfortune/evil.

Overall it appears that there are clusters of complementary pairs which can be revealed in an analysis of Iban culture, but there are not necessarily direct vertical links between items in a given column. The important point is that these oppositions are linked by analogy and the operation of a single structural principle which can be discerned in a number of different contexts. In some cases (e.g. in the augury and Sengalang Burong/Pulang Gana clusters) there are significant similarities between certain items in the same column, but, following Needham (1973: xxv-xxviii, 117, 119), it should be borne in mind that an item does not necessarily have an absolute status in a dualistic classification.

In other words, the placing of a term in one column does not thereby assign it exclusively and absolutely to that position, since in other contexts it might equally well be placed on the opposite side of the scheme. The analytical framework is therefore relational and contextual.²⁷ In the Iban case it is particularly noticeable that some elements on the same side of the divide, particularly in Jensen's analysis, are not associated together in a direct or consistent fashion, and in the total series of items isolated above, certain items are found on both sides of the scheme, according to context. The possible structural reasons for this will be examined below.

What emerges from this discussion is my suggestion that contrary to Metcalf's schema Iban augury and notions of the spirit world cannot be meaningfully related by the simple analogy — Lang: other deities:: Singalong Burong: other omen birds — or by suggesting that they are both equally 'rigid' or 'formal'. Nor for that matter does it make much sense to say that they are equally 'complex'. But they are connected by the operation of the same structural principle. Metcalf also does not discuss the relationship between Lang, Brahminy Kite, high spirit of the omen birds, and adviser of man, and Lang as principal spirit or deity in relation to others such as Pulang Gana. Perhaps we can now explore the nature of Sengalang Burong in a little more detail.

Metcalf says at one point that the Brahminy Kite is synonymous with and a 'material manifestation' of the spirit or deity (p. 115). But again the relationship between the 'bird' and the 'spirit' is not as simple as Metcalf (following Freeman, pp. 145-146) states. Richards more subtly suggests that 'the physical birds are not exactly manifestations of the deities but rather concrete explanations or symbols of abstract attributes' (1972: 66). Jensen takes a rather different tack and says that to ask the Iban 'for a precise definition of the relation between the spirit and the 'bird' in which it manifests itself is as futile as chemical analysis of the host after Roman Catholic Mass' (1974: 128). The relationship he suggests is really only understandable in terms of symbolic association. Spirits are usually invisible and ethereal, and birds are 'spirit-like' in that they are frequently invisible in the sky, often heard but not seen.

²⁷ This whole problem of vertical linkages in dual symbolic classifications needs much more detailed investigation. It is a theme which has been partially developed in the collection of essays edited by Needham (1973, see for example pp. xxii-xxx, 112, 116, 117, 119, 331; Hertz, pp. 8, 9, 14; Evans-Pritchard, p. 97; Beidelman, pp. 132, 154, 155; Faron, pp. 194, 197). For further comments see also the reviews of Needham's book by De Josselin de Jong (1976: 173-4) and King, forthcoming.

The nature of Sengalang Burong is further complicated when one realizes that in the *Gawai Kenyalang* ('Hornbill Festival') in honour of Lang, the image carved by the Iban to greet their spirit/deity is not the Brahminy Kite but the Rhinoceros Hornbill.²⁸ The Hornbill occupies an important place in Bornean symbolism and folklore, and among the Ngaju of South Borneo it appears to take a position rather like that of Sengalang Burong among the Iban (cf. Schärer, 1963: 76). In other words it is associated with the Upperworld (sky), maleness and warfare. On occasion it is also identified with the hawk (*antang*) (pp. 149-150). On the other hand in Iban the reverse seems to have occurred. Here the Brahminy Kite has ascendancy, and the carved and painted Hornbill image 'is invariably represented with a snake in its claws' (Jensen, 1974: 83-4). Jensen suggests that somehow the Iban have imposed the name and characteristics of Lang as Kite onto the Hornbill.²⁹ Harrison and Sandin give a slightly different interpretation. They state that the Hornbill image is used to show it, in an independent sense, as 'Chief of the Birds'. According to them it does not represent Lang, but quite simply represents a Hornbill, 'the Supreme *Worldly* Bird, who welcomes the invisible overhead approach of the God of Birds, Sengalang Burong' (1966: 124). Nevertheless following Jensen I would maintain that in terms of symbolic association Sengalang Burong (Kite) is assimilated to Rhinoceros Hornbill.

It seems that the different contexts in which Sengalang Burong confronts human beings helps to explain the different roles attributed to him. Unlike Berawan *plake*, Iban Lang only appears to guide and advise in augury. But the question remains — does he also help men directly in other contexts such as in festivals in which he is the honoured guest? This problem poses certain difficulties. On reading Jensen's book I was left with the overall impression that Sengalang Burong was a passive ancestor spirit. In augury he stays in the background and advises

²⁸ Perham notes the alternative names for the *Gawai Kenyalang* ('Hornbill Festival') as *Gawai Burong* ('Bird Feast') or *Gawai Pala* ('Head Feast') (1878: 123). It was apparently held after obtaining an enemy head and Sengalang Burong and the omen birds were invited. However, Gomes states that the feast was being increasingly organized to celebrate a good harvest (1911: 210-214). Freeman points out that it was held prior to a head-hunting raid to ensure victory over the enemy (1960: 99-100), but today these festivals are held by men 'seeking social prestige', and/or to remove bad luck from the village (Kedit, 1969: 143).

²⁹ See also Harrison for the traditional importance of the Hornbill among the Kenyah and Kayan and for its general significance in Borneo (1960: 36-37, 58-60).

and warns through his messengers; in other matters he has simply provided a framework for order and harmony by endowing Iban with the rules and customs (*adat*) on which their social and religious life is based. It seems that transgressions of the *adat* lead to misfortune which is caused by evil spirits (1974: 114, 210, 212), but Sengalang Burong does not appear to punish offenders, chase away evil spirits or help humans directly (pp. 190, 199). For example, offerings are frequently designed to appease evil spirits and in the major festivals the important beneficent spirits such as Pulang Gana and Sengalang Burong are honoured for their original role in bestowing form and order on Iban society and culture. Jensen says at one point:

It [a *gawai*, festival] provides a restatement of mythical relationships and offers an occasion to affirm the harmony desired between men and the spirit world, stressing their interdependence and mutual concern (p. 207).

But despite this apparent passivity of Sengalang Burong and others, there is also evidence that these major spirits do assist more positively. For example, in the Whetstone Festival (*Gawai Batu*) Pulang Gana, the principal guest, is said to bestow charms for success and to bless the whetstones (pp. 206, 208). In Sandin's translation of the *Gawai Batu* chant there is one line which runs 'We pray now for help from God and all good spirits to bestow success on our farms' (1962: 395). These are also asked to drive away spirits of extravagance and to bring luck and good health (p. 400). In the context of the 'Bird Festival' Harrisson and Sandin simply tell us that Sengalang Burong is invited to bless the occasion (1926: 279), but in the case of sickness a shaman can call Sengalang Burong and Pulang Gana to aid in curing it (p. 286). However, one description we have of a festival demonstrates the positive role of Sengalang Burong in assisting humans (Perham, 1878: 123-135). Perham says at one point that 'great effects follow upon his [Sengalang Burong's] arrival' (p. 134). It is said that rice bins become filled and that Sengalang Burong's 'power over the sick and old is miraculous'; the old become young, the dumb speak, the blind see, the lame walk. Sengalang Burong brings medicines and charms to help those holding the feast, and in some way his presence increases the bravery of men in war and the success of women in rice cultivation.

This whole problem might be resolved by simply realizing that in different contexts Sengalang Burong acts in different ways. In augury he advises, but in certain rites he may positively help. This is by no means remarkable in Iban thought. For example, Harrisson and Sandin list a whole host of different roles for *ketupong*, the principal son-in-law

of Lang. He is variously messenger, shaman among omen birds, omen bird proper, special night omen and guardian spirit of humans (1966: 282-3).

Structure in Cognatic Societies

Finally, I would like to return to the problem of discerning structure in Iban thought and in one other cognatic society in Borneo. We have seen that there is clear evidence of complementary opposites in Iban thought, but that these are sometimes indirectly linked and clustered around augury, the Sengalong Burong-Pulang Gana complex, the distinction between *petära* and *antu* and that between the physical and the spirit world. More significantly for our purposes Jensen notes that this dual classification is governed by a principle of balance, that these complementary opposites are seen as having 'comparable value' and that the 'balanced dualism of Iban thought lacks the strong antitheses elsewhere associated with right and left' (p. 109).³⁰ Perhaps this equality of opposites is rather overplayed by Jensen in certain contexts, but it helps to explain why there is the lack of a thorough-going dual classification clearly linking such elements as right hand and maleness with goodness and life. In other words, this sense of equality may be related to an apparently greater degree of contextual variation in Iban symbolism.

From his total structural analyses of such societies as the Purum, Aimol, Meru and Nyoro (1958, 1960a, 1960b, 1967) and his first-hand knowledge of cognatic societies Needham arrives at a tentative proposition about the relation between the symbolic and social orders in various types of society. This hypothesis has direct relevance to the Iban case. Needham states that:

Very roughly, we may say that in cognatic societies the relation of symbolic to social order may be insignificant or minimal, while in lineal descent systems the relation may commonly be discerned in a range of particulars, or in certain institutions, but not usually in any comprehensive manner. But in one type of lineal descent system, viz. that based on prescriptive alliance, there is a remarkable concordance of structure between symbolic forms and the social organisation: they are aspects of one conceptual order (1960a: 105).

It appears from the Iban ethnography that in terms of a dualistic classification there is very little concordance between their symbolic and social orders, and to this extent it tends to support Needham's hypothesis. In addition, even within the symbolic realm a number of items in a given column are not directly associated in terms of sharing certain

³⁰ See my review of Jensen's book which brings out the points discussed here (1976: 372-377).

fixed attributes. There is, if you like, a greater sense of 'disparity'. However, as I have already noted elsewhere (1976: 377) there does seem to be some link between the symbolic and social orders in that in both there is the notion of balance or equality. Jensen himself has stated that the division between male and female 'is reflected in the balanced distribution of rights and responsibilities in Iban society' (p.211). Freeman (1970: 14-16, 22-28) has also demonstrated, in his analysis of Iban social organization, that there is no particular preference both ideally and practically between affiliation with one's mother's or one's father's household. Post-marital residence, both virilocal and uxorilocal, are permissible. *Bilek* families are also more or less equal in status terms. Thus, there is some concordance between the symbolic and social orders, but this is based on balance and comparability rather than on the structured inequality of prescriptive alliance systems.

There is one further observation which might be made in relation to cognatic societies. In another detailed study of Bornean religion we find a slightly different picture from that of the Iban. Schärer's analysis of Ngaju religion (1963) reveals a more readily apprehended and consistent dual classificatory system, yet the Ngaju are also a cognatic society. The following analogically related complementary pairs are clearly discerned:

Hornbill (Mahatala)	Naga/watersnake (Jata)
hawk	fish
Hornbill people	Watersnake people
Hornbill boat	Watersnake boat
Raja Pali	Raja Puru/Raja Peres
Upperworld (primeval mountain)	Underworld (primeval waters)
stone	coconut shell/jar
man	woman/child
sun	moon
right	left
spear/dagger/blowpipe/sword	cloth/shawl/plaited work
cock	hen
good	evil
health	illness/disease
life	death
success	misfortune
day	night
upstream	downstream
sunrise	sunset
east	west
beauty	ugliness
good spirits	evil spirits
higher spirits (<i>sangiang</i>)	crocodiles
white	red/yellow (gold)
superior	inferior

rich people	poor people
nobility	commoners
verandah	living room
falling iron	emerging iron
creator	deceiver/destroyer
order	disorder
security	disaster
jewel	gold
political power	sacred, ritual power
true	untrue
brave	cowardly
industrious	lazy
<i>penyang</i> (type of divine gift)	<i>karohei</i> (type of divine gift)
good death	bad death

In the Ngaju case, unlike Iban, there is a clear structured inequality between the above series of pairs. There would appear to be a direct vertical linkage between such items as male/Hornbill/good/life/superior/rich people /right side. It should be noted that Schärer also constantly refers to ambivalence and the unity of opposites, in that in different contexts two oppositions may come together in one item (e.g. in one myth Hornbill and Naga both live in the Upperworld; Mahatala's head-dress combines jewels and gold; Mahatala is called prince of the sun and king of the moon, and so on). However, overall the analyst can derive a total, consistent dualistic scheme from the empirical data.

The difference between the structure of Iban and Ngaju symbolism has its parallel in their respective social orders. Iban society is basically egalitarian; there is generally little difference in rank between *bilek* families. In contrast the Ngaju have a system of ranks or classes which are obviously arranged in terms of superiority/inferiority. There is a preferred alternative. In prescriptive alliance systems, on the other hand, it is not so much classes but descent units which are so arranged (i.e. wife-givers are superior to wife-takers). What I am suggesting is that despite the cognatic nature of Ngaju society and its lack of corporate groups linked in terms of alliance cycles, it does have ranks or classes which in a sense fill the gap. Therefore, the tentative proposition is that certain cognatic societies, such as the Ngaju, are more 'structured' than others, and, in consequence, exhibit a greater degree of complementary dualistic concordance between the symbolic and social orders and a more thorough-going, consistent dual symbolism. In these cases there is a marked antithesis between key terms such as right/left, good/evil, life/death, male/female. On the other hand societies like that of the Iban, which are by and large egalitarian and classless tend to support Needham's general proposition mentioned above and in their

symbolic system demonstrate greater contextual variation and comparability of opposites.

Needham has already suggested that cognatic societies 'constitute a negatively defined class' since 'cognition is not in itself a mode of social organisation, in that it does not permit the formation of enduring corporate descent groups or the definition of absolute statuses' (1966: 28-29). This view seems to tie in with his observations about the lack of concordance between the symbolic and social orders in cognatic societies. Nevertheless, it may be the case that social ranking constitutes a structuring principle which is associated with a more consistent and thorough-going system of symbolic and social dualistic classification, which is in turn characterized by a greater sense of the 'inequality' of complementary terms. Interestingly, Needham also points to the Ngaju as an exception to his tentative generalization that there is emphasis on relative age rather than category in cognatic societies (1966: 24). In the context of marriage, category rather than relative age is the main determinant among Ngaju, although this may be modified with increasing collateral distance.

Conclusion

This paper started as a series of comments on Metcalf's characterization of Iban religion, suggesting that he presents a rather misleading view of Iban augury and notions of the spirit world. It ended by putting forward some very general ideas on the structural analysis of cognatic societies. Apart from a few notable exceptions such as the studies of Jensen and Schärer the analysis of symbolism in the cognatic societies of Borneo has not progressed very far. Only more detailed data on the religions of the various central Borneo peoples which have systems of ranks or classes and their comparison with the religions of the more 'egalitarian' societies can support or refute the suggestions set out here.

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A REJOINDER BY PETER METCALF

I am glad that my recent paper on bird augury has stimulated discussion on this fascinating but neglected feature of Bornean societies. I read Victor King's challenging article with interest, and am willing to accept much of what he says. However, he has misunderstood the intent of my paper, and regarding my main conclusion seems unable to see the wood for the trees.

The primary object of my paper was to describe the augural system of the Berawan, a group belonging to the central north Borneo culture complex, and only distantly related to the Iban. Comparison with the latter was made necessary by the circumstance that the Iban system of augury is the only one that had previously been described in detail from anywhere in Borneo, in Derek Freeman's pioneer work (1961). My incursion into Iban territory was for a narrow comparative purpose only: to elucidate an anomaly of Berawan ideology, namely, the quasi-deified status of the principal Berawan omen bird. It was *not* intended as a re-interpretation of the entirety of Iban religion.

King is correct in noting that some of the sources he cites were unavailable to me at the time of writing, due to delays in publication.