CHAPTER VII

Dayong
The ritual of the domestic unit

The *dayong* ritual occupies a central position in Kayan religion.[1] This all-purpose propitiatory and purificatory ritual is carried out on behalf of a domestic unit which pays for its cost and hires the officiants. Like the rituals of the annual cycle, it falls in the category of *lali*, the rituals which are set apart from daily life. The Bungan reform has brought only minor changes to the *dayong* and there is no need for separate descriptions of the ritual in *adat Dipuy* and *adat Bungan*. The *dayong* is divided into three parts (Table 22). It starts in the sponsoring household's room, where divination serves to interpret dreams. In a second part, offerings are placed on the gallery in front of the apartment and the priest entrusts messages for spirits to a sacrificial animal. In the third and longest part, the priest sings the way to the spirit country, where offerings are conveyed and the souls of the family members are retrieved.

Dayong are both calendrical and critical rituals. Each household schedules at least three *dayong* a year, during the sowing, the harvest, and the harvest festival (Table 11). Calendrical *dayong* are occasions to pray for health and prosperity; the harvest festival *dayong* also includes an element of thanksgiving. A few households omit the *dayong* during the sowing and harvest if they do not feel the need for supernatural help; they replace it with a brief prayer (*meju teloh*). During the sowing and harvest, some domestic units hold only the first part of the *dayong* (which takes place in the apartment); however, most people prefer to have the *dayong* in its complete form and do so if they can afford it. Every household has a full-scale *dayong* for the harvest festival, otherwise they would offend spirits and neighbours.

Any household may also sponsor a *dayong* at any time of the year in order to seek supernatural help. When its main purpose is to cure an illness or avert an inauspicious dream, specific ritual features are added (Chapter VIII). It is also appropriate to sponsor a *dayong* when a household member leaves the community for a long period, for instance when children go to boarding school. *Dayong* avert the dangers of oath-taking, house fires, deaths in the family, and

[1] We have seen (Chapter V) the several but interrelated meanings of '*dayong*'. In order to avoid confusion, '*dayong*' in this chapter refers exclusively to the ritual (except for Kayan expressions in brackets). The *dayong* is briefly described in Tromp (1888) and Nieuwenhuis (1904-07, I:112-4).

Table 22. The *dayong* ritual

Ritual activity	Participants (in addition to the priest)
Afternoon	
1. Opening prayers and evaluation of dreams (in the apartment)	
The priest dons a bead bracelet	
Offerings are laid out in the room	
Household members touch the offerings to indicate their participation	A few members of the sponsoring household
The priest raises an egg to tell Bungan the purpose of the ritual	
Narration of dreams	
Divination to discover the significance of dreams	
2. The priest talks to the sacrificial animal (on the gallery)	
The altar (*jok*) is set up; the offerings and sacrificial animal are placed nearby	Several members of the sponsoring household
The priest raises an egg to tell Bungan the purpose of the ritual	
The priest delivers messages to the sacrificial animal	Some people from other domestic units
The animal is sacrificed	
Pelah: a protective ritual	
Pause for cooking	
Evening meal (in the apartment)	Sponsoring household, sometimes invited guests
Night	
3. Singing the way to the other world (on the gallery)	
The priest calls spirit helpers (*dayong*)	Sponsoring household
The priest carries offerings to the other world and visits spirits	
	Members of many domestic units
The priest returns household members' souls back into their bodies	
The priest lifts the *jok*	Men make responses to the priest's chant
The priest 'strengthens' the participants	

ominous dreams. People with powerful spirit helpers sponsor *dayong* in order to protect their family from the potency of the spirit. The benefits of a *dayong* apply to all members of a domestic unit.[2]

[2] The question 'Who is doing a *dayong* this evening?' (*Hi aleng dayong malem anih*?) elicits the name of a household member for whom the ceremony is performed, not the officiant's. When there are two domestic units in an apartment, they participate in the *dayong* as if they were an undivided household.

On the day of a *dayong*, the officiant and household members may not work or eat chillies. The cost and ritual prohibitions associated with *dayong* were more onerous in *adat Dipuy* and the ritual was performed less commonly than nowadays. On the day of the ceremony, family members could not eat the *dungan* fish or mushrooms. If they sought the help of spirits for a sick person, these food taboos were in force for two days. A person who gained a new spirit (*dayong*) was not allowed to eat Caladium for a whole year. The priest could not work on the day after the *dayong*. After a *dayong*, the patient theoretically had to stay home for four days if a chicken had been sacrificed, and ten days for a pig. (In fact, it was sufficient to remain at home on the fourth, seventh, and tenth days.) During this period, household members could not handle *padi*, Caladium, or fresh tobacco, nor could they kill bear or deer. (Caladium causes itches; a breach of taboo would irritate the respiratory system and produce shortness of breath.) While fresh tobacco was forbidden, there was no prohibition against smoking. A sun hat was hung on the door of the sponsoring household to announce that they were observing prohibitions. The sponsoring household used to bar off its portion of the gallery with sticks forming an X; members of other households were not allowed to walk past the apartment but must go around it from the outside. (I have observed this practice once or twice, but it is not common in *adat Bungan*.) *Adat Bungan* reduced the cost and the complexity of the *dayong* without changing its structure.

Like most rituals, *dayong* must take place in the longhouse; if they are staying at their farmhouse, people return to the longhouse for a *dayong*. The ritual should be halted if it rains, but this rule is not always observed. Part of the *dayong* takes place at night, because day and night are reversed in the spirit country and one must visit spirits when they are awake.[3] Some households select the date of calendrical *dayong* in conjunction with an auspicious moon, but this is not common. Like other organized rituals, the *dayong* requires decorum. Once, the officiant scolded a quarrelling couple who immediately stopped arguing. Actual violence could invalidate the whole *dayong* and require a purification ritual. It is perfectly acceptable for the audience to chat quietly while the ritual is in progress; some people keep busy with light work (such as weaving mats and baskets), insofar as it does not impinge on the proceedings.

While the *dayong* fosters the religious well-being of a household, it is also an occasion to socialize. Guests may be invited to partake of the sacrificial animal and other dishes prepared for the occasion. The third section of the ritual, when the priest travels to the spirit country, requires the presence of men from other domestic units who make responses (*nyabe*) to the priest's chant. The chanting is an artistic as well as a religious performance and people gather to listen; even

[3] This other-worldly reversal of day and night is also present among the Iban (Graham 1987:49).

Christians like to attend, especially when the priest is a good singer. Visitors are offered cigarettes, rice-beer, betel chews, sometimes coffee or chocolate drinks, and the attendance is not unrelated to the availability of refreshments. Calendrical *dayong*, particularly end-of-year *dayong*, are an occasion for dancing, especially for young people.[4]

Selection of officiants

The officiant is selected by the sponsoring household. In principle, the priest may not refuse a request to officiate, although I have seen it happen. The ritual requires a single celebrant, but *dayong* often involve two priests, particularly end-of-year *dayong*. The fact of hiring two priests impresses both neighbours and spirits. Some curing *dayong* bring the risk of supernatural danger for the officiant and two priests are less vulnerable than one. In villages with few religious specialists, it is often necessary to hire a priest from a neighbouring community. This may be a cause of contretemps, because there is no way to find out ahead of time whether the priest is available. When a celebrant is hired from another village, other households often take the opportunity to hire him on the following days and he may officiate two, three, or more nights in a row. The household which first hired him must also bring him back to his village. This rule – which is justified by a myth of origin – guarantees that a priest will not be stranded in another village. Even in villages with several priests – as in Uma Bawang – outsider priests may still be hired for variety. Whenever an outsider is brought in, the audience is larger than usual. Priests who are accomplished singers are in great demand. There are minor variations in the *dayong* ritual from one village to another; priests hired from other communities may follow either system. Priests may not officially take charge of a *dayong* for the benefit of their own household, but they are allowed to participate. If a priest needs to hold a *dayong* for his domestic unit and no other experienced priest is available, he may hire a priest-in-training who receives a fee and is the officiant-of-record, but the experienced priest carries out most of the rituals.

Officiants are paid for their services. The payment (*tibah*) is brought to the priest's apartment by a member of the sponsoring household; it would be disrespectful to pay the priest in public or let him carry it home. Without fail, the officiant must receive a bracelet of inexpensive beads (*leku dayong*). The fee normally includes a sword, sometimes banknotes (coins are not suitable). M$5 is appropriate for an ordinary *dayong*, but a higher sum may be requested: on one occasion, a renowned priest received M$35. There may be additional items such as a tray or two meters of unbleached cloth. The fee varies with the 'weight' (*bahat*) of the dreams which are reported during the *dayong* as well as

4 See Chapter VI for the social aspects of end-of-year *dayong*.

other factors which affect the celebrant's work. If the priest must travel to regions of the spirit country imbued with great power, the fee will include a gong (*agong* or *penganak*), a fine sword (*malat bukan*), a valuable bead, and money.[5] When there are two officiants, they either receive the same fee or the senior priest gets more on the grounds that he does most of the work. The prohibition on priests being in charge of a *dayong* on behalf of their own households is explained as a consequence of the ritual requirement for a fee: one cannot pay oneself.

A meal is served to the priests between the second and third parts of the *dayong*. The rice is considered to be part of the fee and a *dayong* would be ineffective without it. If a *dayong* takes place in its abridged form without a sacrificial animal, the priest receives husked rice. In *adat Bungan*, the minimum fee is two half-pint scoops of husked rice and a worn-out sword (*umuh*); these are offered to Bungan (but used by the priest). The priest also receives a thigh and half the neck of the sacrificial pig or a chicken leg.[6] In the early stages of the Bungan reform, the priest received only a nail and a scoop of husked rice. After a while, the fees went up again, but are still less than in *adat Dipuy* when a *dayong* was a costly undertaking.

Priests have some leeway in setting their fees. Several factors limit the amount they charge. Priests who consistently request high fees court death, because their 'staff of priesthood'[7] will fall under the weight of their fees. Also, priests may forego part of the fee out of consideration for their clients' limited means: a *dayong uro' kaping* (Chapter VIII) includes a cash payment of M$30, but in one case, the priest decided to waive that part of the fee. At the occasion of a *dayong hudo' kaluy* (Chapter VIII), each priest received a sword and a metal tray, a modest fee for a dangerous ritual. On the other hand, it is dangerous (*parit*) to waive the fee completely. A priest who is mindful of a client's poverty may accept the full fee, then return part of it discreetly in the following days. There are limits to such arrangements. A sick man underwent a series of *dayong* which exhausted his meagre resources. After a while, priests declined to carry out more *dayong* on his behalf, as they feared the ire of their spirit helpers, who take it personally when fees are unpaid or too modest.

5 Powerful areas of the spirit country include Ujet Bato', Apo Jakah, Long Bawang, and Apo Jelungan. The bead is placed on the priest's bracelet; the sword and the gong are used for the *pelah* (see below). Other valuable objects, such as a chain or a metal tray, could also be part of the fee.

6 This is reminiscent of the rules for sharing large game (*ngepiah*), whereby the chief receives a thigh and half the neck of large wild boar or deer.

7 The *tuken dayong* is the spiritual staff which stands in the spirit country and is the spiritual counterpart of the priest. If this staff is damaged, the priest may become ill or die.

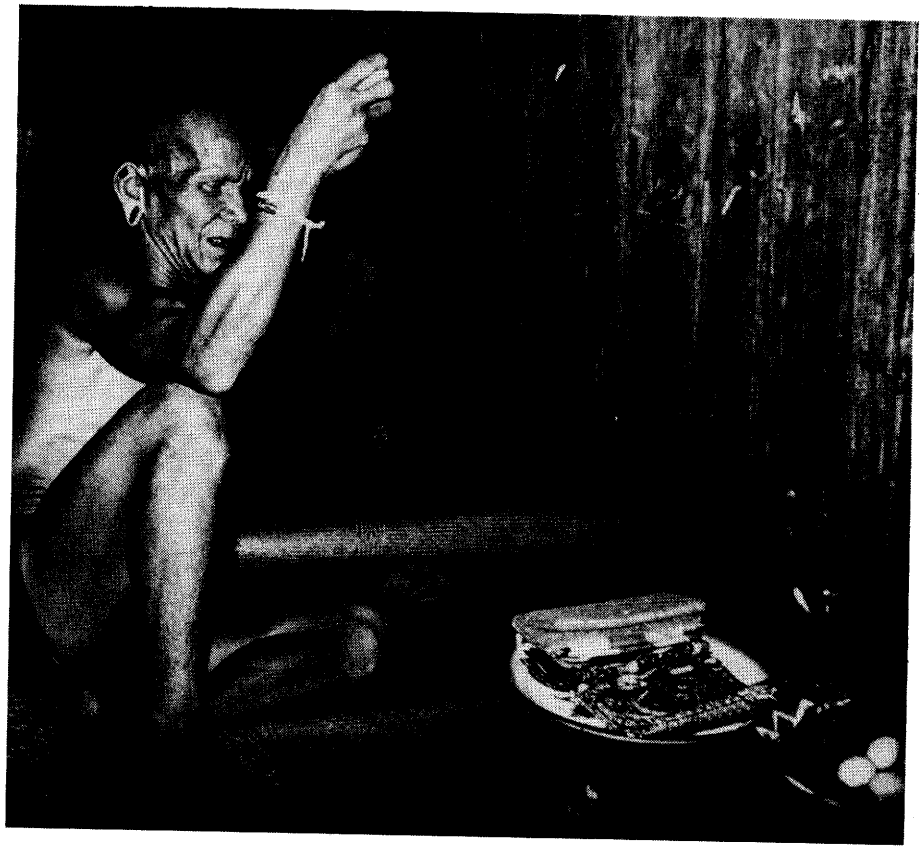

Plate 12. The priest Uyong Wan sits in front of offerings in an apartment. Holding an egg in his right hand, he tells Bungan the purpose of the *dayong*. He wears a bead wristband on his right arm to protect himself from supernatural danger. The offerings include pieces of folded cloth, eggs, a necklace, as well as a bundle of rice which is not visible.

Part I: in the apartment

The *dayong* starts after the midday meal (around 3 or 4 pm) inside the apartment. Few people attend at this stage, not even all household members.

The conduct of the ceremony may create dangers for the priest's soul. Before anything else, officiants put on their right wrist the bead bracelet which forms part of their fee in order to keep their souls in place. Without it, the *dayong* is invalid. Once, a priest forgot to put on her bracelet until the omission was pointed out. She commented that, without it, the patients' dreams 'would not stick around', in other words the auspicious dreams would become ineffective. While left-handedness carries no stigma in Kayan society, rituals require the use of the right hand: the priest's bracelet is placed on the right wrist, all participants touch the offerings with the right hand. The priest's bracelet has eight inexpensive striped beads (*inu kelam*).[8] Priests who conduct several *dayong* on consecutive days keep on wearing the bracelets they have received on the previous days. This display impresses spirits who notice that these priests are in great demand. Except for this bracelet, all participants wear ordinary clothes.

Offerings

Offerings are placed neatly on a mat near the back of the room. This spot is appropriate because it is near a window through which prayers can travel. Although any household member may set up the offerings, a woman usually does so, as the apartment is women's domain. Offerings include eggs, pieces of fine cloth, bead necklaces and belts, bronze trays and gongs, as well as food and drink for the priest (more food may be brought out as the ritual progresses). It is essential to include rice, which is both an offering and part of the officiant's fee. The same eggs, cloth, and beads will be used again and again in future *dayong*. The pieces of fine cloth are used only in ritual contexts, when they are taken out of storage. If the sponsoring household lacks some of these offerings, they may be borrowed from neighbours. The cloth and beads are payments to spirits so that auspicious dreams may be realized and inauspicious dreams cancelled. The number of eggs varies according to ritual features as well as the number and importance of dreams. There may be a sword or two among the offerings, which also form part of the priest's fee.

One egg is placed on a piece of cloth, ringed by a bead necklace or a bead belt; it will serve as a conduit for prayers (Plate 15). This is the place (*lasan dayong*) where the priest's spirit helper (*hnda' dayong*) can alight. According to one interpretation, the necklace constitutes the feathers of the spiritual hornbill

[8] If eight beads are not available, six beads will do. For difficult *dayong*, the wristband must have enough beads to cover the wrist entirely and one of the beads must be valuable. There must always be an even number of beads. In *adat Dipuy*, household members also wore also a bracelet (*leku melah*) with eight red beads and twelve smaller beads, yellow, blue, and black, and two brown kernels of Job's tears.

(*tingang*) in the egg. Alternatively, the necklace is a fence around the soul, because the egg stands for the soul in the spirit country.[9] In addition to this egg, there must be at least four eggs in a plate, two for Bungan, two for spirits (*utam*). Four eggs are offered for each adult commoner whose dreams are reported, while each adult aristocrat offers eight eggs. If the dream is particularly significant, one may offer more than the required number of eggs. Only adults make egg offerings. Young adults may not offer more than four eggs, while older people are not limited to this number. In *adat Dipuy*, women could not offer eggs unless they were priests or shamans.

Meju teloh: praying to Bungan

When the offerings have been laid out and the priest has put on the wristband, the ceremony can start. Household members touch the eggs and the sacrificial animal in order to signify their participation: 'This is like signing a document with your thumbprint', said Avun. 'Bungan recognizes every person by his or her touch.' Children also touch the offerings; if they are too young to follow instructions, an adult places their hand on the offerings.

The priest holds an egg in the right hand, facing a window or other opening, and prays to Bungan (Plate 12). When two priests officiate, only one of them speaks, but Bungan knows there are two officiants because both of them touched the egg before the prayer. The priest usually starts with self-deprecating statements and asks Bungan's indulgence for the officiants' stupidity, ignorance, and lack of insight; the speaker begs Bungan not to be offended if there is a mistake. The priest states the purpose of the ritual, names the household members, and asks for the help of Bungan and Lake' Penyelong, who can explain the meaning of the dreams and identify the spirits who have sent it. Bungan may also be asked to summon the priests' spirit helpers from their otherworldly abodes. Household members are identified by their ritual names (*aran dayong*) rather than their everyday names. Most people have a ritual name which has been identified through divination at a previous *dayong*. As the ritual names of lay people are used only during a *dayong*, priests rarely remember them; they ask a family member to list the names of the participants. For instance, the *aran dayong* of the young man Havit is Tubun. The priest refers to him as *Tubun aleng dayong*, 'Tubun who is a *dayong* spirit', which suggests that, in this ritual context, Havit and his spirit familiar are one and the same person.[10]

[9] In ritual contexts, '*bua*' ('fruit') refers to eggs and beads, thus underlining the link between the two. Eggs are used to catch the souls of women and children in *dayong* rituals (see below). Similarly, women use their bead necklaces to catch the souls of their children in the evening.

[10] Some priests do not bother with ritual names and call people by their usual names. A *dayong hudo' kaluy* (Chapter VIII) was performed on Havit's behalf because he had had a very ominous dream. Household members were very unhappy because the priest referred to them by their secular names and they kept urging him to use the *aran dayong*. Unfortunately, the officiant was deaf and kept forgetting his instructions. Given the danger associated with this specific occasion, Havit's grandmother wished to be identified only by a circumlocution, namely 'a woman who looks like the grandparent [of the patient]'. She felt such indirection would confuse ill-intentioned spirits. Ritual names (*ngadan bali*) are also present among the Kenyah (Elshout 1926:157).

Narration of dreams

After stating the purpose of the ritual, the celebrant is ready to report household members' dreams. The most important dreams are usually narrated to the priest before the start of the *dayong*, because some dreams may call for specific ritual devices which have to be prepared ahead of time. At this stage, people repeat their dreams if the priest needs to be reminded of the particulars or if they recall details which they had failed to report beforehand. They can also report other dreams. Only dreams which happened since the last *dayong* are described; most dreams are very recent. The priest interrupts the narration to obtain additional details which facilitate a preliminary interpretation. The process takes about seven to fifteen minutes. Some priests take this opportunity to tell their own dreams.

Dreams (*nyupe'*) are sent by spirits. Dreams do not only affect the dreamer but also those who are the object of the dream. Spirits punish a dreamer who fails to report a dream to the concerned party. When Saging dreamt that Lake' Ivak had been visited by a long-deceased Uma Bawang aristocrat, he told Lake' Ivak the next morning. This was very bad news which needed no expert interpretation: when the deceased visit the living, they want them to die so as to enjoy their company. Lake' Ivak sponsored a *dayong* to counteract the dream. The most common procedures in such cases are a *dayong hudo' kaluy* or a *dayong hudo' kepatong bangu* (Chapter VIII) in which spirits are provided with a simulacrum of the person at risk. The social status of the dreamer matters. A slave who had incurred a nasty cut dreamt spirits were demanding an adult domesticated boar (*betwan*). His masters disregarded his dream at first, but finally sacrificed the pig and he stopped bleeding. Christian Kayan consider that auspicious dreams have no significance for them any more, but sometimes they pray to avert the effect of bad dreams. Dreams may determine important life choices: they are reasons for adoptions and divorces and they are the medium through which people learn that they have spirit helpers.

It is inauspicious to dream of falling trees, landslides, sudden rises in the river, spirits, fat, liver, rain, stormy winds, rains of stones, fire, fish-bait, or bees. It is inauspicious to dream that the house or the cooking pot are collapsing or that the longhouse is burning. It is inauspicious to dream of funerals, of killings, of being wounded, of losing teeth or having a toothache, of having one's things broken. It is inauspicious to dream that, having killed a big fat wild boar, one gives it away to many people. It is dangerous to dream of the deceased or, even worse, that one's soul is leaving the body. The same person may appear to

several dreamers. The priest Lake' Lirong, who had died a few years ago, appeared to two persons within a few days; they both carried out separate rituals to free themselves from this extreme danger. When someone recounts a dream featuring an enemy attack, other villagers may have the same dream, as the infectiousness (*bengen*) of the dream travels from one to the other. Some inauspicious dreams foretell unstated bad consequences, others are more specific.

In the same way, some auspicious dreams are specific, while others foretell unspecified well-being. Dreaming of having a child means the soul of the rice is coming back. A very successful aristocrat once dreamt he was bathing in the urine of Dure' Yong (a spirit with eight wombs) and this is considered the source of his success. If a man dreams of having intercourse with a woman, or that he is eating sticky rice or a bunch of big fruits, this means he will kill a pig. It is good to dream of catching fish, tadpoles, or birds, of getting money, a sword, or a string of beads. Dreams about chickens or sago flour are also auspicious; dreams about fruits, cucumbers, or seeds mean that the rice harvest will be plentiful. If one dreams of catching only the tail end of a fish, this means half the farm will not produce a good harvest. When one dreams of finding a rotten animal, the *padi* will be plentiful, but in danger of rotting.

Nenong teloh: divination to test the significance of dreams

Dreams are symbolic manifestations which can be decoded. Some people are skilled in dream interpretation, but divination is necessary for a secure elucidation. On the one hand, divination makes it possible to check whether the preliminary understanding is correct. (Priests sometimes consult each other to check their interpretations.) On the other hand, dreams which seem to give a clear message may be meaningless, nothing more than noise. Divination identifies what kind of dream one is dealing with. Avun pointed out that priests dream more often than other people, but many of their dreams mean nothing. In particular, dreams which one forgets upon waking up are meaningless. Divination also helps to identify the spirits who have sent the dreams, so that offerings can be conveyed to them.

In *adat Bungan*, divination (*nenong*) requires an egg and a sword.[11] It takes place inside the apartment besides the offerings; it must be in close proximity to the rice set aside for the priest (*kanen dayong*). Standing and holding an egg, the priest starts the process by telling Bungan that dreams are about to be tested. She is asked to send into the egg her grandson Lirong Ubong Tenong, who is in charge of the divination procedure. The priest sits besides an unsheathed sword, holding the egg, and gives a detailed abstract of the dream. I noted Avun's report of a dream by Lihan, Uma Bawang's chief.

[11] A synonym of *nenong* is *nelana'*, which in non-ritual contexts means 'to examine, to recognize'.

> On his return from [the neighbouring village of] Long Lino, Lihan found that the longhouse had burned and so had the trees. He felt sad for Uma Bawang because they were left without a house. He went down to Nahah Ake' Dian [Lihan's farmhouse] and saw a boat loaded with all his belongings. Lake' Kebing [Lihan's father] said that this was Lihan's boat, but it was of the wrong colour. After they brought their belongings up to the farmhouse, a boat decorated with flags suddenly appeared from upriver and out of it came a man, Uyo Itun, who told Lihan they had come after hearing of the fire in the middle of the night. The SAO [regional administrator] was there and said one should go and have a look, otherwise people would continue to feel depressed. They found someone to bring them to the village but they did not want to go up to the house because they were worried. Lihan pointed at Uyo Itun and said that only the house had been burned. The SAO stayed in the boat and did not come up.

This dream required no interpretation because it obviously depicted a calamity, but it was important to check whether it was meaningful. When testing a dream, the sword blade must be free from rust; one may not use a handleless blade for divination. Kayan swords are concave on one side, convex on the other. The blade is placed on the floor on a piece of cloth so that it is stable and horizontal, concave side up. The priest talks to the egg, asking it about the significance and origin of the dream. The question is couched in such a way that it can be answered by 'yes' or 'no'. The priest carefully places the big end of the egg on the sword. If the egg stands, this indicates a positive answer to the priest's question (Plate 13). One Uma Bawang priest liked to make the egg stand on the round side of the blade, but other priests criticized her approach as being unorthodox. The question may be repeated for greater certainty. Several questions are asked about each dream.

If the dream is inauspicious, one will try to neutralize it later in the *dayong* by conveying offerings to the spirits responsible for it. If the dream is auspicious, the priest asks the spirit Bua Julan whether the dream may be used (in other words whether it in fact foretells a positive outcome). If so, Bua Julan tells Lirong Ubong Tenong that the dream is to be routed through the altar (*jok*), the egg, or the sacrificial animal. Offerings validate auspicious dreams; without them, the positive outcome would not materialize. Bungan gives the souls of offering to the appropriate spirits. Lihan's dream was very ominous, because of its topic and the identity of the dreamer; as divination proved that the dream was meaningful, the whole longhouse had to be purified (*ngaping*; see Chapter VIII).

Neither the dreamer nor the protagonists of the dream need be present during the divination, but understandably they tend to be interested in the proceedings. Most spectators of the *nenong teloh* are women (probably because the room is women's domain). While divination formed part of every *dayong* I attended, I was told that an experienced priest has no need for divination to know which spirits have sent dreams. In one case, divination was used at a later stage of the *dayong* in order for the priest to find out where exactly she was

Plate 13. The priest Utan practises divination. She has placed an egg on a sword blade. The egg stands up, which indicates a positive answer to her question. The box near her left hand contains tobacco and the ingredients for betel plugs. It is polite to provide the priest with tobacco and betel.

supposed to go to the spirit country. She enjoyed divination and evidently could not resist repeating the procedure. (An experienced priest from another village routinely practises divination at a later stage of the ceremony (*pelah*).)

The divination procedure was different in *adat Dipuy*. The priest used four small pieces of bamboo (*teng'ap*) on which figures were carved, each piece forming about one-fourth the circumference of a bamboo section. After asking a question, the priest held the four *teng'ap* between the five fingers of his right hand and threw them in the air. If two fell on the convex side, two on the concave side, the answer was positive. A priest used the same set of bamboos on a permanent basis. Only important priests (*dayong aya'*) practised divination with bamboos, because bamboo is associated with cursing. Ordinary priests used sections of banana leaves (*da'un pute' uran*) instead. I was told that divination with an egg is an innovation of *adat Bungan*; however, a nineteenth-century account indicates its presence among the Bahau of the Mahakam (Tromp 1888:91).

Part II: the priest talks to the sacrificial animal on the gallery

The altar and the offerings

The first part of the *dayong* lasts less than an hour; it is followed immediately by the second part on the gallery in front of the apartment. While the priest prays in the room, men set up the altar (*jok*), which consists of two pieces of wood set in the shape of a cross.[12] The *jok* is not a sacred object, but simply a prop on which offerings are hung. (When not in use, the *jok* is folded and stored on the rafters.) The *jok* is placed on a gong, itself in the middle of a mat, on the part of the gallery which serves as a thoroughfare. Its post may be wrapped with cloth or with a palm-leaf mat. Pieces of fine cloth are draped on its cross-piece on which one may also hang fine swords or a breast-shield (Plates 14 and 15). Four pieces of cloth are hung for commoner households (*kelunan ji'ek*) and eight for aristocrats (*kelunan jia*).[13] Some priests interpret the *jok* as a tree. The cloth on its cross-piece constitutes its branches and leaves. The gong and the cloth which wraps the stem are its buttresses.

[12] It is possible, but uncommon, not to set up an altar on the gallery. In this case, the offerings are displayed in the apartment. This was also true in *adat Dipuy*: they could place cloth offerings on a rattan line and sacrifice the animal in the room. It infrequently happens that the priest talks to a sacrificial chicken in the room, but one would not do that with a pig for reasons of cleanliness. In prayers, the *jok* is called *bran*. For the Lepo' Tau Kenyah, *beran* is a tree in the spirit country which serves as the abode of *dayong* spirits (Elshout 1926:29).

[13] Uma Bawang has only one kind of *jok*; other communities have two kinds, one of which is used only by the chief. The ordinary *jok* is called *jok lave* or *jok belaleng*. The aristocratic *jok* is called *jok akong* or *jok beliling*. It has two cross-pieces which hold a hoop of rattan horizontally; cloth offerings are placed on the hoop, as well as an embroidered cloth with appliqués, which rich *maren* families like to have. The *jok beliling* is used in the *Bungan pang* ceremony (Chapter VI), while the ordinary *jok* is used on other occasions. Tajang La'ing of Uma Nyaving Long Lino was the first to use the *jok akong*; spirits sent a dream to instruct him in its use.

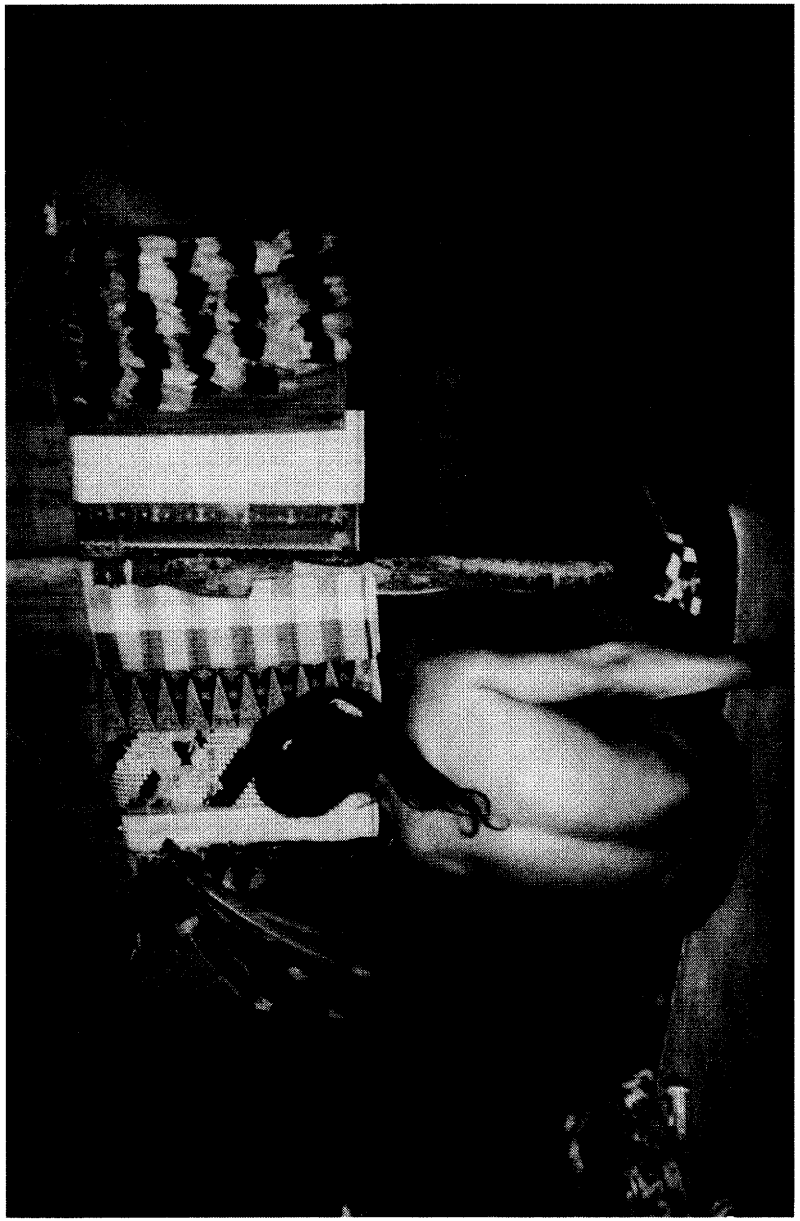

Plate 14. Avun sits in front of an altar (*jok*). Eight pieces of cloth are draped on it, indicating that this is a *dayong* for an aristocratic family. A war head-dress with hornbill tail-feathers is hung on the left and a hornbill-feather breast shield on the right.

When the first part of the *dayong* is completed, offerings are brought in front of the *jok*. If the main purpose of the *dayong* is a curing ritual, the appropriate props are set up beside it (see Chapter VIII). A mat is spread on the elevated part of the gallery on which people sit. When the *jok* has been set up, one may not carry *padi* or fresh tobacco past it, as this would 'break' it and harm household members.

In *adat Dipuy*, the altar was different. The Uma Bawang section made its *jok* with plantain stems, while Uma Daro' used bamboo. It was made of four vertical pieces for commoners and eight or sixteen for aristocrats. The vertical pieces were joined with a horizontal bar on which pieces of cloth were draped. One could place on the *jok* the figure of a hornbill (*tingang*) or a snake. The painted figurine was made of wood or pith; the snake was made of cloth and entwined at the top of the *jok*. Offerings could be placed on each vertical stick.[14] At the end of the *dayong*, *jok* and figurine were thrown away in front of the house. The snake protected the officiant's soul against spirits. The hornbill, with its keen senses, told the snake if any ill-intentioned spirits were about to attack the priest.

In addition to the offerings brought from the apartment, the sacrificial animal is placed beside the *jok*, its legs tied up. A sword is brought out, which the priest will use later. There may also be a bottle of rice beer, a glass, a tobacco box, and betel plugs for the priest's benefit. Gongs of various sizes are placed as offerings near the *jok*. Towards the end of the *dayong*, these offerings will be carried to Bungan's longhouse by way of the *jok* and Bungan will distribute them among the spirits. After the *dayong*, all the offerings (except the sacrificial animal) are stored for future use. Spirits only acquire the souls of these objects (which is described as 'the bigger share'); multiple use does not deplete their value as offerings.

As soon as the pig or chicken is placed on the gallery, household members and officiant(s) touch it to indicate their participation. The priest has some latitude about admitting late-comers. The animal must belong to the household for whom the *dayong* is performed, but it may be bought from another domestic unit on the day of the ceremony. Spirits prefer pigs to chickens; the sacrifice of a large pig is also popular with community members, because they get to partake of it. Pigs are particularly appropriate sacrifices because they sleep under the house, close to people, hence they know their dreams. Pigs and chickens can be used interchangeably and the decision to sacrifice one rather than the other

[14] Thus, for a *dayong* before burning the fields, a sword was attached on every vertical bar of the *jok* but one, on which tow was placed. Two small bamboo containers (*tawe*), the size of a finger, were tied to the *jok*. Small pastries (*dinu*), the size of a fingernail, were placed in the *tawe*. Towards the end of the *dayong*, the priest sang (*peleken*) to these *tawe*, which constituted offerings to the spirit Imun Jo Tawe Jakan. Nieuwenhuis (1904-07, I:122) refers to the *jok* as *lasa*. For a picture, see Nieuwenhuis (1904-07,I :176, Plate 36).

depends on availability, the reasons for the ritual, and social considerations. (Pigs are eaten only in ritual contexts; on rare occasions, chickens may be part of a secular meal.) At one extreme, I observed the sacrifice of a suckling pig which weighed a kilogram, while at the other end of the scale, adult pigs are most suitable for an end-of-year *dayong*. In theory, more than one animal may be sacrificed, but I have never seen more than a single pig being slaughtered for a *dayong*. The gender of the animal is not relevant.[15] The animal is placed between the *jok* and the raised part of the gallery where the priest sits. A piece of palm leaf or bark may be placed under the animal's rear end in case it defecates. As dogs are likely to sniff the animal and upset it, someone usually sits near it to chase them away. In *adat Dipuy*, the sacrificial pig wore a bead waistband (*taksa*) and a necklace; sugarcane juice was poured in its mouth as food for its journey to the spirit country. The jaws of the sacrificed pig or the legs of the chicken were hung behind the apartment as a memento.

Sacrificial pigs and chickens are offerings to spirits but, unlike the gongs, eggs, cloth, beads, swords and other objects, they are more than offerings. They are consumed both by spirits and humans, thus establishing communion with supernatural beings. Finally, they are messengers who carry people's prayers to the spirit world (see Metcalf 1989:84). The pig or chicken is not only an offering, in the sense of a gift which might hopefully propitiate fickle supernatural beings, but the 'payment' (*belin*) for various blessings. The Kayan put much weight on balanced reciprocity: for most exchanges, one expects an equivalent return for value given; a payment to the spirits morally obligates them to reciprocate.

Eggs, pigs, and chickens are gifts to spirits, but spirits originally gave them to humans so they would have the wherewithal to make offerings. This is explained in a myth of origin.

> A brother and sister married and their child turned into stone. All their crops turned into useless plants. The spirit Bo' Aya' was puzzled because there was no sound of life in the longhouse, so he went to investigate. He found the stone, which he broke into two, and extracted the baby. He threw one half of the stone to Hura Luna and Lake' Agah Kita; it became the domesticated pig. He threw the other half to Silo Liap Kala and Telen Linge and it became the chicken. Bo' Aya' called back the commoners of the house and told them to look after the child.
>
> The child grew and came to be known as Pejulong Apong. He was supposed to marry Silo Hunyang Nyang, but he went off to marry Lurak Lirong and they had a child. Silo heard of it and, furious, she snatched the baby away. The parents were disconsolate; they wailed, they struck gongs and drums all day long, all year round. Bo' Aya' became tired of the din and asked Tilip [a winged insect which dwells under stones] to get an egg from Silo Liap Kala and Telen Linge. Tilip brought it back to Bo' Aya'. 'Oh, I forgot to tell you', said Bo' Aya'. 'I wanted you to bring the egg to Pejulong Apong.' Tilip went on his way again, but, being such a small insect, he became tired of carrying the egg and left it in an eagle's nest. The eagle coddled it, but as the egg made it sick, it threw it out. The egg landed in the sleeping place of a wild boar, which also became sick. 'This is dangerous (*parit*)', said the pig, and it threw the egg away. The egg went this way from animal to animal and was eventually thrown into the river.
>
> Pejulong Apong and his wife picked it up while they were bathing and threw it away. As it kept drifting back, they brought it to the house, but forgot all about it. As Pejulong Apong and his wife were still wailing all day, Bo' Aya' sent a dream to inform them that Silo Hunyang Nyang had abducted the child. He told them to put the egg in a fowl's cage and two chickens would come out of it and produce sixteen eggs. With these eggs, Pejulong Apong and his wife could implore Silo Hunyang Nyang. They did so and the child was returned to them.
>
> Nowadays, we know how to make offerings because we imitate Pejulong Apong. We know all this because at the beginning, we lived together with spirits and we could talk to them directly. But we became separated and cannot speak to them any more. This is why we make offerings.

[15] With reference to the Mahakam-Kayan, Uma Suling, and Long Glat of the Mahakam, Nieuwenhuis (1904-07, II:128) notes that only male pigs are offered. The Long Glat let sows die a natural death or sell them to the Penihing. Among the Mahakam-Kayan, only women eat the meat of sows.

Speaking to the sacrificial animal

Holding an egg, the priest announces that he or she is about to talk to the animal (*mara hnyap/uting*), then sits beside it. Some priests touch the animal throughout their oration, others touch it briefly at the beginning. The priest 'talks into the pig' (*iha' duan halem uting anan*), in other words the sacrificial animal is a receptacle for prayers. Different priests address the sacrificial animal in slightly different ways. Avun always started by narrating the origin myth of sacrifices; others did not. All priests ask the animal to convey messages and offerings to specific spirits. The priest narrates dreams and any other circumstance relevant to the *dayong*. This is also an opportunity to send messages to Bungan to express communal concerns, such as worries about the harvest. In one case, Bungan was told of rumours that a timber company might operate in the vicinity.

The priest speaks in the ordinary language, not the poetic language which is characteristic of the third part of the *dayong*. Nonetheless, the oration sounds different from ordinary speech because the human audience does not listen to it. Some priests mumble and speak in a monotone. All Uma Bawang priests speak very fast at this stage, but priests from other villages speak in a more deliberate and audible voice. Repetitions are frequent; some of the vocabulary is specific to this context. There are few spectators at this stage, but it would be gauche to leave the priest alone and at least one household member is present. When two priests officiate, the junior priest usually carries out this segment of the *dayong* and the senior priest rests in order to be ready for the third part. However, both priests may share the task.

At this stage of the *dayong*, important people may thank their spirit helpers and ask for their continued support. This happened twice during end-of-year

dayong. Lake' Ajang, the most influential commoner, donned all his fineries and made an offering of sixteen eggs outside the house in front of his apartment. Meanwhile, people beat gongs (*pelegan*) in order to call the spirits, in order to rejoice with them and to make them aware of the egg offerings. Gongs are used only for important people; Lake' Ajang's spirits reside at Ujet Bato', which is also the otherworldly abode of *maren*'s and priests' spirits. Another day, Lake' Kebing, Uma Bawang's retired chief, made a similar offering. The chief's household owns a board with sixteen holes on which egg offerings can be placed. That day, Lake' Kebing offered only eight eggs. His oration lasted more than half an hour and he spoke with great passion; I could not hear anything because of the gongs. As he was such an important person, many people assembled on the gallery to watch the proceedings. When he returned to the veranda, Lake' Kebing took off his fineries and hung them on the *jok*.

The oration to the pig contains invariant passages as well as statements specific to the occasion. The following text is a précis from a *dayong* after the death of a villager.[16] In this litany, the pig is asked to visit a number of spirits and ask for their blessings on behalf of the sponsoring household. (Each spirit is in charge of an object, quality, or procedure.) The pig is repeatedly asked to call back the souls of the household members and the soul of their rice. Every spirit is told that the pig, together with the offerings it carries, constitutes the payment for blessings. Finally, the pig is told that it is a unique animal, with an effectiveness which other animals lack.

> O pig! You are powerful. You will throw away the illnesses and the incapacities of this household which has been struck by rain [death]. This is why they hold you, pig, because you will clean away and discard everything that is wrong. I tell you this, pig, because you are powerful. Make everything easy; clean everything; get rid of their bad dreams. Clean everything up to the edge of the sky, up to the ends of the earth, so that they are healthy, so that they are well, so that they are cool.
>
> Tell Bungan Malan, tell Penyelong Luan, that you are the price of health, the price of well-being, the price of longevity. One man has passed away; let nobody else die; the others must remain healthy. Pig, tell this to our grandparents Bungan Malan and Penyelong Luan. You are leaving the grasp of this family. Maybe they feel left behind by their father who has a charmed life [in the spirit country]. Maybe their souls have gone wandering to every longhouse of spirits. This is why we hold you, pig, so you will call back every one of them.
>
> Another thing, pig. Please tell our grandparents Bungan Malan and Lake' Penyelong that you will hold fast the members of this household, you will fasten

[16] Because of the very large number of repetitions, a full translation would be almost unreadable. This text was originally taped and the priest, Usun, was consulted for the transcription. Nonetheless, some passages remain obscure, because neither Usun nor other priests could explain a number of words. Furthermore, my informants found text analysis a very strange activity and nobody was willing to engage in it for more than very brief periods. This text and the way to the spirit country (described in the next section) deserve a detailed exegesis like Peter Metcalf's (1989) fascinating analysis of Berawan prayers. This would constitute a book by itself.

> their floor, their walls, their roof, you will fasten their rice in the storage containers. You will plant the soul of animal husbandry, you will make sure their rice fields are productive. Pig, call back the soul of rice, which might have wandered away with him [the deceased].
>
> Pig, talk to Hiro Hndoh Oh[17], who ladles rice in the cooking pot, Huring Doh Taring, who is in charge of the cooking pot, and Julan Doh Angan, who looks after the cooking stand. Tell them you have come to call back the souls of this family; tell them you are the price of health, of well-being, of longevity. Tell them to speed the souls on their way. Talk to Huring Doh Liding, who is in charge of walls; talk to Keli'a Mutet Murah at Usun Awan, tell Huring Joh Ing. Talk to Haren Da Alen, who locks doors, tell him to protect all their belongings. Talk to Himu Lake' Tasu, Hanyi' Lake' Jihe', Hunyang Hingan, and Tengulun San. Talk to Hunyang Doh Jelupang, who places creepers across the longhouse, talk to Huring Doh Piping at the top of the riverbank, talk to Buring Paren Bek Latan ['Striped Aristocrat Below The-flat-area- in-front-of-the-house']: maybe the children have been playing there, maybe their souls have gone away. Tell them all not to take away the children's souls, but to look after them.
>
> I tell you this, pig. You are ascending towards our grandparents Bungan Malan and Penyelong Luan. Talk to the boulders of the Murum river upriver of this longhouse. Talk to the boulder in the sand, talk to all the spirits of the Murum rapids. Talk to the boulders across the river. Talk to those who are in charge of the Baluy Pe river, talk to those who live in the boulder at the Pejaran rapids. Tell them to look after these people; if they are travelling when the river is high, may the spirits look after them. Tell them all that you are the payment for health, the payment for a long and happy life. Tell them not to be angry because children play near the shore and paddle about. They must be happy because you are travelling with the fruits [the egg offerings] and the jars [gongs and trays].
>
> Luho dreamt the house was being destroyed. Uyong Bato' was about to set fire to the house with the help of Akem Lireh. Then the person who looked like Uyong Bato'[18] said they would build a new house. This is the dream I entrust to you, pig;

[17] Lit. 'Hiro the woman of the ladle'. Spirit and place names usually have a meaning which is related to the feature over which the spirit has authority. For instance, Huring (personal name for a woman) Doh (lit. 'woman'; this is a prefix for women of grand-parental age) Liding (wall). Huring Doh Liding is in charge of protecting the integrity of walls. The following text would be unreadable if I provided footnotes for each name; instead, they have been listed in the Glossary when I know their meaning. Some Kayan personal names often occur as part of spirits names; for female spirits, Hunyang, Huring, Lalang, Usun; for men's spirits, Avun, Lirong, Ajang, Batang, Hanyi', Himu, and Mering. Avun and Lirong are priestly names. Human names are in two parts: the autonym followed by the patronym (this couplet may be preceded by an honorific); spirit names are in three parts. Some landmarks mentioned in this prayer are on the territory of Uma Bawang, such as the Baluy Pe (or Belepe) and Murum rivers and the Pejaran rapids; others are in the spirit country.

[18] Luho, Hanyi', Silong, and Silo are members of the household for which the *dayong* is taking place. Uyong Bato' (also known as Lihan) is the village chief. Akem Lireh is a neighbour of Luho. Uyong Wan is an Uma Bawang priest. Some people are referred to by their real name (for instance Luho, Uyong Bato', Hanyi', and Akem Lireh), others by their sacred name (*aran dayong*), such as Silong, Lutang (the deceased), and Silo. When ominous dreams are narrated, it is common to refer to 'someone who looks like So-and-So', to suggest a dissociation between the dream and the reality and avoid drawing undue attention to the living person. In this case, the priest first mentioned Uyong Bato' by name, then she corrected herself, saying 'the person who looks like Uyong Bato'.

narrate it to Bungan Malan, to Penyelong Luan. Hanyi' dreamt someone gave him money to redeem a debt. When he returned to the house, the money had disappeared. Silong dreamt that someone who looked like Uyong Wan was conducting a protective ritual (*ngaping*) on their behalf. These are all the dreams they remember.

As you visit Bungan Malan and Penyelong Luan, tell Haren who is in charge of the bundle of life to look after these people's lives. Tell Husong who is in charge of the marker of people's lives to take good care of them. Going from there, pig, travel towards the source of the Kayan river and say you are there to establish tranquillity. Tell Himu who is in charge of the bamboo container of breath to look after it on behalf of these people. From there, pig, go to Bua Uren Paren. Maybe there are rotten stumps because of the broken Lutang [the deceased]; clean it away. Repair the staffs of life so that his children prosper. From there, pig, go to Hayan Mering Ngalen who looks after our staffs of life at Apo Jelungan, so that he cleans them. Tell him to look after the staffs of the survivors.

O pig! I tell you that you are the payment for rice, because the father of these people, who has died, participated in the agricultural rituals of this year. Tell the spirits that you are looking for the soul of rice. Then go to Lake' Pejalan Urip to say that you are the base, the prop, of these people's lives. Say that you come to hold fast their lives, to repair their lives. Tell Lake' Telisip Urip to give us roof shingles. Talk to Lake' Pe'ong Urip so he will hold fast the foundations of their lives. Talk to Lake' Ju, Lake' Jet, and Luya Do Jima. Tell them that, if they were considering shortening these people's lives, we are sending all these offerings. Tell them to be well-disposed towards these people and to look after them. From there, go to Batang Hajang who makes the bones of humans, so they do not connect the bones wrongly.

These people are about to harvest; who knows, maybe the rice might be without seeds. Get the plentiful rice, get the good, healthy rice; this is the purpose of these offerings. From there, go to Avun who is in charge of bamboo containers, to Usun who looks after cucumber seeds. Tell them you are the payment for productive containers, for containers of domesticated animals, for full containers, for the containers which attract goods and money. Likewise, Usun looks after cucumber seeds, after the seeds of our life; she enfolds them carefully. There might be those who would steal them during the cool of night; this is not permitted, it may not happen. From there, go to Lalang who looks after our boat loads, after the boat loads of rice. Tell her you are there to hold down the loads, the full loads, the overflowing loads. Talk to Liling Serang, who is in charge of the lake of rice, so the lake is full, so these people live well.

Maybe some of them dreamt of waterfalls, maybe they dreamt of birds. Talk to Kirep who is in charge of ironwood, to Ubong who is in charge of eggplants, to Lohong who is in charge of tree shoots. Tell Hingan who is in charge of the breadfruit, tell them all you are calling back these people's souls, you are the payment for rice, you are the payment for the soul of plentiful rice.

From there, go in the heat of day and talk to Jelivan at Apo Kelubok. Say you are the payment for the bubble (*kelubok*) of life, for the bubble of health, for the bubble of things, for the bubble of domesticated animals, for the bubble of good things, of satiety, of easy work, of good handicrafts. From there, go upriver to Hi'ang Senak Mebang; talk to Jelivan Tekwan, Hingan Tekwan, and Huring Hune, saying you are the price of health, well-being, and a good life.

From there, go to Lirong Lalang who is in charge of Lirong Lugan; tell him you are the dam which retains skills. You retain the ability to perform *dayong*, the ability to look after domesticated animals, to cultivate rice, to maintain one's belongings. Maybe the dam is leaking, maybe it spurts water; this is not permitted, it may not

happen. Pig, tell them this: 'This is the reason I come with offerings, to talk to you'.

From there, pig, go to Lirong who is in charge of the priests' wrist-bands. Some stupid people might have made wrist-bands with chipped beads. Look after Avun and Tening [the two officiants]. Do not throw them in the water, carry them to safety. Talk to Batang Lasah who is in charge of priests' fees. Some people might have given flawed fees to Avun and Tening. Tell them not to throw them away, but to gather them neatly at the base of the tree of fees. So much for this matter.

Go up Apo Keluhe to talk to Jelivan Apo Keluhe, to tell him you are the payment for comfort, for a comfortably-fitting life, comfortably-fitting health, comfortably-fitting work. Then, go to the place of spirit-counterparts. Maybe these people [the bereaved] have spirit-helpers; talk to them politely. From there, pig, talk to Ubong Baya' who swims in the river there, talk to Tigang Lihan, a spirit under the river, talk to all of them, talk to Bulo Batang Niang; tell them you have come to call back the soul of rice. Maybe the rice of these people has sunk when the river rose. Tell them this: 'I have come to call their souls, maybe something is caught under the water'. From there, go to the Rock Where the Gong Rings, and talk with Jelivan Bato' Ing, because Silo dreamt a man followed her and had sex with her. Say that you are coming with the offerings and she must not be bothered. Maybe her soul is stuck there; if so, call it back.

At Long Lirong, swim across the river, where you will meet some *paren apit* [half-spirits, half-humans]. Tell them you have come with offerings. Tell them about these people's good disposition; tell them to think well of these people, to think straight about these people, to think smoothly about these people. Spirits may not have crooked feelings, they may not have warped feelings, they may not disturb them. One of these *paren apit* shared a body with Lake' Ding Mering [an Uma Bawang hero], long ago. One side was Lake' Ding Mering, the other side was the *paren apit*. Because of this link, these spirits may not bother us, they may not disturb us. Go to Long Alan, pig, talk nicely with Jelivan, tell him you have come to call back the souls of these people. Maybe their souls are caught, maybe they are stuck; the same may be true of the soul of their rice. This is all I want to say about this, pig.

These people hold you, pig, because you are powerful, you are effective, you remove incapacities, whatever is wrong, whatever is not appropriate, from the bodies of the people in this apartment. There are innumerable rhinoceros hornbills, helmeted hornbills, wild cattle, and sambhur deer, but we do not use these animals instead of you. Among animals, if the mother has markings, so do her offspring; if the mother has spots, her offspring have spots too. But you, though you are black, your mother might be red; some pigs have spots while other have patterns. In the same way that you have thousands of hairs, you are powerful and effective, you have the ability to remove people's incapacities. These people, here, these orphans, have been struck by rain. Their father has left them behind; they are alarmed, they are upset. This is why they hold you, so that you will call back their souls, so that you will visit every spirit longhouse. This is what I have to say about this.

Hold fast their walls, hold fast their shingles, hold fast their floor-boards, hold fast their posts, hold fast their rafters, repair their palm-roofing. Provide ironwood shingles, provide a roof of stone. These people have had many dreams, many of which they have forgotten. Entrust this matter to our grandparents Bungan Malan and Penyelong Luan.

Sacrifice

When all messages and prayers have been entrusted to the animal, the officiant may burn some of its hair or feathers (*nuno'*) so that spirits may rejoice at the aroma. This procedure is uncommon in Uma Bawang. Just before its throat is cut, the animal's legs are unbound so it can walk in the spirit country. The animal may be killed by any man, including the priest. As women do not slaughter animals, female priests let a household member do so. When a large pig is sacrificed, several men help to hold it still. The blood is gathered in a bowl and is mixed with the water in which the animal is cooked. If the blood is dark, this means the blade is powerful (*la'it*), otherwise it is ordinary (*beleh*, lit. 'bland'). A wood shaving (*penghut*) may be dipped in the blood as a memento of the sacrifice and is used during the *pelah* (see below). The animal is brought to the kitchen right away and cooked.

Sacrificial animals are usually slaughtered and eaten, but, since the Bungan reform, it is permissible to release them after the ceremony. In such a case, only the soul of the animal visits the spirits; it may be sacrificed at another occasion. This economical procedure may be adopted when there is no pressing supernatural danger and when the meat is not needed to entertain guests. However, this is uncommon and is deemed less powerful than a *dayong* in which the animal is killed. This is called *dayong urip*, by contrast with the usual *dayong tevek* ('*urip*' means 'life' while '*tevek*' means 'cutting the throat'). In one case, there were seven chickens, one for each dream, but a single bird was sacrificed. At another occasion, a pig was released while a chicken was slaughtered. If a *dayong urip* is deemed to be ineffective, it is followed by a *dayong tevek*. In some curing *dayong* (Chapter VIII) which aim to avert the influence of particularly dangerous spirits, the sacrificial animal is not eaten; then, chicks or suckling pigs are slaughtered so as not to waste good meat. While the animal constitutes the most important sacrifice, everything which humans ingest during the ceremony is part of the offerings, including rice, pastries, rice beer, and cigarettes. Spirits partake of them invisibly and the *dayong* is an act of commensality between humans and spirits.

In *adat Dipuy*, the pig's liver was scrutinized and interpreted according to a code (see Nieuwenhuis 1904-07, II:105, 179; Hose and McDougall 1912, II:62-4). If the liver was auspicious, it was thrown away. If it was inauspicious, a chicken was killed and its blood poured on the liver. The chicken blood was a medicine (*tavah*) for the liver; one then went on to check whether the chicken liver was auspicious. If not, the procedure was repeated with a second chicken. If its liver was bad, they killed another pig which served as the 'cure' for the bad omens. Several pigs could be sacrificed until an auspicious liver was obtained; if there was a long run of inauspicious livers, the omen was accepted. Hepatoscopy was also practised in other contexts than the *dayong* with the same interpretative code (for instance before going on a headhunting expedition). This disappeared with the Bungan reform, but some priests watch the pig's blood as it drips in the basin with water: the arrangement of bubbles has a meaning (which was not explained to me).

Pelah: a protective ritual

The sacrifice is followed immediately by the *pelah* ('*melah*' means 'to ebb, to go down (of a river)'); it provides protection for the whole household. Its members gather around a sword which they touch with their right hands. The sword's tip rests on a tray or a gong. The priest touches their hands with an egg while mentioning their names. With the egg, the officiant traces circles in the air around the people, praying that they be strong and cool like steel. If a wood shaving was dipped in the blood of the sacrificial animal, it may be used instead of the egg (afterwards, this memento of the sacrifice is slipped between shingles of the gallery roof). With a sword, the priest makes circles around the participants, thus creating a supernatural fence or wall against spirits. The priest passes a metal tray or gong over their heads, which becomes a hat and a roof against spirits. If there is more than one celebrant, the one who carries out the *pelah* touches the hand of the other priest with the egg so that both of them are deemed to have officiated. Occasionally, a separate *pelah* takes place for the oldest member of the household (*puku amin*). In *adat Dipuy*, people did not touch a sword, but placed together the tips of their right-hand index fingers. This was found to be impractical and, in *adat Bungan*, the sword was added so that people could hold on to something. The sword strengthens their life (*kemhing urip daha'*). It must be in good condition; if it is rusty, the priest will request that it be cleaned before using it.

At this point, there is a break in the ritual, during which a meal is prepared. The egg offerings on the floor are stored in the room to protect them from dogs, but the altar remains in place. The sacrificial animal is cooked in the normal way without any ritual: it is chopped up and boiled in water. While the meal is being prepared, priest and guests are entertained in the apartment where they consume rice beer and rice pastries (especially at the end-of-year *dayong*).

Meal

Household members and priest(s) are ritually required to partake of the meal; other people are usually invited. In the same way as for ordinary meals, rice is packaged in large leaves, while meat and other dishes are placed in large communal containers from which guests help themselves. There are separate servings for important and ordinary guests and a third setting for the officiants, who do not share their food with anyone except other priests. Priests eat on the platform; their food is usually placed close to the wall, far away from the floor. After the meal, some cooked food may be brought by a member of the sponsoring household to the priest's family. In *adat Dipuy*, the men who made

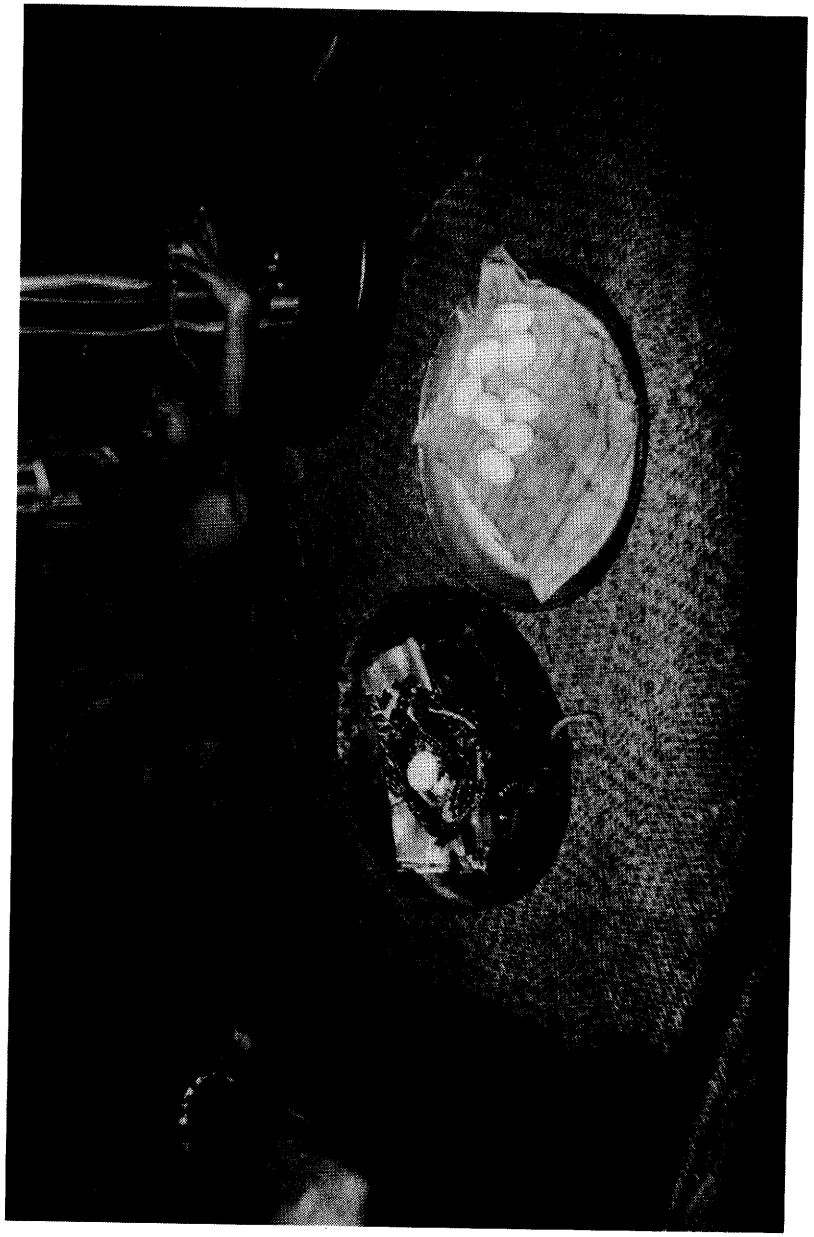

Plate 15. Offerings in front of the *jok*. One tray holds eight eggs, the other has one egg on a folded cloth, ringed by a beaded waist-band. A young spectator uses as a head-rest the gong which serves as the *jok*'s base. The post of the *jok* has been decorated with a piece of cloth. The priest sits besides the offerings.

responses also ate with the priest (or had a dish of their own). Important people sit on the raised sleeping platform, while the others eat on the floor. The distinction between important and ordinary guests has a religious significance. The 'good people', are always treated as honoured guests, because they have inherent supernatural power. The status of influential commoners and priests is explained as a consequence of acquired supernatural force. Whether aristocrats or commoners, those who benefit from supernatural assistance can share food without danger.[19]

Participation in the meal is by invitation; the hosts discreetly guide the important guests to the place of honour. The number of guests varies and the sacrificial animal is selected with a specific number of guests in mind. The hosts have some leeway in deciding which guests receive special treatment. The chief and other *maren* are invariably included in this category, as are other prominent men. Sometimes, these notables sit apart on the platform; in other cases, one or two senior men from each household may join them at the place of honour. It is rare for women to be included in this section, except of course for a woman priest. In one case, there were male guests from every apartment in the long-house except the chief's and the most influential commoner's. Both of them were away from the longhouse, but the real reason for their absence was the fact that the sponsoring household were ex-slaves; neither notable felt his attendance would improve his prestige. Thirty-one men attended the meal. The next day, a bottle of rice wine was brought to the influential commoner in order to include him *ex post facto*. Honoured guests may be accompanied by a child who does not count as a guest. Women usually partake of the meal in the kitchen or they bring portions of cooked food to their own apartments.[20]

[19] I was usually invited to join the important guests because I was believed to enjoy respectable supernatural strength. (Two of the Uma Bawang priests usually invited me to share their meal, because my interest in rituals made me in their eyes an apprentice priest.) At the end of my fieldwork, I hosted a feast (not a *dayong*) which my next-door neighbours organized. There were two sittings, with the important people served first. There were three trays at the first sitting, one for the *maren*, the other for the four most important commoners, and, between them, a plate for me. On that occasion, aristocrats and important commoners had to eat from separate dishes because of the presence of the retired chief whose supernatural force was too great to allow commensality with commoners, even powerful ones. The separate dishes for me were a tactful solution to a ticklish problem: they knew I could eat with the retired chief because I had done so before, but this would have been a snub to one commoner elder to whom I was particularly close. I had lived in his farmhouse during the harvest and we had shared food from the same dishes.

[20] Two end-of-year *dayong* were specifically for the benefit of unmarried offspring, who were leaving the village – one to school, the other to find wage work. In both cases, the guests were boys of the same age.

Part III: dayong malem: chanting the way to the spirit country

After the meal, people gather on the gallery in front of the *jok* and, when the priest is ready, the ceremony continues. During the third part of the *dayong*, priests journey to the spirit country; in a chant, they narrate their journey, talk to spirits, and describe what they encounter. Another purpose of the *dayong malem* ('the *dayong* at night') is to retrieve the souls of household members and return them to their bodies.

The singing starts around 9.30 or 10 pm. This is the longest segment of the *dayong*; it goes on at least until 1 am, sometimes 5 am. People say the *dayong malem* lasted even longer in *adat Dipuy* because the priest had to visit many spirits in the other world. This phase of the ritual brings the largest audience, in part because the workday has ended, but also because people come to listen to the priest's chant. If there are two officiants, they alternate because it is strenuous to sing uninterruptedly for several hours. The senior priest is likely to do most of the singing; some priests manage a solo performance. A chorus of men sings responses (*nyabe*) to some of the priest's chants. Their participation is essential for the ritual to be efficacious; a regular supply of refreshments, cigarettes, and betel chews helps in recruiting an adequate choir. It is taboo (*parit*) for women to *nyabe*. (I observed one exception; she was a rather eccentric shaman.) The efficacy of the *dayong malem* is related to its artistic aspect: it pleases both humans and spirits. It is also the occasion for the priest to enter into direct contact with the spirit world.

The priest's chant is in a poetic language which differs considerably from everyday speech. It is marked by repetitions, rhymes, and alliterations, and it has its own vocabulary. Some words from everyday language have metaphorical meanings. Here, *malem* ('night') refers to dreams. The domesticated pig (*uting*) is referred to as a large wild boar (*bavuy blangyan*), the egg offerings are 'fruits' (*bua*), the gongs and trays are 'jars' (*tajo*), the pieces of cloth are the 'pillows of things' (*hlen daven*). Other words appear in a grammatical form which is rare or absent in everyday speech, such as *udu*, the nominal form of *tudu*, 'to sleep' (*udu*, like *malem*, refers to dreams). Many words are borrowings from other languages, a literary device which has been noted elsewhere in central Borneo (Metcalf 1989:39).[21]

[21] I have no musical training; Madeleine Palmer was kind enough to jot down the following notes after listening to my tapes of several *dayong malem*. The words of the chant are intoned to a melody based on a minor pentatonic scale centred around C or C sharp: for instance B flat, C, E flat, F, G. Triggered by specific words, the men sitting behind the officiant respond in unison with the last three of four notes of the priest's melody. There are a number of similarities to Western Christian, Orthodox, or Hebrew chant. While the men are singing, the priest continues, creating an overlap. Also, the priest and chorus can start on different notes of the melody and/or hold notes for varying lengths depending on the word rhythms. For example, one chant tune was based on the notes G, F, E flat, F, E flat, C (and the men would respond with the last four notes). However if there were many words and syllables, then the priest would add notes, especially a grace note before the first G, which was usually held for a long time. One example of this produced (F), G, F, E flat, F, (G), (F), E flat, C, (B flat), (C), the bracketed notes being the added tones. Following the same logic, if the men's choral response text was short, they would only sing the last three notes. The priest also ornamented his line with trills or quavers. Two chants had the unmetered, intoned quality described above. Later in the ritual, a third chant (still based on a pentatonic scale) had a cheerful, dotted, rhythm and a simple melodic pattern (E flat, F, E flat, F, E flat, C, E flat – where the E flats act as upbeats to the held Fs). Here the men responded with a dotted pattern (dotted eighth, sixteenth, quarter note) on the low B flat.

The chant describes the rivers, mountains, paths, and longhouses of the spirit country as well as its denizens. Place names and spirits' names are descriptive: Ujet Bato' is the 'Apex of the stone'; 'Un Keliman is the 'Source of Ease'; Bato' Tapah Jilut is the 'Boulder where one Alights in a Single File'; Bato' te' 'un Linge is the 'Boulder at the Source of the Shadow'. These locations are associated with specific spheres of influence: issues relating to rivers, such as dreams about capsizing, are broached at Hida Danum, 'Below the River'. The names of some spirits indicate their areas of competence, such as Lake' Pe'ong Urip, 'Grandfather who is the Base of Life', and Lake' Wak Urip, 'Grand-father who Pours Life'. The meaning of other names is less obvious. At each location, only one or two spirits are named; these are the rulers of a longhouse of spirits, all of whom must be propitiated.

The spirit country has several regions and many longhouses inhabited by spirits. In the first part of the *dayong*, divination has identified the various destinations of the journey. As soon as it is sacrificed, the animal starts on its way. After the meal, the officiant describes the way to the spirit country, the offerings, and their recipients. If there is a need to counteract a bad dream or an illness, the officiant's soul follows the route. For routine *dayong*, the priest need only describe the way and Bungan takes charge of delivering the offerings to the appropriate spirits.[22] The officiant is not in a trance.

The *dayong malem* can attract an audience of twenty to a hundred people depending on the reputation of the officiant and the availability of refreshments. Some people – especially women – bring work with them to keep busy while the ritual goes on. They weave mats and baskets, they sew, they do each other's hair. In recent years, these activities have become easier because of pressure lamps which make the gathering more cheerful than feeble wick lamps and provide excellent lighting for such work. At the end-of-year *dayong*, people do not work, because this is a time to rest and play.

During the night, the officiant and the choir take two or three breaks to drink rice beer or weak, sweet coffee. They chew betel, they smoke, and they engage in animated conversations about varied subjects. Breaks are also an occasion to sing praise songs (*parap*) to honoured guests. Spectators are free to do so while

[22] This is the case for the *dayong nawi bluan pare* (Chapter VI), when one calls back the soul of the *padi*. Given that each human being has several souls, I asked Avun which soul travelled to the spirit country; he surmised it was the soul of the head, but he had clearly never asked himself that question before.

the ritual is in progress. Women pay less attention to the ceremony: unlike men, who have to sing responses, they are not active participants. They often sit a little distance away and chat quietly with each other. Men are more solemn, although solemnity may turn to somnolence. There is no set time for children to go to bed and they stay around, dazed and bleary-eyed, until a few hours before dawn. Some of them sleep on the veranda. Dogs join the crowd. As the hour advances, some spectators leave, but a few men must stay to the end.

The priest starts the *dayong malem* by calling spirit helpers (*dayong*) and requesting their help in conveying offerings. Other spirits in charge of various elements of the *dayong* are also summoned.[23] The celebrant asks spirits to give a good and easy life to the household members; the priest narrates their dreams once more. Bungan is asked to intercede: she can help by distributing offerings to the appropriate spirits; she can warn and punish spirits who persistently send bad dreams.

In response to the spirit helpers' questions (which the officiant alone hears), the priest explains the reasons for the ritual. In the *dayong malem*, the priest's soul flies to the spirit country on a shield (*kelebit*), bringing along the offerings. If necessary, the priest carries out other tasks, such as straightening a patient's staff of life (*tuken urip*) and cleaning off the vines which pull it down. The song describes, indeed enacts, the travel. The chant describes in great detail the ceremonial dress which the officiant dons in the spirit country. The poetry of the text creates a vivid image of the journey. Every time spirits are encountered on the way, the priest breaks into songs which require responses from the male chorus. The priest describes his own weakness and unworthiness; he mentions by name the beneficiaries of the ritual and describes what is wrong with them; he recounts their dreams to the spirit Bua Julan, who interprets their meaning. If the dream is bad, Bua Julan is asked to neutralize it (*ngaping*). Lake' Penyelong (Bungan's consort) cuts up the pig in many pieces and makes a whole pig from each portion, so that each spirit longhouse may receive a pig. In the same way, he multiplies the other offerings and distributes them among spirits.[24]

Alan dayong: the trip to the spirit country

The priest's itinerary depends on the specific reasons for the ritual. There are many paths in the spirit country. From a single starting point, the routes branch. In a *dayong* for a dying person, the priest does not visit the spirits'

[23] These include Lirong Ubong Tenong, who is in charge of divination (*nenong*), Paren Ubong Kaping who controls the *kaping*, Bua Paren who looks after the *tuken urip*, Bua Ledang Bala, Batang Tuman Urip, Lake' Pejalan Urip, Lake' Telisip Urip, Lake Pe'ong Urip, Lake' Wak Urip, Lake' Pengulan Urip, Lake' Mek'an Urip, and Lake' Ju Urip (who are life-maintaining spirits).

[24] We have seen (Chapter IV) the Kayan 'etymology' of Lake' Penyelong's name. In Kayan, *nyelong* means 'to make'. It is Lake' Penyelong's task to make whole offerings out of fragments.

longhouses along the way but goes on directly to the destination. Officiants follow rivers and fly over hills. As they cross a watershed, night changes into day. Travel to the spirit country is not free of surprises. The renowned priest Lake' Huluy (from the village of Uma Belun) once met a spirit who told him to go no further. If he had ignored the warning, he said, he would never have been seen again; this was the fate of some foolhardy priests long ago.

My next-door neighbour, the priest Avun Imang, provided a paraphrase of the *dayong malem*.[25]

> Nowadays, the priests' path to the spirit country is not the same as it was in *adat Dipuy*. Things are easier now. We entrust the bad dreams to Bungan, who looks after them. Bungan cleanses the bad dreams herself.
>
> At night, people gather and the priest calls his *dayong* spirits. 'What do you want?', they ask. – 'I am going to bring along fruits [egg and bead offerings] and a wild boar [the sacrificial domesticated pig], I am going to bring news to the spirit country', he says. Spirits help to carry the offerings; they give the priest a jacket to protect him against disabilities and *parit*. The priest dons the clothes and says: 'I taste the food, I don my seating mat, my sheath, my war coat, I take my blowpipe, my shield of iron. I go in a boat, together with the wild boar and the jars [gongs and trays].'
>
> The priest flies off, bringing the fruits, the boar, the cloth offerings, and the jars. Every time he comes across a group of spirits, he says he has come to talk to them. This is when the choir sings responses. 'Well, it has been a long time since you brought offerings!', say the spirits. – 'Yes, friends, you are right, here I am with offerings, which I have brought on the *jok*, together with the jars and the pig.'
>
> The priest goes up the Pesong river and arrives at Bua Julan's house at Apo Token. There he alights in order to talk to Tenangan. They roll cigarettes and smoke together [this is what the Kayan do when they visit someone in his or her apartment]. He narrates the dreams, the good ones and the bad ones, and entrusts them to Bua Julan. The priest plants the good dreams [so that they will grow]; the others are discarded. Bua Julan says: 'Let us plant life, let us plant the sowing, let us plant wealth, let us plant abundance, let us plant black earth, let us plant fertile earth, let us plant a place where the rice will be plentiful and thick'. Bua Julan explains the meaning of the dreams: 'Well, priest, this dream about fish, this is a good dream, this is a dream that one will sow'. The same would be true of dreams about seeds or cucumbers. As for bad dreams, 'We are going to wave these away', she says; these might be dreams about severe pain or dreams about one's things being broken.
>
> The priest asks Lake' Penyelong to make pigs. Lake' Penyelong cuts up the pig and dips the chunks into a jar filled with the juice of ease (*telang keliman*). Each chunk becomes a pig. He does the same with the eggs and the pieces of cloth because many longhouses of spirits have to be satisfied. The priest is now ready to carry these offerings to their destinations. Lake' Penyelong helps distribute the offerings to the spirits of Apo Token. Lake' Penyelong and other spirits exchange jokes. They bathe in the river, washing the longhouse [Uma Bawang] at the same

[25] I asked him to paraphrase the night chant because my understanding of the poetic language is limited. The following text has been abridged. I recorded a similar paraphrase with Avun Ngo. Both priests' accounts tally very closely. I have taken the liberty of adding to this text the introductory and concluding comments of Avun Ngo's version (the first two and the last paragraphs), as they help put the description in context.

time. Bua Julan tells the priest where to go next. On the basis of the dreams which have been reported, she tells the priest to go to Long Alan, Apo Jelungan, Apo Keliman, or Apo Jakah. The priest must look for the souls of the dreamers because they have been stuck there after the dreams.

Bua Julan is in charge of dark, fertile, soil; during an end-of-year *dayong*, one asks her for good fields. There exist hundreds of varieties of fields, all of which have something wrong with them: people get fevers when they cultivate there, they get hurt, the rice does not grow, pests attack the rice, and so on. But there is also one kind of field which is flawless and the priest obtains a little piece of it. It will provide a good life, a prosperous life, where it will be easy to have good pigs, good harvests, and general prosperity.

The priest flies. Some priests go to Hida Danum, others to Long Bawang, Long Alan, Ujet Bato', the source of the Tuyun, the source of the Keliman, Hida Beran, or Apo Unyat, in order to look for souls which might be stuck there. The priest tells spirits not to be angry; they must help. This is why the priest has brought offerings to them. The priest goes up the Pesong river to repair the base of the staffs of life, asking for life, talking to all the spirits in charge of life. He goes on to Long Lirong Lugan, Apo Duna, Apo Lirang, Apo Jemalong, Apo Keluhe, and Apo Liwang, visiting many spirits who want to play; [hence, the priest sings to entertain them].

At the source of the Linge, there are many boulders: Bato' Depang Lalang, Bato' Tapa Jilut, Bato' Ubong Lavong, Bato' Hayong Sunong, Bato' Ubong Naban, all of which the priest visits. Then to Bato' Huso' and Bato' Dengah Liruy. He reaches the source of the Tuyun and the source of the Keliman, goes up Bato' Ubut Bunah, Bato' Hubong Sian, Bato' Hubong Kilah, and Bato' Geling Ubong Langit. He returns downriver to Long Linge, also called Long Bawang, the abode of Hingan and Bua Banye', and distributes offerings to all the spirits there. From there, he goes to Lio Dian, which is the origin of all the *dayong*.

Going up the Bawang, the priest reaches Ujet Bato', where he meets his spirit counterparts. *Maren* priests visit the boulders at the sources of the Linge, Bawang, and Tuyun rivers. Commoner priests do not go there. *Maren* priests go on to Long Keliman. Those who stopped at Long Bawang return to Lio Dian; they proceed to Hida Danum (also called Hida Hunge), where they look for the soul of rice, which might have sunk, which might have been hit by landslides. The priest talks to every spirit there. This is also where one would deal with capsized boats or boats which drifted. He talks with Lake' Batang Asan who changes the life of people. He is asked to change life for the better. The priest then visits Batang Terong Bang who looks after the cast-net, the cast-net of life, the cast-net which will catch the soul of rice.

At Long Lirong, the priest meets Lejo Long Lirong Hudo', who is in charge of stomach problems, illnesses, and pain. At Long Lirong, there are spirits who make things better, others who make them worse. At Long Alan, he looks for souls; if dreams are to be redeemed, the priest may now fly to various places, such as Apo Jaka or Apo Keliman. He flies up the Keliman and returns to Lio Dian, from where he returns to Apo Token, where Bua Julan washes the souls he retrieved in his travails. She tells the priest to return the souls to people's bodies, which the priest does at that point. Further downriver, he visits Bato' Liling Mebang, Juman Sep'e, Long Lirong, and Long Alan. (Long Alan is the path which the deceased take on their way to the spirit country.) From there, he goes up Telang Julan to reach Apo Jelungan where he asks for the soul of rice.

If dreams of war have to be paid for, the priest goes to Hida Petah, the abode of people who died at war. From there, one goes to Gila Usan, the abode of those who died of shock. The priest returns to Apo Token. From there, he brings offerings to Bua Ledang Bala who is in charge of our breath. There are staffs of life at Apo Token; the priest goes there if a staff needs to be erected. This calls for a lengthy and pleasant conversation with Bua Uren Paren. She is asked to repair the staffs. Maybe they fell down, maybe they are not quite right, maybe they are stuck. The priest sings to a small weeding knife which removes weeds around the staffs. Bua Uren Paren also receives a pig, eggs, and cloth, as does Lake' Mering Ngalen, who is in charge of the base of the staffs.

This kind of visit is repeated at every longhouse of spirits; this is why it takes all night to get through the procedure. The length of the *dayong* depends on the occasion; if there are many dreams, we have to visit many spirits; if not, we get through rapidly. We visit some spirits at the occasion of every *dayong*. Thus, at Apo Token, we would never fail to call on Paren Ubong Kaping (who cleanses the life of humans), Bua Uren Paren (who looks after the staffs of life), Bua Ledang Bala, Batang Tuman Urip, Lake' Pejalan Urip, Lake' Telisip Urip, Lake' Pe'ong Urip, Lake' Wak Urip, Lake' Pengulan Urip, Lake' Mek'am Urip, and Lake' Ju Urip.

Through the night, the priest travels to the spirit country in order to find health, prosperity, good harvests, and a shield against dangers and illnesses. He looks for people's souls and the soul of their rice. By presenting offerings to spirits, the priest seeks to gain their good will. The benevolence of Bungan Malan and Penyelong Luan is assured, but one needs to catch their attention. Spirits have human motivations and, like humans, they live in longhouses. They are treated in the same way as powerful humans.

Much of the *dayong malem* takes place in the spirit country, of which spectators get a glimpse through the priest's chants. Late in the night, spirits come to this world to play. Among them, spirit helpers of shamans sometimes feel called upon to possess their human counterparts. While priesthood and shamanism are distinct in Kayan religion, both are based on the agency of spirit helpers, who are independent agents and can manifest themselves at will. In theory, this can happen at any time of the year, but I observed it only at the end-of-year *dayong* with old women. The shaman goes into a trance and dances around the *jok*. Such visitations are sometimes announced in dreams, especially when shamans receive new spirit helpers. During the trance, a man plays the *sape' dayong* (the half-size version of the three-stringed instrument used during shamanic performances). If no *sape'* is available, one can strike gongs or play the reed organ (*keledi*). If the possession has been announced in a dream, the *sape' dayong* is at hand when needed. If spirits manifest themselves without warning, someone hurriedly fetches a *sape'*.

Uku Hlong was the foremost commoner woman of Uma Bawang; her husband was Lake' Ajang, an influential man, and she played a major role in helping him to his prominent position. Uku Hlong was not a practising shaman, but she had spirit helpers who possessed her during a *dayong* sponsored by her household. ('Most women are like that at one time or another', said Avun. 'The *dayong* spirit comes down and wants to play, so the woman dances.') It was about 3 am. She danced around the *jok* for ten minutes

to the accompaniment of a *sape' dayong*. She moaned and stumbled, held by Usun, another elderly shaman. People tried to make her come back to her senses because, on a similar occasion, she had fainted and they were afraid spirits might carry her away if she were not brought back to consciousness. The shaman Dulap took her by the hand; they danced counterclockwise around the *jok*. Meanwhile the priest played the *sape' dayong*, then people hit gongs. A man replaced Usun who was tired of holding Hlong, and Dulap went into a trance. Hlong tried to sit down, but Dulap pulled her back to the dance. People watched the performance in a matter-of-fact way; now that Hlong was dancing in a controlled fashion, they ceased to worry. Hlong slowly started to come out of trance as Dulap danced herself into a frenzy; Dulap jumped up and down, then lost consciousness. Hlong came out of trance completely; she quenched her thirst with rice beer and returned to the dance, held up by two young men. Dulap soon revived and resumed dancing. Another woman, Uyong Lahe', walked around the *jok* a few times, very calmly, then went away, while Dulap and Hlong continued dancing. Dulap donned a sheathed sword and sang (the words were drowned by the sound of gongs). Bystanders requested shamanic cures, so Dulap and Usun extracted invisible disease-causing objects from the patients' bodies with their fingers or by sucking the afflicted parts. Meanwhile, Usun placed her hands on Uyong Lahe"s head so that her spirit helpers would return.

Dulap kept on dancing wildly and old men started to protest, saying it was time to stop beating gongs and playing the *sape'*. Hlong, who had been sitting quietly, started to dance in an uncontrolled fashion; she moaned and asked for the *sape'*. Dulap calmed down and chanted quietly, walking to and fro. In a very high voice, a spirit who was possessing Dulap said it was time to return. It was Hlong's turn to sing, after which she asked a woman priest in the audience to sing a praise song (*parap*) in honour of her spirit helpers. Hlong danced briefly and then we returned to the *dayong* ritual. The shamanic interlude lasted for about twenty minutes. As the Kayan do not hold the position of shaman in high regard, shamans may be eager for their spirit familiars to manifest themselves during *dayong* rituals in order to seek more recognition.

The capture of errant souls

Towards the end of the *dayong malem*, the priest dances in front of the *jok* for a few moments to the accompaniment of a *sape'*. The music attracts the errant souls of household members which the priest catches in order to replace them into their bodies. (In calendrical *dayong*, this procedure is omitted if nobody has been ill or had bad dreams.) Men's souls are caught with a sword and settle on its tip which is placed on the top of the head (at the spot where the fontanel is in babies) while the men sit on the gallery. Women's and children's souls are caught with an egg wrapped in a piece of fine cloth. The latter's souls are softer

and can be frightened easily, and one must take more precautions. They sit in the apartment when souls are returned to their heads. When there is a single officiant, men take precedence. If there are two priests, one deals with men, the other with women.

Lifting the jok

After this, the officiant resumes the chant. Then, the priest stands up, holding a sword, and dances around the *jok*. After raising the tray of egg offerings, the priest grabs the vertical post of the *jok* and lifts it while spectators shout. By lifting the *jok*, the priest sends it to the spirit country together with prayers and offerings.[26] The *jok* is taken apart while the priest resumes the chant, ending with a brief ritual to strengthen (*kemhing*) the officiants, including the male choir. This is an essential precaution because they have come into contact with powerful spirits. The priest raises an egg to Bungan to inform her that the ceremony has ended. Everyone goes to sleep, unless the priest is asked to sing epic poems, in which case they stay up until dawn. Good singers from other villages are almost invariably asked to entertain their audience and they comply with good grace. The day after a *dayong*, participants understandably do little work, but the prohibition against work ends with completion of the ritual.

Conclusion

While the annual cycle provides the religious framework for agriculture and is a reaffirmation of communal unity, the *dayong* articulates each household with the supernatural. For priests, the *dayong* is an uplifting experience, because it places them in direct contact with the supernatural. When they sing, both humans and spirits listen to them. By officiating, they have the satisfaction of helping neighbours, they are treated with respect. For most priests, the *dayong* is the central ritual activity: they perform several *dayong* every year, while only the senior priest is likely to carry out the rituals of the annual cycle.

[26] Some priests omit this practice; I do not know whether this is a matter of personal style or whether it depends on circumstances. If there are two officiants, they both dance around the *jok*. The physical action of lifting the *jok* is called *meju jok*; the fact of sending the *jok* to the spirit country is called *lemada jok*. Shouting (*lemalu*) is found in other contexts, such as the headhunting ritual.