LAKE' BALING

THE OLD KAYAN RELIGION
AND THE BUNGAN RELIGIOUS REFORM

Translated and annotated by
Jérôme Rousseau

UNIVERSITI MALAYSIA SARAWAK
The Institute of East Asian Studies
THE OLD KAYAN RELIGION
AND THE
BUNGAN RELIGIOUS REFORM
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BY LAKE' BALING

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Dayak Studies and Oral Literature Series

The Dayak Studies Monographs, Oral Literature Series was initiated by the Cultural Foundation, promoting long-term projects for the communities of Sarawak.

In this connection, the present volume is part of the publication series: 1) Dayak Studies Monographs; 2) Oral Literature Series.

The present volume of the Oral Literature Series was introduced by its author, Jérôme Rousseau.

About the Dayak Studies Monographs

A major challenge is to maintain, or in some cases, re-establish, cultural institutions and traditions - storytelling, epics, legends, myths, and other arts - as a means of passing on important values on which the identity and existence of communities are based. Others are being lost. Others are being lost. Others are being lost. Others are being lost. Others are being lost. Others are being lost. Others are being lost. Others are being lost. Others are being lost. Others are being lost. Others are being lost. Others are being lost. Others are being lost. Others are being lost. Others are being lost.

The purpose of this publication is to introduce the practice and art of oral literature in dayak communities. It is intended to preserve and maintain the values of oral literature in dayak communities by introducing the changing forms of culture that can be observed in the present day. It is introduced by its author, Jérôme Rousseau, who has been studying the Kayan people for many years. The purpose of this publication is to introduce the practice and art of oral literature in dayak communities. It is intended to preserve and maintain the values of oral literature in dayak communities by introducing the changing forms of culture that can be observed in the present day. It is introduced by its author, Jérôme Rousseau, who has been studying the Kayan people for many years.
FOREWORD

Dayak Studies and the Oral Literature Series

The Dayak Studies Program was inaugurated at the Universiti Malaysia Sarawak in January 2001. Constituted within the Institute of East Asian Studies, and sustained by an endowment from the Dayak Cultural Foundation, the program was established for the purpose of promoting long-term research on issues confronting the Dayak communities of Sarawak and of the island of Borneo more generally.

In this connection, the Dayak Studies Program has initiated two publication series: 1) a Contemporary Society Series and 2) an Oral Literature Series.

The present volume is the fourth in our Dayak Studies Oral Literature Series.

About the Dayak Studies Oral Literature Series

A major challenge facing Dayak communities today is that of maintaining, or in some cases, of rediscovering the vitality of community cultural institutions and identities. Traditionally, the verbal and expressive arts—storytelling, epics, sacred and historical narratives—all formed a central and cherished part of Dayak life and embodied many of the most important values on which cultural identities were founded. Today, in the face of rapid change, many of these narrative forms are in danger of being lost. Others are being radically reshaped or are assuming new cultural roles and meanings.

The purpose of this series is to make possible the recording and publication of some part of this rich and rapidly changing corpus of oral literature. It is intended not only to preserve a record of traditional examples of oral literature in danger of being lost, but also to record and document changing forms of contemporary Dayak expressive culture. Each volume is introduced by its author(s)/compiler(s) with an account identifying the narrator or storyteller and describing the context in which recording was
carried out. Texts are presented in both the original language in which they were narrated and in English translation. Where relevant, particular genres are described and their cultural significance within the community is explained as a background to the texts.

About The Old Kayan Religion and the Bungan Religious Reform

The Old Kayan Religion and the Bungan Religious Reform by Lake’ Baling departs in several significant ways from the other volumes in the Oral Literature Series. Most notably, it began its life not as an oral narrative at all, but as a written composition. Indeed, its very reason for being derives from the fact that it was written down. Its author, Lake’ Baling, who during his lifetime was a widely respected community leader, began to compose this unique book in the 1950s. His purpose, in recording it in writing, was to make available to Kayan readers an account, in the lasting form of a book, of the origins, nature and value of Adat Bungan, especially by way of contrast to the old Adat Dipui that had preceded it. For many years this work existed only in manuscript form. In 1974, Lake’ Baling asked the anthropologist Jérôme Rousseau, then carrying out research among the Kayan of Uma Bawang, to translate this work into English and publish it, “so that,” as Professor Rousseau tells us, “the Kayan people and the whole world could appreciate the value of Adat Bungan.” The Old Kayan Religion and the Bungan Religious Reform represents the fulfillment of Lake’ Baling’s request.

Lake’ Baling died in July 1976, not long after making this request, and so, regrettably, he failed to live long enough to see his book published. We trust, however, that he would have been pleased with the results, for Professor Rousseau presents in the pages that follow Lake’ Baling’s original Kayan text in its entirety, thus making this valuable work available to Kayan readers, both now and in future years. At the same time, by translating and annotating this text, he also makes it accessible to a larger audience of scholars and others interested in a deeper understanding of Kayan society and religion. The Dayak Studies Program, the Institute of East Asian Studies and UNIMAS all take pleasure in having had a part in seeing this remarkable work come into print.

We thank Jérôme Rousseau for his help in adapting the layout of the original manuscript, as well as for adding some material that he found in the Balui district of Sarawak.
We thank Jérôme Rousseau for permission to use the Kayan tattoo design that appears on the front cover, as well as his photograph of the original manuscript, and the family of the late Lake' Baling for permission to use the photograph of the author that appears at the beginning of this book. Finally, we thank Jayl Langub for introducing this volume and also for adding some words concerning the current status of Adat Bungan in the Balui district of Sarawak.

Professor Clifford Sather  
Chair, Dayak Studies  
Institute of East Asian Studies, UNIMAS
PREFACE

The Old Kayan Religion and the Bungan Religious Reform, written in Kayan by the late Lake’ Baling with an English translation and annotations by Professor Jérôme Rousseau, is a welcome contribution to the rich oral tradition of the Dayak peoples in general, and the Kayan in particular.

Sometime in 1995, Lake’ Anyie, the most senior of the Bungan priests in Belaga, asked me if Rousseau was going to put down in writing all the information on Kayan religion that he had collected while doing anthropological research in Uma Bawang, Long Murum (Belaga) in the early 1970s. Lake’ Anyie died in October 2001, some three years after Rousseau’s book, Kayan Religion: Ritual Life and Religious Reform in Central Borneo, was published in 1998. He was delighted with the news of the publication of Kayan Religion, but suggested it should be translated into Kayan to make it accessible to Kayan readers. While Rousseau’s book on Kayan religion has not yet been translated into Kayan, with the publication of Lake’ Baling’s original manuscript, a major source upon which Rousseau’s book was based is now available to Kayan readers.

The publication in Kayan of The Old Kayan Religion and the Bungan Religious Reform will be much appreciated by the Kayan of the Balui, especially those in Uma Bawang, although Lake’ Anyie did not live long enough to see it. Written in 1961, it took forty-one years to bring about its publication.

This book is divided into two parts: Part I on Adat Dipui and Part II on Adat Bungan. As Lake’ Baling tells us, life under Adat Dipui was difficult because of the existence of too many taboos. This was the main reason for a change to Adat Bungan which did away with many of these taboos.

Founded in 1940 by Jok Apui, a Kenyah Lepo’ Jalan from Long Avong in the Apo Kayan (Kalimantan), Adat Bungan was introduced to the Belaga District around 1948 or 1949, with Jok Apui himself making a visit to the area in the early 1950s. When Adat Bungan was introduced to Belaga, it was accepted with great enthusiasm by all but one of the Kayan longhouses (the exc...
longhouses (the exception being Uma Kahai) and many other Orang Ulu groups in the area.

Since World War II, Belaga has seen a lot of changes, especially in the cultural-religious sphere. Prior to 1948 or 1949, when Bungan was introduced, practically all the Orang Ulu of Belaga observed auguries. As it did away with many tedious taboos, a large majority of longhouses in Belaga accepted the new faith. A small number of longhouses continued with their observance of auguries, and an even smaller number opted for Christianity. One or two longhouses were divided between those who kept the old religion, and those who accepted Bungan or Christianity. During my four-year sojourn in Belaga from 1971 to 1974, Adat Bungan still played a dominant role in the way of life of the people there. This was to change during the late 1970s and early 1980s when an increasing number of Orang Ulu in the district began to adopt Christianity. This seemed to have coincided with the large number of Orang Ulu children going downriver to the coastal towns for their secondary and tertiary education, and adopting Christianity.

Today, only one Kayan longhouse, Uma Bale’ Kesing, is wholly practicing Adat Bungan. Uma Aging, the author’s longhouse, has only two-thirds of its family-apartments practicing Adat Bungan, with the rest converted to Christianity. Uma Bawang, once a stronghold, has only 20 family-apartments out of 69 still practicing Adat Bungan. Uma Belor, also a former stronghold, has only 11 family-apartments out of 101 remaining with Adat Bungan. The three Punan longhouses, Punan Ba, Punan Biau and Punan Tepaling, are in a much better position with virtually all their family-apartments remaining with Adat Bungan. Even in the case of these longhouses, however, an increasing number of their young people who have gone downriver to the coastal towns for their secondary or tertiary education, have converted to Christianity.

As the younger generations opt for world religions, the older generations are worried that their traditional belief systems may fade without any record. This is the reason why people like the late Lake’ Anyie are concerned that their belief systems be recorded. In a sense, Lake’ Baling’s book is a fulfillment of this wish of the older generations.
Lake' Baling was born at Uma Aging, the first longhouse above Belaga Town, into one of the principal aristocratic families in Belaga. In his young days, he spent a number of years in the village of Uma Bawang. While at Uma Bawang, he observed and learned about Adat Dipui and Adat Bungan from Lake' Lirong, the most senior Bungan priest in Belaga at that time.

Upon his return to Uma Aging, he became the headman of his longhouse, as well as one of the most influential of the Bungan priests in Belaga. He had peers with comparable knowledge of Adat Bungan at that time, such as Lake’ Avun of Uma Bawang and Lake’ Ului of Uma Belor. However, Lake’ Baling stood above the others in that he knew how to read and write. Encouraged by Tom Harrisson, then Director of the Sarawak Museum, he began in the late 1950s to put down in writing his knowledge of Adat Dipui and Adat Bungan, now finally made available to us in this volume.

Coming from a long family line of aristocrats, Lake’ Baling was no ordinary village headman. Endowed with knowledge, wisdom and standing, he was, to people who knew him well, a chief in his own right.

Lake’ Baling also had a vast knowledge of the non-religious aspects of local adat. I used to approach him for advice whenever cases of a breach of adat were brought to the District Office for settlement. Although his knowledge of other aspects of adat is not included in this volume, it is remarkable that with very minimal education he was able to put down in writing his knowledge of Adat Dipui and Adat Bungan for posterity.

This book would not have seen the light of day had it not been for the efforts of Professor Jérôme Rousseau to publish it. Rousseau started his fieldwork in Uma Bawang in August 1970 and remained there until May 1972. After completing his fieldwork, he made several short visits to Belaga and Baram, as well as to the Mahakam in Kalimantan. An authority on Kayan culture, Rousseau speaks Kayan fluently.

While Baling wrote for a Kayan readership, the English translation now makes this book available to non-Kayan speakers. It should not only
be of interest to Kayan readers, but to scholars, students and the public at large. It is an authoritative work by a person who not only knew his subject well, but also practiced it during his lifetime. This book also benefited from the expert editing of a competent compiler who is also an authority on the subject. I take great pleasure in commending this book to readers.

Jayl Langub
Secretary
Majlis Adat Istdat, Sarawak
Chief Minister's Department
Kuching, Sarawak
TEHARI DAHO’

Bup anih, The Old Kayan Religion and the Bungan Religious Reform, nyelung kenan urip Lake’ Baling dahin nira halem dahun English kenan hadui Professor Jérôme Rousseau, ji hadui alang hitam melu lan marong adat asen hitam kelunan Dayak lim, lebih-lebih la’an hitam Kayan.


Dau anih, ji marong Adat Dipui, anih tekut hallep Bungan pagalung surat anib. Iha’ alang lim kah alang masuken, tapi kre see ahi alang 69 hamin. Nureh payan Adat Dipui, Bungan, tapi alang surat anib. Te’ telo’ uma haru’adat Dipui, Tepaling, jilang lim kah, pah uma haru’ dalo’ awi. Iha’ ala’ ha’ daleh ha’oh dahun.

Tavit daha’ na’i buh hanggihau lan keneb tei buh urip Lake’ Anyie ha’ Belaga. Tegu nyar’ ha’ Uma Bawang. Te’ jilang lim iha’ marong Adat Dipui, lim dahin ahi’ alang aya’ te’ Adat Bungan.

Dau anih, ji tu'a uma haru Kayan, Uma Balo' Kesing, paget gem te' Adat Bungan putong amm. Uma Aging, uma haru ngavan iha' alang ngalung surat anih, bagi dua: daha' alang leba' ngioh Adat Bungan, te' lim kah alang masuk Kristian. Uma Bawang una' deh tu'a te' Adat Bungan, tapi krei anih alang paget ngioh Adat Bungan iha' na' 20 hamin tua' men 69 hamin. Nureh pah daha' Uma Belor lim kah, una' deh tu'a lan te' Adat Bungan, tapi alang la'an te' 11 hamin tua' alang paget men 101 hamin. Te' telo' uma haru Punan, iha' na' Punan Ba, Punan Biau dahin Punan Tepaling, jilang lim kah daha' gem te' Adat Bungan. Halem iha' nunan pah uma haru dalo' anih, te' leba' na' daha' nyam tei pala sekolah menengah ha' daleh ha'oh dahin sekolah alang bo lan masok adat Kristian.

Tavit daha' nyam maring tei mili' adat dunya, daha' alang uh muku' ngihau lan kenep behi' adat daha' te' pade'. Tavin anan na' kelunan awi urip Lake' Anyie hituk lan te' adat Kayan ga' kalung. Ita' pelemana' na', bup Lake' Baling anih na' itung ngering kenep daha' alang una'.

Lake' Baling ga' kanak ha' Uma Aging, uma haru alang una' loh alang ha' hudik pasen Belaga, halem ji panak daha' kelunan maren ha' Belaga. Tegu nyam na', iha' te' melo' kuri-kuri duman ha' huma haru Uma Bawang. Tegu iha' ha' Uma Bawang, iha' ngebayan dahin pekalei marong Adat Dipui dahin Adat Bungan men Lake' Lirong, kelunan dayong alang aya' te' Adat Bungan ha' halem Belaga tegu anan.
Uh iha' nei uli' pala Uma Aging, iha' jadi' maren uma. Daha' alang piah haman dahin na' te' Adat Bungan te' anan iha' na', awi tuk Lake' Avun men Uma Bawang dahin Lake' Ului men Uma Belor. Lan kah iha' nunan, Lake' Baling alang haman men dalo', avin iha' haman basa' dahin nyurat. Tom Harrison, Director Museum Sarawak alang metang iha' na bup marong Adat Dipui dahin Adat Bungan, alang krei anih uh na' te', jadi lim tam haman basa' na' anih.

Pehu panak kelunan maren, Lake' Baling jan iha' awi kepala' uma alang ja'. Iha' ji kelunan alang hipun haman, sayu barik dahin tuge', iha' na' ji kelunan aya' alang tekep lan.

Lake' Baling te' layang lan haman na' te' marong lim-lim adat alang adat Kayan. Akui tutek tei pala iha' tengaran dahin na' awi te' kes-kes ngebayah' adat alang gren pala District Opis. Lan kah adat-adat anan jan jadi te' halem bup anih, uh sayu lan nah iha' deng na bup anih te' Adat Dipui dahin Adat Bungan ureh daha' alang baya ngering dahun daha' alang una'.


Lan pah urip Lake' Baling ngalung bup anih halam dahun Kayan, jadi nah krei anih daha' haman basa' na' halem dahun English lim kah. Tavit iha' nunan nah, daha' alang haman duan dahun Kayan haman basa bup anih. Ji nah ngelua', daha' alang em aman basa' Kayan, haman loh kah daha' basa alem dahun English, nureh pah daha' alang bo tei hadui sekolah, nyam sekolah dahin kelunan bangu'. Iha' nah Lake' Baling jam lan te' marong adat, tapi iha' pah gem te' hadui na' putung urip na' lim kah. Bup anih pah jadi lebih sayu kenan kelunan alang malei lan na petneng
te' petmei kalung li'ap bup anih alang iha' pah atek jam te' marong batang tengaran alang iha' nira' tinih. Akui halam lan kenep bara' bup anih sayu lan men ikam alang basa' na'.

Jayl Langub  
Secretary  
Majlis Adat Istiadat, Sarawak  
Chief Minister's Department  
Kuching, Sarawak
## CONTENTS

**FOREWORD** iii  
**PREFACE** vi  
**TEHARI DAHO’** x  

## INTRODUCTION

The manuscript 3  
Note on transcription and spelling 4  
Translation 6  
Acknowledgements 8  
Dahun tehari 9  

## ADAT-ADAT BANGSA KAYAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Adat Dipui]</th>
<th>11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Te’ beh hida anih, aran kelunan alang tehari parei tubu</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alang aring tehari aran nyeho’</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Lali duman]</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Dayong tegu hang duman]</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anih adat nyeho’ mitang luma’</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Alang te’ behida anih fasal jalan nyeho’ ji na’an</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anih adat lake’ pehawa’ dahin doh</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anih alang behida anih, adat na aran anak ok</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adat ngayo uva tegu lebo duman te’ awa’</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
were available as models, and he devised an orthography of his own, which does not adequately record the language. For instance, he transcribes *tepang* as *tampang*, *metei* as *mantei*, *be’ik* as *bekek*, *ureh* as *erih*, and *Bungan* as *Bigan*. He was well aware of the problem and he asked me to edit the text. Photo 2 gives an example of the original typescript; it can be compared with my transcription. I have systematized the use of uppercase characters, added punctuation marks, and grouped paragraphs for greater clarity.

As there still isn’t a standard spelling for Kayan, I had to make choices. Several dictionaries are available. The oldest one is Barth’s (1910) dictionary of Busang, the name given to the Kayan of the Mahakam region. Father Sombroek (Ms.1; Ms.2) has made additions to Barth’s dictionary. Father Ding (Ms.) wrote a dictionary of Mendalam Kayan. Southwell’s dictionary (1990) focuses on Baram Kayan. I have also used my own manuscript dictionary of Balui Kayan. There is general agreement on consonants and most vowels, but some diphthongs and vowels are treated differently. The dictionaries of Barth, Ding, and Sombroek are in broad agreement with each other and correspond to what I heard in the Balui. Southwell stands apart. For instance, Barth, Ding, and I all agree that the word for ‘day’ is *do*, but Southwell writes it as *dou*. Similarly, Barth, Ding, and I write *pang*, ‘gathering,’ which Southwell spells as *peng*. I have retained spelling variations which correspond to different dialects, e.g. *tulan* and *tular*, ‘animal.’ I have also retained a few unusual spellings, i.e. *gaga* for *ga*, ‘hurt,’ or *jian nun* for *jinun*, ‘none.’ The glottal stop is represented by the apostrophe.

One word caused me some difficulty. Baling uses *hen* to mean ‘if,’ but the word doesn’t exist in any Kayan dictionary and I never heard it during my fieldwork. I am most grateful to Mr. Jayl Langub for raising the issue with Temenggong Tali’, who confirms that *hen* is a misspelling.
of *han*, derived from the Malay *hal*, meaning ‘circumstance, matter,’ used in Kayan expressions such as *Han iha' nunan*, “if that is the case, in view of that.” The Temenggong adds that *han* is very rarely used; this is also my experience. Consequently, I have replaced it with *iha*, the usual word for ‘if.’ Baling may have used *hen* because *iha* means both ‘if’ and the third person singular personal pronoun (‘he, she, it’). While this is never confusing in context, Baling may have thought that it would be more problematic in a written text. Alternatively, given that *han* is used primarily in legal contexts, he may have felt that it gave greater formality to the text.

**Translation**

Every translation requires interpretation. Kayan lacks tenses. Past and future are marked lexically or through context; the latter has been my main guide. Baling often starts sentences with lexical references to time, such as “Then” or “After that.” When the context is clear, I have omitted them in the translation. There is a Glossary at the end for the few Kayan words I had to use in the translation.

Kayan personal pronouns are not marked by gender: *iha* can mean ‘he,’ ‘she,’ or ‘it.’ I have used ‘he’ and ‘she’ interchangeably, except when a specific gender is meant. For instance, only women carry out the first ritual harvest; only men participate in the headhunting ritual. Also, Baling describes funeral rituals with a male example. On the other hand, male and female priests (*dayong*) can perform virtually all rituals. Baling often omits the subject; in the translation, I use ‘we’ or ‘they’ according to the context or for stylistic reasons. Following a story-telling style, Baling uses repetition, for instance, “Tenangan said: ‘...’ said Tenangan.” While it sounds good in Kayan, it would be tedious in English, and I have edited such repetitions.

The text speaks for itself. Lake’ Baling was a clear thinker and a good communicator. As my book on Kayan religion is readily available, there is no need for me to say more in the introduction. On the other hand, given that Lake’ Baling was writing for a Kayan readership, the translation is inevitably festooned with footnotes.

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13 For the same reason, I sometimes translate *kelunan*, ‘people,’ by ‘we’ or ‘they.’
HATURAN ADAT BUGAN MALAN KENAN JOK APUI.

men tabari sang te nyadui luma Do anan pampang
lim nah kelunen je eyong uma melo'nun je dau
jan Kei pano kakah bie bih dau anan meju teluh
te Awe Aya'dahun ta'mara teluh teh kain meju
melo'je dau anih Bugen malan pasilong luan baru
Ika'kalo sang akei Tana slang sayu ngavan kalo'
sang na luma te Ika'Do anih Ika'sang mug adat
Apu langan, Ika mug nyehu'duman mahapa'daha'nei
puya kami kelunan nyadui nutih nah dahun ta'mara
teluh nan, uh anan en ala je Uting, hen jenun uting
heman lim keh hen sep Ing,

uh anan en maru nah uting nan, aku maru ika'uting
anah sing tei lalo uma Bugen malan pasilong luan
kami akei tana slang sayu aven perei kapan duman
anih urip kami je eyong uma anih lalo bau dengan
kami'besoh perai'dahen urip kami'hengem tengah jan
kelunon, uh anan tevak nah uting d'aha uting en tei
te panghut 3 panghut jei panghut en pela te kelunen,
je panghut en kaping manyu alam uma, je panghut
en tujo'men uma ngaping Alan its'sang tei ngelih
nyadui. mug nyehu slang uh te Bat teh deh mahapa
nyehu'ngaso its'la'cn.

slang tempeng je eyong uma anan je dau anan tus,
1. " jen hemen chigam lu,
2. " " kast nyest,
3. " " api kat tahu menjam uro',
4. " " api kat dha menjam masak, bavi.

uh anan melah nah dau jenah tei ngelih lim lim nah
kelunan metang luma utong luma dake'mapo'teluh bare
dahen Bugen malan pasilong luan, Its'sang na luma te
tons tetih neh, uh anan Its'uli hune dau anan, Do kat
lun dau Its nyadui demoh nah stang hadui uh teh nah
jen melo'nah le'san.

hen te kelunen Ava ga melah, Ava ga assi, ga kyu tenar
tus Its'melo manyu slang geri teluh napo te alan luma
je dau tus keh melo'mauh anan nyadui pah.

Photo 2: Page 34 from Lake' Baling's original manuscript.
Acknowledgments

This book would not have seen the light of day without the help of several people. First and foremost, I owe a debt to the people of Uma Bawang who welcomed me and made their village my home for over two years. Among them, I owe a special debt to the late Avun Ngo, his sister Bulan Ngo, and to my neighbor Avun Imang, who played an important role in teaching me about Kayan religion.

I am also pleased to thank Jayl Langub, whose help and friendship made all the difference during my fieldwork; I am delighted that he agreed to write the preface to this book.

I am grateful for the detailed and helpful editorial comments of Cliff and Louise Sather; their suggestions significantly helped improve style and clarity. Of course, this book would not have seen the light of day without UNIMAS and the Dayak Studies Program. Special mention should be made of Siti Zuraida for her assistance in the production of this book.

Finally, I wish to thank Lake’ Baling’s family for the use of his picture.
Dahun tehari


The Old Kayan Religion and the Bungan Religious Reform


Alem buku Lake' Baling, te' ji perkata'an alang jan tenang, iha' kah *hen*. Te' kah Jayl Langub duan dahin Temenggong Tali' marong titih. Dahun Temenggong de, em te' *hen*, tapi *han*, mejam tok *Han iha' nunan*. Kurin Temenggong, jan pah ita' pakei *han* leba' lale'. Iha' nah akui udei *hen* dahin *iha'*


Te' beh hida anih, an


Pehavut anak B
ADAT-ADAT BANGSA KAYAN

Adat yang di-tersebut inih ia itu sudah se-tengah manusia tahu ini itu, beruma padi dan bekerja lain-lain, sampai turunan Dipui Apo Lagan yang mulai menubohkan adat-adat pemantang padi dan burong-burong yang mali dan bagai yang tersebut. Adat yang di-pakai oleh bangsa Kayan pada zaman yang tersebut itu sampai sekarang udah di-buang, tidak di-pakai lagi.

Pada sekarang, bangsa Kayan sudah memakai Adat Bungan Malan Pesilong Luan, mimpi Jok Apui, dan ada juga bangsa Kayan yang menurut Kertin juga, tetapi tidak banyak.

Dahun Kayan\(^{15}\)


[Adat Dipui]

Te’ beh hida anih, aran kelunan alang tehari parei tubu


Pehavut anak Boh Daleh Sirang matei nan, jan tuman nah kenap

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\(^{15}\) This heading suggests that Baling saw this book as part of a larger project, which would include a Malay version. Immediately after this title, Baling hand-wrote “Chakap Malay.”

\(^{16}\) In a Malay version, Baling refers to her as Boh Lireh Sirang, which I have also encountered in other sources.


Atih nah aring tehari pe'un kelunan jam kuman parei dahin ket alang tuvuh tangoh en but dahin kuman parei anan de. Nureh pah pe'un itam kelunan em haman petunu parei, em haman meso parei dahin meso kanen, dahin nutong parei, avin kelunan alang hlung parei men aring adat Boh

Anih beh hida nih, fasa:
Adat kelunan matei
Beh hida anih, adat kelunan
[Beh hida anih, adat kelunan]
[Beh hida anih, ujong th]

[Adat Bungan]
[Alang aring tehari Adat]
[Adat kelunan anih, adat keluna]
[Adat kelunan anih, ujong th]

[Adat Bungan]
[Adat kelunan anih, adat kelunan]
[Adat kelunan anih, ujong th]

[Adat Bungan]
[Adat kelunan anih, adat kelunan]
[Adat kelunan anih, ujong th]

[Adat Bungan]
[Adat kelunan anih, adat kelunan]
[Adat kelunan anih, ujong th]

[Adat Bungan]
[Adat kelunan anih, adat kelunan]
[Adat kelunan anih, ujong th]

[Adat Bungan]
[Adat kelunan anih, adat kelunan]
[Adat kelunan anih, ujong th]