

FEASTING OF THE SPIRITS: THE *BERJAMU* RITUAL PERFORMANCE IN THE KELANTANESE *WAYANG SIAM* SHADOW PLAY

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[Apart from normal entertainment-oriented *Wayang Kulit Siam* shadow play performances, there exists in Kelantan another highly important performance style known as *Wayang Kulit Siam Berjamu*. The term "*Berjamu*" literally means "feeding" or "feasting" and in such performances offerings are prepared in honour of a host of deities (*dewa-dewa*) or minor spirits (*mambang*). Although some ritual business is a feature in normal *Wayang Kulit Siam* performances in the *Berjamu* variety ritual becomes the most significant single element, surpassing the story or comedy. *Berjamu* performances serving similar purposes are also to be found in other Malay traditional theatre genres such as *Mak Yong*, *Main Puteri* and in *Menora*.

Berjamu performances last three nights, with the first two nights' activities following the standard structure of non-ritual *Wayang*. The final night's performance is an all-night affair and during the hours following midnight several important ritual activities take place. Technically a *dalang* may not perform it again for several years. This makes a *Wayang Kulit Siam Berjamu* performance a comparatively rare phenomenon even in Kelantan.

Selain daripada persembahan *Wayang Kulit Siam* biasa, yang bertujuan untuk memberi hiburan semata-mata, terdapat juga di negeri Kelantan suatu lagi jenis persembahan lebih penting, iaitu persembahan *berjamu*. Istilah "*berjamu*" di sini bermaksudkan hidangan kenduri disediakan untuk diberi kepada para dewa ataupun *mambang*. Walaupun upacara ritual yang ringkas lazimnya menjadi sebahagian daripada *Wayang Kulit Siam* dalam setiap persembahan, pada persembahan *berjamu* ritual meningkat dan menjadi ciri utama dan dianggap lebih penting daripada cerita mahupun komedi. Persembahan-persembahan *berjamu* terdapat juga pada tradisi-tradisi teater tradisional yang lain seperti *Mak Yong*, *Main Puteri* dan *Menora*.

Persembahan *Wayang Kulit Siam berjamu* mengikut peraturan memakan masa tiga malam. Kegiatan-kegiatan malam-malam pertama dan kedua biasanya mengikut perjalanan persembahan biasa yang tidak mempunyai ciri-ciri ritual yang banyak. Persembahan malam ketiga, sebaliknya, dicorak dengan beberapa aktiviti ataupun upacara ritualis. Mengikut peraturan, seorang *dalang* tidak dibenarkan memainkan *Wayang Kulit Siam* jenis *berjamu* sekali lagi sehingga beberapa tahun telah berlalu. Dengan itu, maka persembahan *Wayang Kulit* jenis *berjamu* jarang sekali dapat ditemui di Kelantan.]

Introduction

Apart from the normal entertainment-oriented *Wayang Kulit Siam*

shadow play performances there exists in Kelantan another highly important performance style known as *Wayang Kulit Berjamu*. The term "*berjamu*" literally means "feeding" or "feasting" and the feast in such performances is prepared in honour of a host of deities (*dewa-dewa*) or minor spirits (*mambang*). Although some ritual business does take place in every *Wayang Siam* performance, particularly in the form of theatre consecration (*buka panggung*) and theatre closing (*tutup panggung*) ceremonies, in *berjamu* performances ritual becomes the most outstanding element.¹

Wayang Siam's berjamu performances may be organised for the purposes of opening a newly-completed theatre (*panggung* or *bangsal*), they may mark the fulfilment of a vow (*niat*), be performed for the salutation of teachers (*sembah guru*) upon "graduation" in the art of the puppeteer (*dalang*), or for the "adjustment of wind" or humours (*semah angin*). This final type serves to bring about emotional release in a *dalang* or in anyone who is particularly attracted to or affected by the *Wayang Berjamu* performances may, on the other hand, be held for the most ordinary of occasions such as passing an examination, obtaining a job, or otherwise attaining specific desires. Generally an active or retired *dalang* performs *semah angin* performances at specific intervals of one, three, five or seven years, depending upon his vow. Non-performance could result in his becoming ill, his spirits dampened, so to speak; or he may be possessed by spirits demanding the fulfilment of a tacit promise, made at the time of the *dalang's* initiation, to provide them with food offerings. This is a general practice observable also in other genres of Kelantanese traditional theatre such as *Mak Yong*, *Menora* and *Main Puteri*.²

The major difference between an ordinary *Wayang Siam* performance and a *berjamu* one lies in the aim. *Berjamu* performances are never intended by definition for entertainment *per se*, and as such there is no need for an audience; indeed no effort is made to invite one. Casual observers present during a performance often get quite deeply involved in *berjamu* activities, sometimes even becoming placings for spirits. At the very least they become involved in the ritual processes by themselves experiencing a change in their own "*angin*" or by partaking of the food offerings served upon the completion of the rituals, and whose *semangat* or essence has been presumably consumed by the host of invisible beings (*makhluk-makhluk halus*) present during the *berjamu*. Thus the *berjamu* is a community ritual, differing from ordinary *Wayang Siam* in both intention and structure. *Berjamu* perfor-

¹For a detailed description of the *Wayang Kulit Siam's* theatre consecration ceremony see Anker Rentse, "The Kelantan Shadow Play" in *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIV. Part III (1936), 287-290.

²See my Ph.D. Dissertation, *The Kelantan Mak Yong Dance-Theatre: A Study of Performance — Structure*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1976, Chapter 7.

mances are, however, getting rather rare these days due to the death or retirement of older *dalangs*, and the changing attitudes of performers themselves towards an ancient art form frowned upon by orthodox Muslims. Furthermore, most *dalangs* can no longer afford full *berjamu* performances. The cost can indeed be prohibitive in terms of *kampung* economics.

In *Wayang Siam* there are two *berjamu* performance styles: *Berjamu Mambang* and *Berjamu Sang Kaki*, the latter a possible derivative from the Javanese *Wayang Purwa's* *Murwakala* play.³ The present paper will examine the two styles in terms of their structure and functions, highlighting major differences.

Berjamu performances normally last three nights, with the activities of the first two nights following the standard pattern of non-ritual performances. Performances begin with the preparation of the stage, making of offerings (*kenduri*) to the spirits, gods and godlings of the environment, and the formal opening of the theatre by the *dalang* or officiating *shaman* (*bomoh* or *pawang*). The rituals at this point consist of invocations addressed to invisible forces believed to inhabit the environment as well as to spirits resident in the musical instruments as guardians (*penunggu* or *penggawa*). The ceremonial opening of the theatre is followed by a musical prelude and by the *Dalang Muda* episode performed as a prologue by an apprentice *dalang*.⁴

Following this introductory portion, in itself divisible into several parts, the senior *dalang* takes over to perform the story (*lakon*) selected for the evening or for the next several evenings. Often different episodes from the *Hikayat Maharaja Wana* or the *Hikayat Seri Rama*, Malay versions of the Indian epic, *Ramayana*, are selected. Performances may also be based upon local folk versions of the epic. The first night's activities stop at an appropriate point in the story or upon its completion. The *dalang* informs audience members that there will be a performance the next night, providing them with any other relevant information. The second night does not see a repetition of the preparatory rituals. Thus, following the musical prelude the *dalang* proceeds directly into the story. This may be a continuation of the first night's episode or a different one. In normal performances the

³See H. Ulbricht, *Wayang Purwa: Shadows of the Past*. Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1970, Chapter 13.

⁴The *Dalang Muda* Episode, consisting of several separate sections including the battle of the *Dewa Panah* (godlings with arrows) and the emergence of *Seri Rama* before his courtiers and warriors, is featured every night in *Wayang Siam* performances before the unfolding of a story. See Patricia Ann Matusky, *Music in the Malay Shadow Puppet Theatre*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1980, Chapters 1 and 2.

third night's activities follow the pattern of the second, this pattern being further maintained during subsequent nights. A season ends with the theatre closing ceremony on the final night.

The third night's activities provide a ritual performance with very distinctive characteristics. *Berjamu* performances normally go on throughout the third night and come to a close on the morning of the fourth day.

The Activities

The following is the sequence of activities that take place during the third night and the fourth morning of a *berjamu* performance:

1. The Statement of the Feast (*Ucapan Jamuan* or *Kenduri*)
2. The Musical Prelude
3. The Invitation to the Spirits (*Memadah*)
4. The *Dalang Muda* Episode
5. The *Wak Peran Hutan* Episode
6. The *Dalang Muda* Episode (continued)
7. The regular story performance
8. The *Bentara Kala* Episode
9. Preparations for *Berjamu*
10. Musical Interlude for the Trance Sessions (*Lupa*) and the Invitation (*Memadah*)
11. Getting the *Semangat* from *Betara Guru*
12. The Invitation (*Memadah*)
13. The Feasting (*Berjamu*)
14. The Sending Off (*Penghantar*)
15. The Release (*Pelepas*)
16. The Bathing or Washing Ceremony (*Bersiram*)

1. *Ucapan Jamuan*

On the final night there is, as in regular *Wayang Siam* performances, no need for a full *buka panggung*. However, a similar ceremony, known as *ucapan jamuan* or *ucapan kenduri* is held. This consists of the reading of certain prayers and ritual formulae (*mentera-mentera*), much as in *buka panggung*. Only this time the *menteras* contain additional information. This consists of the name of the sponsor (*tuan kerja*) and the purpose of the *berjamu*. They also enumerate the actual offerings. These are supposed to be complete (*lengkap*), so that once accepted recipient spirits cannot make any further claims.

The information given is a prelude or signal for the beginning of *memadah* and the sending of offerings (*tanda hantar*). It is directed

towards the original *dalang* (*dalang yang usul dalang yang asal*).⁵ The *jamuan* or *kenduri* is to be given to *Wak Peran Hutan*, the followers of *Rawana* (*angkatan Maharaja Wana*), and to *Semar*, also known as the Concealed One (*Orang Kesarungan*).⁶ This process of reading the *menteras* and handing over the feast is known as *serah jamuan* (the handing over the feast). The offerings used at this particular point consist of some of the basic items required for the usual *buka panggung* ceremony. In addition, there are the following:

1. Twelve pieces of headcloth — one for the *dalang* and the rest for the musicians and helpers. These are used by the performers on the morning of the fourth day during the final stage of the *berjamu* rituals;
2. One *gantang* of rice wrapped in white cloth on which four other pieces of headcloth are placed. These four are intended for (a) the *guru* or teacher of the *dalang*, (b) the *dalang* and (c) two pieces to be given away in charity;
3. *Wang pengkeras* (Money for the *dalang*) — \$50.00;
4. A ring placed in the *nasi guru*, as a sign that *Sita Dewi* has been separated from *Seri Rama*; the *berjamu* is intended to bring about a reconciliation between the two;
5. Offering trays, placed along the side of the *panggung* on the *dalang*'s right side, and containing the following items: (a) cakes, (b) *ayam panggang*, (c) *nasi semangat*, (d) bananas, (e) assorted items, and (f) betel leaves and betel nuts. Each of the trays also contains some money. The amount is not fixed except for the *wang pengkeras* of \$50.00 which is placed as a sort of dowry indicating that *Seri Rama* is trying to get *Sita Dewi* back;
6. Candles are placed on all offerings and on the musical instruments. The offerings to be placed outside the *balai* and for inclusion inside the *balai* are also prepared before the performance begins;
7. The *nasi guru* plate, which is hung on the central pole (*tiang seri*) of the *panggung* on the side of the *dalang*.

2. Musical Prelude

The music for the *Wayang Siam* is provided by an orchestra consisting of a pair of large hanging gongs (*tawak-tawak* or *tetawak*); a pair

⁵In conformity with Islamic teaching, the *dalangs* generally explain that the "original" *dalang* is in fact God, the Prime Mover and the provider of life and movement. In a symbolical interpretation, the whole of the *Wayang* milieu is seen as a miniature cosmos.

⁶*Semar* (or in the *Wayang Kulit Siam*, *Pak Dogol*) is usually seen as an earthly manifestation of *Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal* ("the Highest of all Gods"), generally identified with *Vishnu*, though sometimes confused with *Betara Guru* (*Shiva*). *Semar*'s dark and misshapen body is a disguise, serving to hide the God's brilliance.

of small pot-bellied and bossed gongs (*canang*), which are placed upon a wooden rack; a pair of small hand cymbals (*kesi*); a pair of single-headed goblet-shaped drums known as *gedombak*; a pair of double-headed drums (*gendang*) and a double-reed aerophone (*serunai*) which appears in two sizes.

For the musical prelude the instruments are to be played with lighted candles on them, enkindled just before the opening signal piece (*Lagu Bertabuh*). The prelude consists of the following pieces, played in a fixed order, as listed here:

1. *Lagu Bertabuh* (Signal Piece)
2. *Lagu Guru*
3. *Lagu Seri Rama Keluar*
4. *Lagu Hulubalang*
5. *Lagu Maharisi*
6. *Lagu Maharaja Wana*
7. *Lagu Orang Darat*
8. *Lagu Peran Hutan*
9. *Lagu Binatang*
10. *Lagu Dewa Keluar*
11. *Lagu Mengedap*

3. *Memadah*

The *memadah* or invitation, performed using the *Lagu Guru*, informs the spirits that a *berjamu* is taking place. It also gives them relevant details regarding the purpose of the performance and information concerning the sponsor. In some ways, therefore, the contents of the *memadah* duplicate those of the *ucapan jamuan*. The *dalang* moves the leaf puppet, *pohon beringin*, and although a trance is not usual here, a *dalang* who gets particularly affected may go into trance. Such a *dalang* is said to have a strong *semangat* or *jiwa*.⁷ He recites certain requests (*pesanans*) to invite the spirits. The following, addressed to the spirit of the earth (*Jin Tanah*), is one example.

Peace be on you, hey Spirit of the Earth, *Jin Tanah*. We wish to make a request to all members in the earth, hey *Jin Doha Balang Saribu* who controls (the district of) the earth. At the time when the cock crows and the *murai* bird sings, when the large elephant turns on its side to sleep, come to the edge of the *kampung*, the shadow of the *dusun* to receive the offerings from father *dalang*, complete with flour, cooked and raw, cows and buffalos, chickens and ducks, the

⁷The words *semangat* and *jiwa* are generally translated as "vital energy" and "soul" or "life" respectively. See my *The Kelantan Mak Yong Dance-Theatre: A Study of Performance Structure*, 62-72, for a detailed discussion of the various concepts of "soul" in Malay culture.

items of the feast given by father *dalang*. Come and receive these offerings, come one, come all.⁸

Similarly denizens of other parts of the environment are addressed. The *dalang* also, on and off, throws tumeric rice (*beras kunyit*) onto the stage, furthering and strengthening the purification process initiated at the first night's *buka panggung*. In each of the *pesanans* one spirit from a different segment of the environment is addressed. Technically, when the *memadah* is completed spirits from all the different categories should have been invited to partake of the offerings specially prepared for them and to be handed over to them at dawn, upon the completion of the *berjamu* rituals, as the high point of the three nights' activities.

The *dalang* next takes the *Pak Dogol* and *Wak Long* figures in his right hand, whispers to them and taps his right shoulder with them lightly two or three times. This serves the function of flattering (*memujuk*) the clowns. *Pak Dogol* is the original teacher (*guru asal*) already alluded to and *Wak Long* is to play a crucial role both as messenger and as *dalang* during the forthcoming *berjamu* activities. By this action the *dalang* also protects himself from any attack that may come (*menimpa*) from malicious spirits. *Pak Dogol* and *Wak Long* are returned to their places besides the *pohon beringin*.

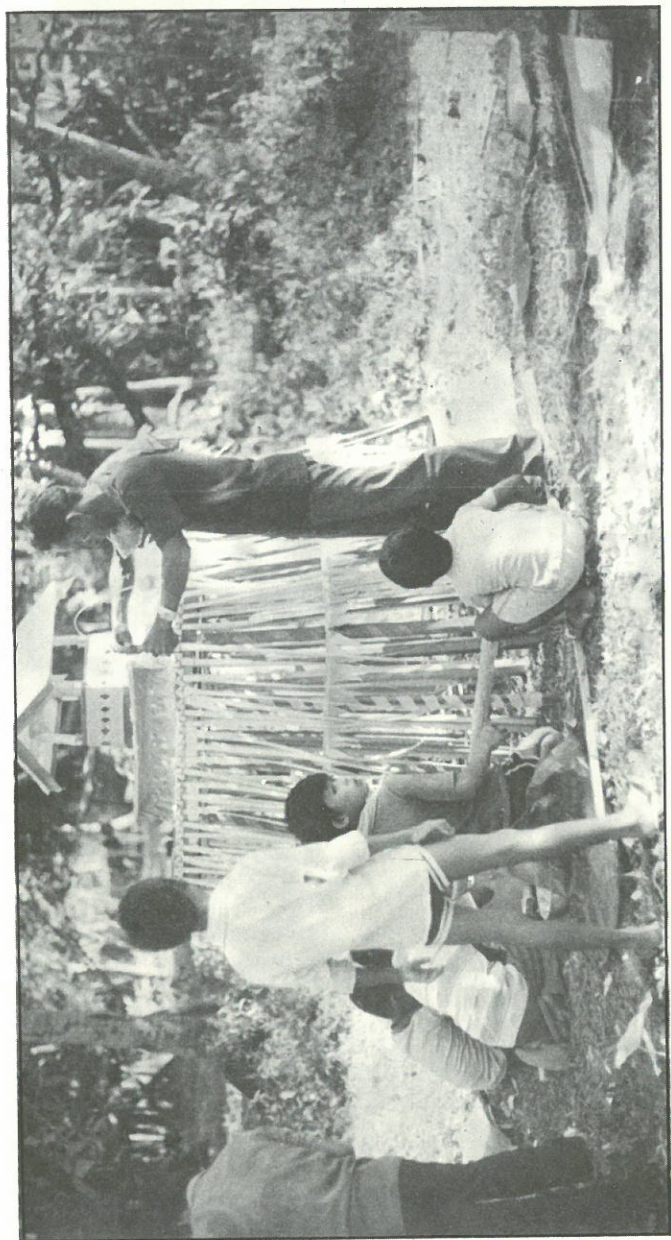


1. A *dalang* (in this case *dalang* Hamzah Awang Mat of Kampung Gerong, Kota Bharu), performing the theatre consecration (*buka panggung*) rituals.

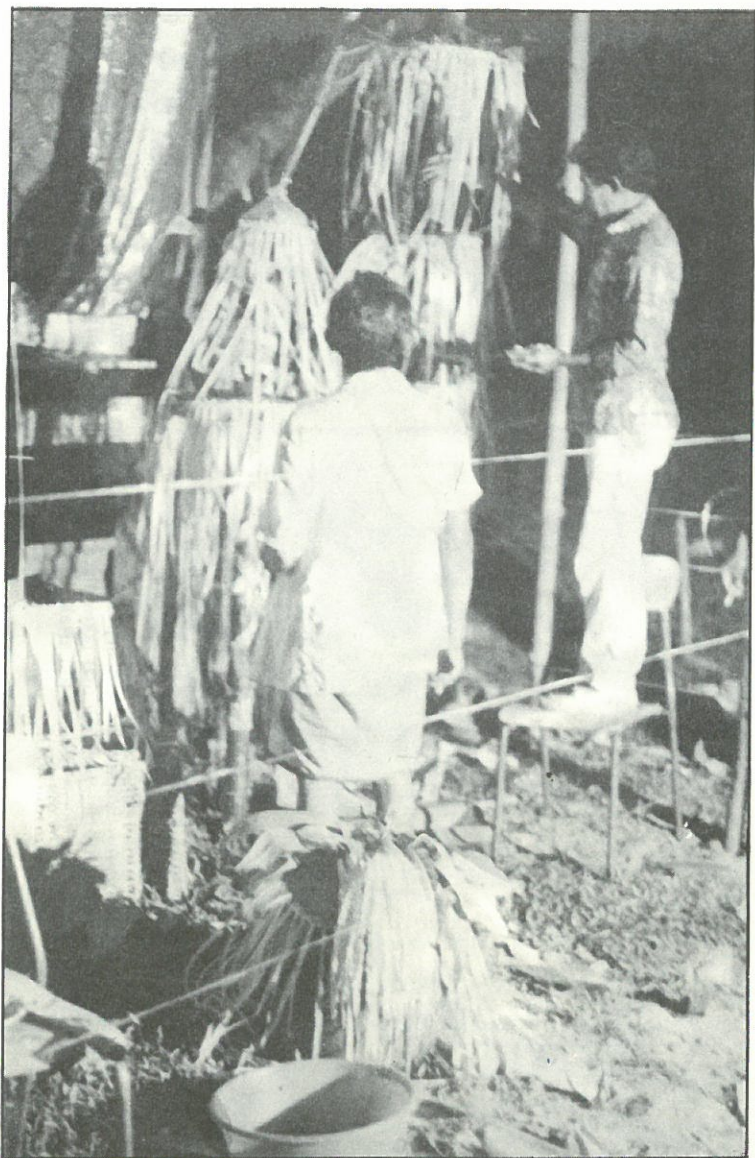
⁸Translated from the Malay by the present writer.



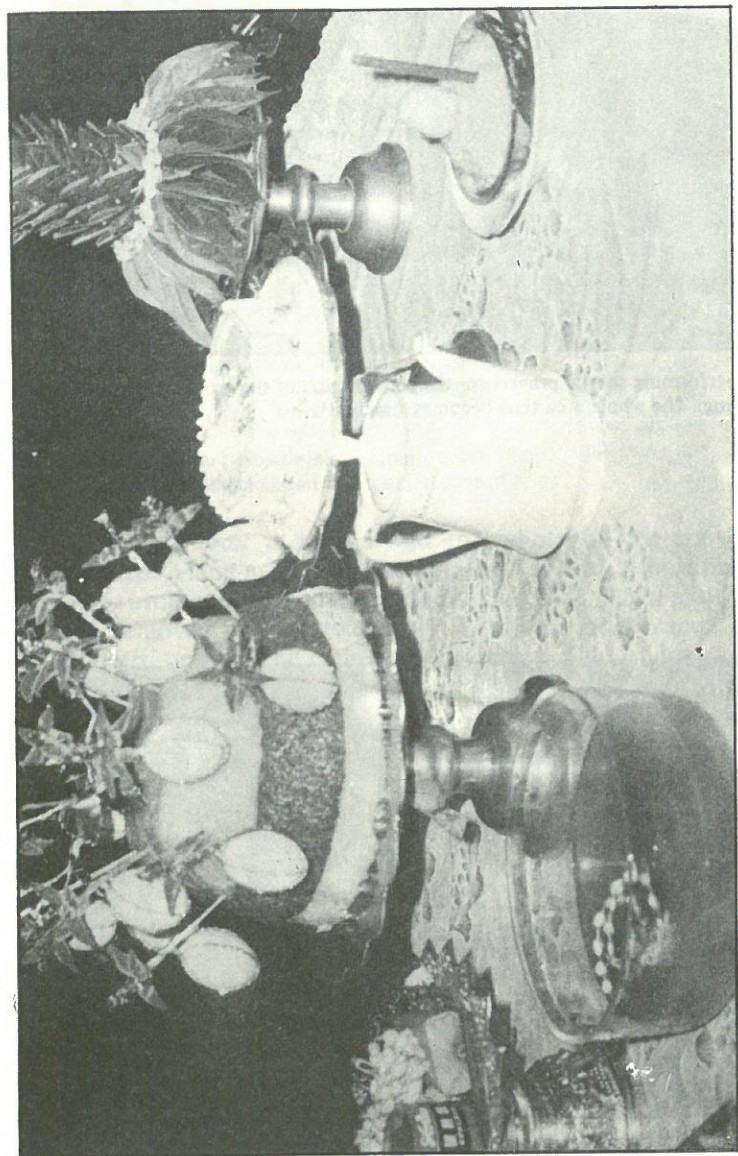
2. A *dalang* bringing down the *Dewa Panah* figures. The gods are believed to be descending from the skies. The figure on the banana trunk (*batang pisang*) is that of *Maharisi*.



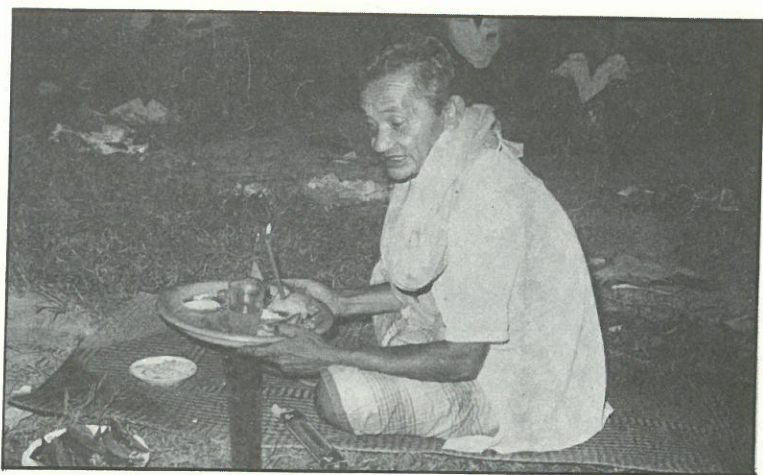
3. The "palace with forty legs" (*balai tiang empat puluh*), one of the most important offering vehicle being prepared for the *berjamu* that takes place on the final (3rd night) and the following morning, when spirits descend to partake of the offerings.



4. The *sakak* and other offering items placed in position in preparation for the *berjamu*. At the bottom of the picture is a pot of water which also contains croton leaves and other items. The water is to be used for a cleansing (*bersiram*) by the *dalang* and others who desire to do so. This is supposed to remove any malicious influence that may persist as a result of contact with the supernatural.



5. Some of the food offerings prepared as part of a *berjalu*. The items include glutinous rice (*pulut semangat*), betel leaves and betel nuts, flowers, fruits and other food items as well as make-up items. They are intended for *Sita Dewi*, whom *Seri Rama* is trying to win back through the *berjalu* ceremonies.



6. A *dalang* performing special prayers for the consecration of the ground under and around the *panggung*. The whole area thus becomes "sacred".



7. A view of the *panggung* early on the fourth day of a *berjamu* performance. The screen (*kelir*) has been removed and offerings placed in readiness for the final stage of the rituals.

4. The *Dalang Muda* Episode

The *Dalang Muda* episode, usually done without break in standard *Wayang Siam* performances and already featured on the first night of a *berjamu* is repeated at this point in the third night's proceedings. This time, however, it is broken up into two parts separated by the Forest Clown (*Wak Peran Hutan*) episode which we shall examine next. For the first part of *Dalang Muda*, the apprentice *dalang* wraps a yellow headcloth around his waist, and performs the movements of the *pohon beringin*. The *Pak Dogol* and *Wak Long* puppets are positioned on the banana trunk, the former on the *dalang's* right and the latter on the *dalang's* left. The *Maharisi* figure is next placed behind the *pohon beringin*, overlapping with it. The apprentice *dalang* reads Thai incantations as follows:

Om om sisi yaul maupul prak si pertidek
yaul maupul maupul aul maupul maupul
kenong siam kautor dokmar ton tian bochar
tunai wal wei ... (instruments sound)

Om om perbu perban platek platan
dokmar dokcha chapitan badi pakian somsi.⁹

Lagu Peran is played and the whole of the above *mentera* is repeated. These are normal incantations recited also during the *Dalang Muda* prologue in standard performances. *Pak Dogol* and *Wak Long* are next removed and the two *Dewa Panah* are now placed alongside the *Maharisi* puppet, the male on the *dalang's* right and the female on the *dalang's* left. *Maharisi*, approaching the *Dewa Panah*, whispers to each by turn, first to the female and then to the male. *Maharisi* leaves and the two *Dewa Panah* begin their fight.

5. *Wak Peran Hutan* (Forest Clown) Episode

Upon the completion of the first phase of the *Dalang Muda*, that is, the battle of the two *Dewa Panah*, the apprentice *dalang* performs the *Wak Peran Hutan* or the Forest Clown episode. This is seldom featured in regular *Wayang Siam* but is compulsory in *berjamu* performances. The *Wak Peran Hutan* figure is shaped exactly like the *Pak Dogol* puppet but is slightly larger. It appears in various colours — purple, grey or black, whereas *Pak Dogol* is always black. The *Peran Hutan* is described as the "*Peran Tua, Peran Muda, Peran Tengah, Peran Yang Usul*,

⁹The meaning of these Thai words remain obscure.

Peran Yang Asal, Peran Titeh Bertiteh Lagi” to show his ancient lineage.¹⁰ Of the two, *Pak Dogol* and *Peran Hutan*, *Pak Dogol* remains spiritually the more important character, in view of his origins. He is really the *Peran Tua*, the eldest *Peran* whereas *Peran Hutan* is the youngest of the quartet *Peran Tua*, *Peran Muda*, *Peran Tengah* and *Peran Bongsu*. In the forest situation as depicted in the *Wak Peran Hutan* episode, however, the Forest Clown becomes highly important, for the forest is his domain. In a spiritual and mystical interpretation of *Wayang Siam* there is also seen to be a correspondence between the *Perans* and the four elements (*anasir arbaah*) — earth, water, fire and wind or air. A further connection is also observable between the *Perans*, the four elements and the four archangels in the following manner:

<i>Peran Tua</i>	<i>Tanah</i> (Earth)	<i>Jibrael</i>
<i>Peran Muda</i>	<i>Air</i> (Water)	<i>Mikael</i>
<i>Peran Tengah</i>	<i>Api</i> (Fire)	<i>Israfil</i>
<i>Peran Bongsu</i>	<i>Angin</i> (Wind)	<i>Izrail</i>

The *Peran Hutan*’s connection with the wind makes him more significant than the other *Perans* in the *berjamu* rituals since much of the performance is aimed at re-establishing the humours (*angin* or wind). Further, the connection between the youngest *Peran* and *Izrail*, the angel of death (*Malaikat-ul-Maut*), makes his role highly important as both restorer of health and, symbolically, causer of death. Prolonged absence of *semangat*, the vital substance or of *angin* can lead to death.

In the Forest Clown episode, the *Peran Hutan* and his dog went hunting for the golden deer (*kijang emas kijang ucana*) intended for *Sita Dewi*. They encounter a tiger which has, in fact, been sent by *Maharisi* to test *Peran Hutan*, his son and disciple. The tiger is successfully killed, and its carcass cast aside either by *Wak Peran Hutan* or by *Maharisi* to whom the Forest Clown brings it.¹¹ *Wak Peran Hutan* then informs *Maharisi* of the *berjamu* to be performed by *Seri Rama*. *Maharisi* is invited to attend. The Forest Clown returns home with his dog.

6. The *Dalang Muda* Episode (Continued)

The *Dalang Muda* prologue is continued with the entry of *Seri Rama* before his ministers, courtiers and soldiers. This portion, known as The

¹⁰Meaning “the elder *Peran*, the younger *Peran*, the Middle *Peran*, the original *Peran*, the *Peran* who has descended directly from the original *Peran*”. This is used as a standard formula in most such invocations in all genres of traditional Kelantanese theatre.

¹¹Generally if the performing *dalang* has already “graduated” then he is allowed to perform this episode so that *Wak Peran Hutan* throws away the skin. If he is an uninitiated *dalang*, then the tiger skin is brought to *Maharisi*, the old sage, to be discarded by him.

Entry of *Seri Rama* (*Seri Rama Keluar*), is also a standard feature in regular *Wayang Siam*. The *Seri Rama* figure is silently addressed (*dipesan*) by the *dalang* before the episode begins. In this episode, *Seri Rama*, in addition to receiving the homage of his followers, invites them to attend the *berjamu*. They will receive their share of the offerings at dawn on the fourth day of performance. *Seri Rama* enters his palace; his subjects leave. This part of the *Dalang Muda* prologue is particularly notable for the *dalang's* glorious description of *Seri Rama* (*berbilang Seri Rama*).

7. The Regular Story Performance

Immediately upon the completion of the second phase of *Dalang Muda*, the regular *dalang* (*dalang tua*) takes over from his apprentice to perform the story selected for the rest of the night. Normally, performances go on until about midnight, after which there is a break. In the case of *Berjamu Mambang*, no further activity takes place until after the dawn (*subuh*) prayers. In *Berjamu Sang Kaki*, however, the *Bentara Kala* episode starts at about 3.00 a.m. Its completion, mandatorily taking place before *subuh* prayers, marks the time for a break.¹² In both styles, final preparations are made during this break for the actual feasting of the spirits — *berjamu*.

8. The *Bentara Kala* Episode

The *Bentara Kala* episode deals with the pursuing of a young woman, *Mak Mabub Kalan Dermi*, by *Bentara Kala*, a son of *Bentara Guru* (*Shiva*), in the shape of a giant. While *Mak Mabub Kalan Dermi* is preparing offerings for a *berjamu* performance (to be performed by *Wak Long*), she accidentally cuts her ring finger (*jari manis*), thus staining her vegetables with blood. *Bentara Kala* (*Sang Kaki*), who is out hunting, tastes the blood when he eats the remnants of the vegetables. Having tasted human blood, and now looking for a victim to eat, he notices *Mak Mabub Kalan Dermi*. She runs away with him in pursuit. Reaching the *Wayang Kulit* theatre where *Wak Long* is the *dalang*, she seeks his help. *Wak Long* hides her. When *Sang Kaki* arrives at the *panggung* and asks the *dalang* if he has seen *Mak Mabub Kalan Dermi*, *Wak Long* lies that he has not. The giant's attention is soon caught by the *Wayang Kulit* performance. He leans against a coconut tree (*pohon kelapa gading*) to watch the shadow play and is soon engrossed in it. The fall of the coconut palm under his weight annoys him. Recovering quickly, however, he once again focuses his attention on the *Wayang*, questioning *Wak Long* with

¹²Customary practice does not allow performances to go on during prayer times. All activity therefore ceases just before the dawn prayers, to be resumed after the time for prayers has passed.

regard to the names for the different parts of a shadow play theatre. *Wak Long* educates him regarding the symbolical and mystical meanings of the *Wayang*.

Sang Kaki then asks *Wak Long* who, in the latter's opinion, is the older of the two, *Sang Kaki* or *Wak Long*. *Wak Long* replies that he himself, i.e. *Wak Long*, is the older. "Why?" asks the demon. "Because I have only two teeth and you have many," comes *Wak Long's* reply to the giant's utter amusement. *Sang Kaki* admits that *Wak Long* must be right since his logic cannot be contested. Once the *Wayang Kulit* performance is over, he leaves, completely forgetting *Mak Mabu Kelan Dermi*, the object of his original pursuit.

The *Bentara Kala* or *Sang Kala* episode plays on until it is time to stop for dawn prayers.

9. Preparation for the *Berjamu*

Generally, the major items of paraphernalia required for *berjamu* activities are prepared on the third night before performances commence. At this point in the proceedings, just prior to the *berjamu* rituals, final touches are given. The paraphernalia consisting of the following items, are placed at appropriate positions:

1. *Balai tiang empat puluh* (A miniature palace with forty legs);
2. *Jung Suluk Kapal Ulana* (A boat-shaped offerings container);
3. *Sakak* (Bamboo stands with opened coconuts on top);
4. *Tiang Chandi* (A pair of bamboo flag poles, with trimmings of crepe paper and leaves).

These items are positioned near the front of the *panggung*. Beneath the roof of the *panggung* and over the heads of performers is stretched and suspended a white or yellow piece of cloth about six feet long and three feet wide. This is the sky-cloth (*kain-langit*) to which are attached betel leaves, betel nuts, flowers and other items. The cloth is symbolic of the sky. The plate containing the *nasi guru*, used during the first night's *buka panggung* rituals, remains suspended from the *panggung's* central post (*tiang seri*). On the ground in front of the *panggung* are placed three pots (*buyong*) of water containing croton leaves, several varieties of plants, coconut and betel-palm blossoms as well as sour lime. From the roof of *panggung* above the screen (*kelir*) is suspended an inverted clay pot of water (*air sunsang*), containing besides water, parched rice (*berteh*), padi, sour lime (*limau nipis*), a golden ring and fifteen cents. The offerings for the *kenduri* are placed in appropriate containers, including the miniature palace with forty legs (*balai tiang empat puluh*), the boat-shaped offering vessel (*jung suluk kapal ulana*), the *sakak*, and the pots

containing water and other items.

For the morning session the screen is rolled up, resulting in an effective and symbolical extension of the performance or ritual area to include the ground on which the *balai* and other items of the paraphernalia are placed. The entire sacred area is enclosed by thread or string boundaries. The *panggung* is supposed to hold the spirits invited during *buka panggung* and also during the three nights preceding the *berjamu*. The extended ritual area will now hold the spirit-guests likely to participate in the *berjamu*. These invisible beings can only return upon the performance of the *pelepas* or "release" by the *dalang* at the end of the whole range of *berjamu* activities.

When all preparations have thus been completed, the musicians take their positions, wearing cotton headcloths and with the candles on their instruments still burning. The *dalang* too takes his regular performance position, the puppets lined up before him much as usual — those on his right and his left representing, respectively, the good and the bad forces which invariably confront each other on the *Wayang Kulit* screen.

10. Musical Interlude

Once the time for *Subuh* prayers has passed, performances begin with a musical interlude consisting of the signal piece and several other pieces selected by the musicians. There is no restriction regarding the choice of pieces to be played or the order in which they are to be played. The only one specifically required piece is the *Lagu Bertabuh*. The musical interlude leads on to the following activities: (a) Getting the *semangat* from *Betara Guru*, and (b) *Memadah*.

11. Getting the *Semangat* from *Betara Guru*

The *Betara Guru* puppet is placed on a cushion of rice and four folded pieces of headcloth. This is for the *dalang* to receive the *semangat* of the puppet before entering into the ensuing stages of the rituals, spiritually the most significant of all *berjamu* activities.

12. *Memadah* (The Invitation)

The *memadah* consists of several trance sessions in which the *dalang*, assuming the identity of *Wak Long*, goes forth to invite the gods, spirits and demons to attend the feast. The session begins with the *Lagu Guru* played before the *dalang* gets into trance. Following this piece, the *Lagu Peran*, (also known as the *Lagu Bersimbang Geduk*) or alternatively the *Lagu Puteri* is used to induce the trance. The *dalang* or the medium (*minduk*), usually borrowed from the shamanistic and exorcistic *Main*

Puteri dance-theatre, and functioning in a similar role here, has to ensure that all important categories of invisible beings are thus contacted through any one member belonging to each category. The process begins with the *dalang* taking hold of the *Wak Long* puppet and going into trance, presumably becoming *Wak Long* himself. As soon as the invitee who has been contacted by *Wak Long* appears, the *dalang* discards the *Wak Long* puppet, now handling the puppet of his possessor. A dialogue session ensues between the *dalang*-as-spirit and the *minduk*. At each shift in the identity of the possessing being, the entranced *dalang* similarly discards the *Wak Long* puppet to take up the puppet of the newly arrived spirit-guest. Once the discussion between the spirit and the *minduk* has been completed, the guest spirit "eats" the offerings intended for it and then leaves. The *dalang* comes out of trance, only to resume the identity of *Wak Long* for the next journey of invitation. Several of the beings thus contacted are actually characters from the *Hikayat Seri Rama*. During the *memadah*, therefore three consecutive activities take place: (a) the invitation (*memadah*), and (b) the feasting (*berjamu*), and (c) *semah angin* or wind blandishment for both *dalang* and audience members.

13. *Berjamu*

The arrival of the spirit-guests marks the commencement of *berjamu*. The puppets handled by the *dalang* and their spirits or *semangat*, believed to have placed themselves in the entranced *dalang*, not only examine the offerings to their satisfaction, they also actually consume some of these through the puppets and sometimes through the *dalang*. The *berjamu* can be quite dramatic and the *dalang* has often to be restrained, by means of pieces of headcloth or ropes wrapped around his waist and held by an assistant, from falling from the *panggung* as he tries to reach out for the *balai* or the *sakak*. The consumption is literal. For example, on the arrival of *Hanuman*, a raw egg is broken by an assistant onto the face of the *Hanuman* puppet and the *dalang* himself may lick or suck the egg. Each of the characters thus arriving is told by the *minduk* to consume their share of what is served (*menerima hidangan*). There are to be no future complaints or claims and the spirits are not to harm the *dalang*, sponsor (*tuan kerja*) or anyone else. This is made very clear to the invisible guests.

According to one very reliable informant, the order in which the characters, both male and female, appear for the *berjamu* is as follows: *Seri Rama* and his group including *Hanuman* and *Sita Dewi*; the spirits of the earth (*Jin Bumi*); the spirits of the village (*Jin Kampung*); those of the open spaces (*Jin Padang*); the Saints and sacred persons (*Wali* and *Keramat*); the spirits from the ocean (*Hantu* or *Jin Laut*), *Mah Babu Kenung* and his companions; those from the direction of the rising sun (*Sinar Naik*), i.e. *Rawana* and his companions; the occupants of *Wat Tu-*

juh Kedi Bermas (Maharisi); and finally those from the sky (*kayangan*). This sequence is somewhat loosely observed by all *dalangs*. It is not possible, in trance, to control the order of descent of the spirit beings. It is imperative, however, that *Seri Rama* and his companions be invited first. In addition to the list already provided, it is possible to include among the invitees *Wak Peran Hutan*, the Forest Clown. The basic idea is to ensure the extension of the invitation to all categories of spirit beings concerned so that no one of any importance is left out of the guest-list. Spirits who do not receive the invitation could take offence at the slight and cause problems. The *berjamu* is described as a major celebration (*kerja besar*).

For most of the spirits the offerings are placed at the different levels of the *balai tiang empat puluh* or in the specific vehicles intended for the offerings. The King of the Dragons (*Raja Naga*), for instance, received his food from the boat-shaped offering tray (*jung suluk kapal ulana*). The taller *sakak* contains offerings for those from the direction of the setting sun (*Sinar Rundok*). The coconut on the *sakak* is opened to enable the entranced *dalang* to eat the flesh. For *Sita Dewi*, who is invited from the *Taman Banjaran Seri* garden where she is bathing and powdering herself, special offerings are placed in trays to the right of the *dalang* along the stage wall. These include toiletry items and food offerings. She is placed with an attendant (*inang* or *dayang*) not on the banana stalk, together with the other guests who have arrived before her but at a special place on the *dalang's* right among the trays containing offerings meant for her. *Sita Dewi* has special significance in the *berjamu* ritual for she is regarded as the mother of *Wak Long*, the *dalang* in all proceedings. The *dalang* thus traces his lineage through her to *Maharisi*. To invite *Sita Dewi*, the *Lagu Bersiram*, a soft and melodious piece equivalent to the *Lagu Mengulik Anak Kumbang* in *Mak Yong*, is used. This piece, like all other invitational pieces, contains the lyrics inviting the guest to partake of the offerings specially prepared for her.

Before the gods arrive, *Maharisi* comes in, accompanied by two *Dewa Panah*. The *dalang*, as *Maharisi*, dances with the two puppets in his hands, and together they go off to eat at the *balai*.

For the final invitational trip to the sky (*kayangan*) both *Pak Dogol* and *Wak Long* went. The *dalang*, though in trance, does not assume the identity of anyone of these characters. The gods have to be invited down. They eat from the special offering trays placed for them near the tray containing offerings for *Sita Dewi*. A second trip is made to the sky, this time by *Wak Long* alone, to ensure to his satisfaction that none of the gods have been left out.

The *nemadah-berjamu* trance sessions are very much like those in

Main Puteri and *Main Puteri-Mak Yong* performances which are similarly exorcistic in nature. The *memadah* sessions are also accompanied by *Main Puteri*-like head-shaking and the *minduk* here functions exactly as he does in *Main Puteri*. In the case of *Wayang Kulit Siam*, however, the process is on the whole less elaborate.

Following the feasting sessions the *Maharisi*, *Pak Dogol* and *Wak Long* puppets are dipped in the three pots containing croton leaves and other items by turn and are then left standing in one of the pots for the final *pelepas* or "release".

14. *Penghantar*

For the *upacara penghantar* (sending off), usually four person are required to carry the model *balai* and one each to carry the *sakaks*. The *penghantar* is done to the accompaniment of the *Lagu Peran*, an instrumental piece. This is intended to chase away any demons (*jembalang*) that may, if present, cause disturbances. For the *penghantar*, *Hanuman* is used as a medium. The flag poles (*tiang chandi*) remain standing. The general practice is to place the *balai* and other vehicles in locations best suited to them. For example, the offerings for the sea spirits (*Jin Laut*) contained in the little boat-shaped offering tray, are to be placed in the sea or in a river. Where there is no possibility of doing this, the vehicles are all left in some isolated spot, perhaps at the edge of a forest, and away from human habitation or movement. This is to prevent any desecration of the offerings and also to prevent any attack by infuriated spirits.

15. *Pelepas*

The *pelepas* is intended to release those spirits who have participated in the ceremonies connected with the *berjamu* as a whole. For this, the inverted pot of water (*air sunsang*) hanging high above the screen is lowered and broken to pieces with the words "1, 3, 5, 7 *Lepas, Lepas, Lepas*" uttered while this is done. This pot contains the following items: rough skinned lime (*buah limau purut*), sour lime, croton leaves, coconut flowers, areca palm leaves and *bunga china*. The breaking of the pot signifies a ritual purification of the space as well as the release of the spirits which have been the *dalang*'s captives during the past three nights or for a part of that period. The sky-cloth (*kain-langit*) is torn aside in a symbolic ripping of the sky to allow the spirits of the upper level to return. At times, in addition to this, a hole is punched into the roof of the *panggung* to open a passage out of the sacred area. During the *pelepas* ceremony, the *Maharisi*, *Pak Dogol* and *Wak Long* puppets remain in the water pots containing croton leaves and other items. The water from these pots will later on be used for drinking or washing. It is supposed to

have the power to chase away any malicious influence (*badi*), any misfortune or disaster (*bala*).

The *pelepas* also symbolically marks the closing of the *panggung*. There is no theatre closing ceremony in a *berjamu* performance such as there is in normal performances. There is however, the prohibition (*pantang larang*) that for a period of seven days and seven nights after the completion of a *berjamu* performance, no music is to be played on a *panggung* used for such a purpose.

16. *Bersiram*

Following the *pelepas*, which has effectively ended the *berjamu* performance and closed the *panggung*, the *dalang* and anyone else who wishes to, may cleanse himself with the water in the three pots containing croton leaves and other offerings. The water may be used for a full bath, for washing the face, or for drinking. It is believed to take away malicious influence (*badi*) that may subsist as a result of contact with the supernatural. Generally, if a *dalang* takes a full bath during the *bersiram*, this is done to the accompaniment of the *Lagu Bersiram* (Bathing piece).

The *bersiram* concludes a *berjamu* performance of *Wayang Kulit Siam*. Technically a *dalang* may not perform such a ceremony again for another year, three years, five years or seven years, depending upon his vow (*niat*). This therefore makes *Wayang Siam Berjamu* performance a comparatively rare phenomenon in Kelantan.