

The Function and Meaning of the Gandang Ahung in the Hindu-Kaharingan Religion and Ritual of the Tiwah amongst the Katingan Awa, Central Kalimantan, Indonesia

Muhammad Rayhan Sudrajat

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Abstract

This thesis draws upon three months of field work spread over four years to investigate the music, symbolic function and meaning of the gandang ahung gong ensemble in the tiwah ceremony; a death ritual practised by the Katingan Awa community of Central Kalimantan. The ensemble has its own traditional solo repertoire, but it also accompanies the vocal genre sasana kayau, performed by the pisur (ceremonial leader) in a sacred language intertwined with the Katingan Awa's 'old' belief system of agama helu. The research considers the extent to which the ensemble intensifies the connection between musical sound, sacred language and ritual power in the tiwah ceremony. It analyses the essential function of the ensemble as the mechanism that invokes the spirits to consecrate the ceremony, and then to open the gates of heaven, so that the deceased souls are permitted to enter the upper world. Drawing upon Bell (1992) and Turner's (1969) work on ritual, discussion also considers the social and cultural significance of the tiwah ceremony in reconciling the everyday and the spirit world of the Katingan Awa, and also local spiritual practices and national administrative categories of belief systems. This research is based on ethnographic methods of participant observation and semi-structured interviews, ethnomusicological analysis of small-scale forest communities, ritual theory and archival research.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the awards of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signature

:

Print name

: Muhammad Rayhan Sudrajat

Date

: 27 May 2020

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List of Audios

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- 1. The Gandang Ahung Ensemble in Tumbang Panggu village. Duration: 14:44
- 2. The *Sasana Kayau* in the Katingan Awa Dialect of the *Sasana Kayau* in Tewang Rangas village, 2015. Duration: 02:04

Notes

My field area, the Katingan Awa, is a subgroup of the Ngaju people in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia. The Katingan Awa shares similarities of the Ngaju language, whereas the Katingan people acknowledge three dialects based on their location amongst the Katingan River groups: the *awa* (bottom river), the *beteng* (central river) and the *acu* (upriver). There are specific terms used amongst the Katingan Awa that I will use in this research. Some of these include "pang", short from "yapang" (father), "nang", short from "indang" (mother). The Katingan Awa people usually called their region as "Ngawa" which consists of two words: "Nga" means "in" and "Awa" means "lower river". The same meaning goes to "Ngacu": "Nga" says "in", and "Acu" means upriver. For this research, I will use the term Awa and Acu. "Bue" is grandfather around the Katingan or Ngaju regions. If someone is not quite so advanced in age, sometimes I use "mama" or uncle, whereas "tambi" is grandmother and "mina" or aunt is used for an older female in the Ngaju language.

Besides their given names, male and female family members have another sobriquet. They are called by their eldest child's name. For instance, Pak Senty is the father of Senty, but his real name is Pak Dirol.

Language Abbreviations

B. Ind Bahasa IndonesiaB. Ng Ngaju LanguageB. Kt Katingan Awa Dialect

B. Nk Both Ngaju and Katingan Awa

Glossary

Ahung B. Kt Gong

B. Ng. The name of the ceremonial leader known amongst the

head Kahayan or Kapuas River area

B. Nk A local drink contain alcohol made from fermented rice

for ritual or ceremony purposes

Bawi B. Nk Female B. Kt Center

B. Ind The other name for the island of Kalimantan

Bue B. Nk Grandfather

Dayak B. Ind The term given to all of the ethnic groups on Kalimantan

Island

Gandang B. Kt A single-headed long drum

Gandang Ahung B. Kt The name given to the gong-chime ensemble in Katingan

Awa area, consisting of gandang, upui, tokeng and kakanung

Gandang Ahung Lisung B. Kt A thin gong ensemble

Gandang Ahung Papan

B. Kt A thick gong ensemble

B. Ng The name given to the gong ensemble in Kahayan or Garantung

Kapuas River area, consisting of garantung, kangkanung, and

gandang

Hatimai B. Kt Fill the emptiness between the spaces in or sections of a

piece in the gandang ahung and the sasana kayau

Hatue B. Nk Male

Huma Eka Tiwah B. Nk The house where the *tiwah* is held

Ibukota B. Ind Capital city Kabupaten B. Ind Regency

B. Kt Four rows of small gong-chimes set in a wooden frame Kakanung

Kalotok B. Kt A small boat for transport

Kecamatan B. Ind Sub-district Kelurahan B. Ind Urban village

Kota B. Ind Town Kutak B. Nk Language

Leut B. Kt An inflection/accent style made by a performer in sasana

kavau

B. Nk Village Lewu

B. Nk Heaven. The complete name is "Lewu Tatau Habaras Lewu Tatau

> Bulau Habusung Intan Hakarangan Lamiang" amongst the Ngaju area and "Lewu Rami je dia Kasene Beti Lewu Tatau Habaras Bulau Rundung Janah dia Bakalesu Uhat" in the

Katingan Awa area.

B. Nk Souls of the deceased Liau

Malahap B. Nk A shout, performed before a ritual to open the lawang

langit (gate of heaven)

Mampahiau B. Nk To play a musical instrument

Manganjan B. Nk A sacred performance of dance and a gong ensemble,

where family members and participants have to circle the *pasar*

sawawulu three times in the tiwah ceremony

B.Kt A loud sound Muhing

Neng Neok B. Kt A small metal instrument made from bronze used to play

along with the gandang ahung ensemble in the Katingan Awa

Newah B. Kt To play a musical instrument

Ngacu B. Kt On the upper stream

B. Ng Traditions which follow the Kahayan people Ngahayan Ngarerek B. Kt A secular type of gandang ahung performance in

Katingan Awa area

B. Kt Traditions which follow the Katingan people Ngatingan

Ngawa B. Nk On the lower stream (downstream)

Ngawus B. Kt To accompany the main performer of the sasana kayau Pajak B. Kt Terms to state one complete set tones of gandang ahung Pambak B. Kt A small house made from wood as the place for the

deceased bones put in the graveyard

Pasar Sawawulu B. Kt The cosmos of the tiwah ceremony in Katingan Awa

Patuh B. Kt To play a musical instrument

Pisur B. Kt The name of the ceremonial leaders amongst the people

of Katingan Awa area

Sangiang B. Nk The kind spirits

Sasana Kayau B. Kt A traditional vocal performance originally from

Tumbang Panggu that is performed in the tiwah ceremony

amongst the Katingan Awa

Sasana Kayau-Pulang B. Kt A traditional vocal performance originally from

Tumbang Panggu, which tells the story of siblings called

Kayau and Pulang

Tambi B. Nk Grandmother

Tarai B. Kt A flat suspended gong used with the gandang ahung

ensemble

Tiwah B.Nk A death ritual known in the Hindu-Kaharingan religion

amongst the Ngaju and Katingan Awa people

Tokeng B. Kt Two small suspended gongs on the far left of gandang

ahung ensemble

Uluh B. Ng People Ulun B. Kt People

Upui B. Kt Three large suspended gongs on the far right of the

gandang ahung ensemble

Spellings

The Ngaju language and Katingan Awa dialect have shared the similarities. Both of them distinguish the clear vocal word in "E" i.e. "whén" or "samé". Both of them also have a complex morph syntax. Many of the words in the Ngaju and the Katingan Awa dialects have different spellings for written words, for instance "pisor" is spelled "pisur" (pronounced as "p" + "sure"). I believe this word form occurred before the Enhanced Indonesian Spelling System (EISS). Another example is "Tumbang Panggu". Several people still use "Tumbang Panggo" although it is pronounced as "Panggu". For this reason, I use the "u" letter instead the "o" to make reading easier.

Chapter One: The *Tiwah* Ceremony and the Katingan Awa

Jadi gong, sekali lagi saya sampaikan, gong ini adalah pengisi darah nanti, diisi dengan darah hewan kurban seperti babi, sapi atau kerbau ini, untuk para leluhur mengambil darah itu untuk menyucikan alam semesta, anggota tiwah, dan kita semua ini dari bala kematian.

(The gong, once again I say, will be filled with the blood of animals such as pigs, cows or buffaloes, to enable the spirits of the ancestors to purify the cosmos/universe, the *tiwah* members, and all of us, from the catastrophe /misfortune of death).

- Pak Sidie, personal communication 2015

First Encounter with the *Tiwah*¹ Ceremony

Before dawn in 8 August 2015, I left the provincial capital city of Central Kalimantan, Palangka Raya² to drive the 109 kilometres to the village of Tewang Rangas in the Katingan River area with my friends. We eventually arrived there after a three-hour trip. Our arrival coincided with the start of a performance of the *manganjan*³ ritual of a *tiwah* ceremony. Uncertain whether our unannounced presence would be regarded as intrusive, we initially stayed some distance from where the ceremony was about to begin.

After a few minutes we heard someone shout: "If anyone would like to join manganjan, [you] are welcome" (je hawang umba manganjan dia masalah tuh). On hearing this invitation, I joined the villagers gathered on the ceremonial ground to watch this ritual close up. It started with all of the participants circling the perimeter of the ritual space three times in a counter-clockwise direction, whilst making the appropriate ritual gestures consisting of several hand and feet movements. After this, every participant was served a baram⁴ drink by a family member of the deceased. Throughout the manganjan performance, the ceremonial chief sang and the gong ensemble continued unabated. Once the chief finished singing, then the gong ensemble stopped playing.

¹ A death ritual known in the Hindu-Kaharingan religion amongst Ngaju and Katingan Awa people. For more of the local terms, please refer to the Glossary.

² The name of the capital city is known administratively as "Palangkaraya". According to several informants in Central Kalimantan, "Palangka" means plate and "Raya" means huge in the Ngaju language. Therefore, the capital should be written as two words "Palangka Raya".

³ The *Manganjan* ritual involves the committees and family members of a deceased person in a *tiwah* ceremony, dancing around the centre of ceremonial place.

⁴ A traditional local drink made from fermented rice in the Katingan area.

After this, the ritual sacrifice of water buffaloes, pigs, and chickens took place. I later came to understand that the blood of these animals is a necessary component of the ceremony. The blood of chickens and pigs is also used in other rituals by the Hindu-Kaharingan people in the Katingan Awa region.

The slaughtering took place in a particular order, from the smallest to the largest animal: i.e. the chickens, pigs, cows, and water buffaloes. The blood was then presented to the spirits⁵ at the place where the ceremony was conducted. According to Pak Senty⁶, the spirits have to be fed in order to ensure the success of the ritual. They need to be prevented from disturbing the $liau^7$ of the dead on their way to heaven. It was also important that the spirits should not interfere with or affect the lives of those partaking in the ceremony.

It is important to note that the blood of all the animals was mixed together and stored inside the rim of a gong that was carefully placed upon a tripod of sticks tied with a sturdy rope made from rattan. The gong was positioned with its underside facing the sky and situated near a *pasar sawawulu*.⁸

This arrangement is intended to help the evil spirits take the blood and encourage them not to disturb the ceremonial performance. The sound of the gong ensemble functions as an alert to the spirits that the ceremony is taking place, and invites them to travel from both upstream and downstream areas to consume the blood offering. In other words, the gong ensemble is the clarion call that invokes the arrival of the spirits. Without the sound of the gongs, the spirits will not come; and without their arrival and placation, the dead are not able to travel to the upperworld. This essential function endows the gong ensemble with the vital role it plays in the successful outcome of the *tiwah* ceremony. This role cannot be assigned to any other type of musical instrument.

Memories of these scenes in 2015 left a deep mark on me and became the inspiration for this research. My thesis investigates the role of the *gandang ahung* (gong ensemble) as a central component of and spiritual conduit in the death rituals of the Katingan Awa community in Tewang Tampang village.

⁵ The spirits consist of both bad and virtuous spirits.

⁶ Pak Senty is the ceremonial leader, known as "*pisur*", of the Tumbang Panggu village and one of my Katingan Awa informants.

⁷ Soul of the deceased.

⁸ The cosmic centre of the ceremony in the middle of the field is constructed from bamboo sticks and decorated with a few pieces of fabric. The animals are tied to a few of the statues around it, waiting to be sacrificed.



Figure 1. 1 The animal blood inside the upside-down gong.⁹

Thesis Structure

This chapter provides an overview of the Katingan Awa community within the larger social and cultural landscape of Kalimantan. Chapter Two is a literature review that seeks to contextualise this line of research inquiry within the broader context created by ethnomusicologists, anthropologists and academic scholars, and also representatives of the community, the religion and the death rite. A full ethnographic account of these findings about the *tiwah* ceremony in the Katingan Awa is provided in Chapter Three. The construction, symbolism and function of the gong ensemble is considered in Chapter Four, while Chapter Five focuses on a musical analysis of the gong ensemble and the accompanying vocal music form called *sasana kayau*. Chapter Six presents my conclusions, summarising each Chapter and articulating the thesis conclusions.

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⁹ I produced all the maps, figures, tables, music scores, audio tracks and videos in this thesis, unless otherwise stated.

The People of Kalimantan



Figure 1. 2 Map of Indonesia, showing the Kalimantan island in the centre (Scraps 2018)

Kalimantan¹⁰ is one of the largest islands in Indonesia (see Figure 1.1). Its lands are owned by three countries: Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei Darussalam. Administratively, it splits into five regions: Kalimantan Barat, Kalimantan Tengah, Kalimantan Selatan, Kalimantan Timur and Kalimantan Utara (West, Central, South, East and North Kalimantan). Approximately sixteen million people live on the island (Survei Penduduk Antar Sensus 2015). The villages and towns are mostly surrounded by jungle, which provides clean water and natural resources such as fruit and vegetables, indeed everything that the Kalimantan people need to live. Kalimantan is an important ecological area for thirteen types of primates, more than 350 reptiles, various amphibians, and 15,000 types of plants (World Wide Fund for Nature Indonesia 2017).

My broad research area – Central Kalimantan (Kalimantan Tengah) – comprises nearly 154,000 square kilometres of jungle (82%) and swamps (12%), several rivers, and various swidden agriculture areas (Schiller 1997). A projection of the population of Kalimantan Tengah from 2010 to 2020 – see the Central Kalimantan Bureau of Statistics 2017 (Badan Pusat Statistik Kalimantan Tengah) website – shows that the population will amount to almost three million people by 2020. In 2017 there were 2,605,274 people; and it

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¹⁰ The island is known internationally as Borneo, which can most likely be traced back to a mispronunciation of the word "Brunei". According to Linden, the word "Kalimantan" comes from the Sanskrit word "Kalamanthana", which means "an island so hot that it feels like the air is burning" (Linden 2011)

was predicted there would be up to 2,769,156 in 2020. The population of the Katingan regency, the focus of my field area, is 172,287 in 2020. (See Figure 1.3).

Regency	.eu(syev	Kalimanta	n Tengah	Province P	opulation A	according to	o Kalimant	an Tengah	Bureau of	Statistics	
Regency	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Kalimantan Tengah	2220818	2275120	2329783	2384733	2439858	2495035	2550192	2605274	2660209	2714859	2769156
Katingan	146964	149655	152409	155082	157654	160305	162837	165306	167706	169997	172287

Figure 1. 3 (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Kalimantan Tengah 2017)

The Indigenous people who live on the island are called by the umbrella term Dayak¹¹ (Böhmer 2016). They divide into several ethno-lingual groups. They typically support themselves through shifting cultivation, supplemented by hunting, fishing, gathering and selling forest products. According to Riwut (1993), the Dayaks in Kalimantan may roughly be subdivided into seven main groups:

- 1. The Ngaju
- 2. The Apu Kayan
- 3. The Iban and Heban/Dayak Laut
- 4. Klemantan/Dayak Darat
- 5. Murut
- 6. Punan
- 7. Ut Danum

The Dayak in Central Kalimantan are divided into four subgroups; the Ma'anyan, Lawangan, Dusun, and Ngaju (Riwut 1993:235).

The Ngaju

-

The Ngaju constitutes the largest ethnic group in Central Kalimantan. The people are located mostly in the waterways, including the Kapuas, Kahayan, Barito, and other rivers. According to Mahin (2009), the word "Ngaju" has three meanings in Central Kalimantan: it can refer to an ethnicity; an area or a place or to indicate a direction; and to explain a certain behaviour.

¹¹ Böhmer states that "Dayak is the name of a language spoken by a large number of Bornean ethnic subgroups loosely grouped together under the same name" (Böhmer 2016:36). However, according to Schiller (1997), the word "connotes a host of mostly negative images of Borneo's indigenous inhabitants" (Schiller 1997:3).

When referring to ethnicity, the capital "N" (as in "Ngaju") is used to indicate those people in Central Kalimantan who live upstream. However, when the word is used to point out a place or an area or a direction, it is changed to a small "n" and written in italics (as in "ngaju") to point to a "direction" upstream. The ngaju has an antonym called ngawa which means "the lower river area". For example, most of the people in the village I went to, use the word to point out where they are going, i.e. "I am going to the ngaju [area]" (hawang pa ngaju tuh). The third meaning of the "Ngaju" is used to express the attitudes of the people who come from a village that is viewed as being old-fashioned (Mahin 2009:138-150). Furthermore, I will use the framework presented by Mahin (2009) throughout this thesis.

In the early literature, a few scholars used the word "Ngaju" to refer to the religion of the people in Central Kalimantan. One of them is Schärer (1963), who wrote an expansive book called *Ngaju Religion* based on his dissertation. It is clear that the term's meaning has widened since its creation, for nowadays it is used to represent the biggest ethnic group in Central Kalimantan. Here is the map of Kalimantan Island showing the Ngaju situated in the centre of the island between other ethnic groups such as the Ut Danum, the Maanyan and the Lawangan. A few rivers flow through the Ngaju area, one of which is the Katingan River.

-

¹² The Ngaju acknowledges a few directional terms to point out where they are heading in their geographical environments. Instead of recognising the terms such as north or south, they use the river to describe directional and spatial relations to the topography (Binti 2015).



Figure 1. 4 The ethnic groups in Kalimantan (Kartapranata 2010).

The Katingan

The Katingan area is named after the Katingan River that flows from the upstream Bukit Raya region to Mendawai, some 650 kilometres downstream. Administratively, the Katingan Regency (Kabupaten Katingan) divides into 13 districts: Kuala, Mendawai, Kamipang, Tasik Payawan, Katingan Hilir, Tewang Sagalang Garing, Pulau Malan, Katingan Tengah, Sanaman Mantikei, Petak Malai, Marikit, Katingan Hulu and Bukit Raya (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Katingan 2010). The people of the Katingan area divide into three regions: Awa (lower), Beteng (central) and Acu (upper). The name of each area also reflects the dialect spoken, e.g. in the Katingan Awa dialect, the Katingan Beteng dialect and the Katingan Acu dialect.

The borders between these areas are not clearly marked, since everyone has a different understanding of how the boundaries are denoted. But Anthony Nyahu, who works at the Balai Bahasa Kalimantan Tengah (Language Centre of Central Kalimantan), stated that

the Awa area extends from Handiwung village to Pulau Malan sub-district, the Beteng area in the Katingan Tengah sub-district, and the Acu area from the Katingan Tengah sub-district through the Katingan Hulu sub-district to the upper village, Tumbang Kaburai, on the Katingan River. However, these borders might well not be accurate as there are many conflicting pieces of information that I obtained from the different village dialects within the Katingan area. Katingan Awa is considered to be the original dialect of the Katingan, where Beteng, which is quite similar to Awa, is a later one. On the other hand, Katingan Acu is influenced by Dohoi¹³, a dialect spoken by the Ut Danum people, whose country sprawls across the Central, Eastern, and Western provinces of Kalimantan (Ethnologue 2019).¹⁴ Based on the evidence of a few sentences, the dialects of both the Katingan Awa and Acu are combinations of the Ngaju and the Ut Danum languages. However, to validate this requires more detailed analysis and research. There is reason to believe that the Katingan Acu dialects are heavily influenced by the Ut Danum's dialects (Dohoi), e.g. in the "O" sound found amongst the Dohoi people. Anthony estimates that at least seventy per cent of the vocabulary in the Katingan Awa dialect and a similar degree of difference can be discerned in their cultural traditions as well.¹⁵

¹³ I visited Tumbang Habangoi on the upper Samba River, where the people speak Dohoi dialects in 2015.

¹⁴ <u>https://www.ethnologue.com/language/otd</u> - accessed 22 July 2019.

¹⁵ Personal communication with Anthony Nyahu

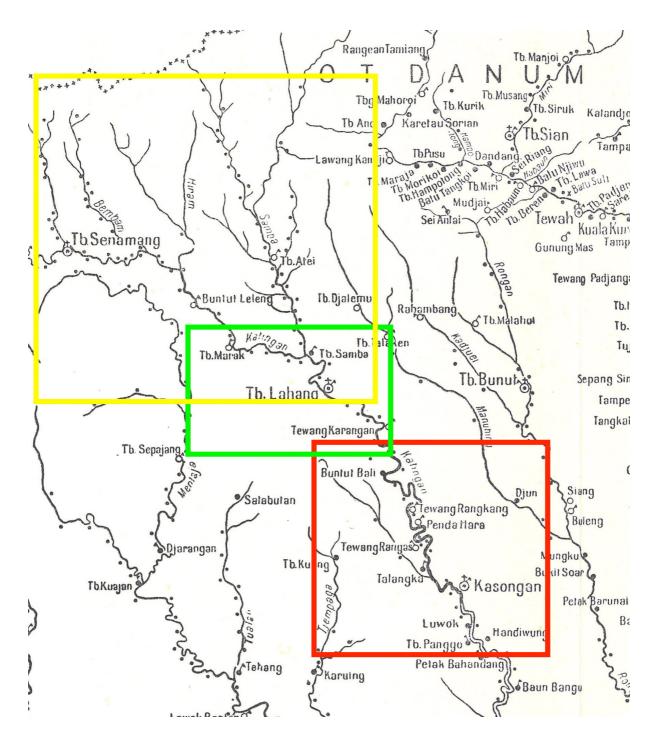


Figure 1. 5 The Katingan area is divided into three sections; the Awa area marked with a red box, the Beteng area in green, and the Acu area in yellow. The Katingan River flows through the area from the upper left to the lower right. Map is taken from Schärer (1963). This figure is based on my findings in the field.

The Katingan Awa (Subgroup of the Ngaju)

In this and the following sections, my aim is to consider how the Katingan Awa fit within the larger Ngaju grouping. It should be mentioned that the name "Katingan Awa" is

specifically used by the people in the Katingan River area, but not used as a government administrative term. However, since community members commonly refer to themselves as Katingan Awa based on the dialect, this is the term that is used throughout this study. The Katingan Awa is the area that is occupied by the Katingan people who live in the lower reaches of the Katingan River (see the red box in figure 1.5).

Names	Islamism	Protestantism	Catholicism	Hinduism	Buddhism	Confucianism	Others	Total
Regency								
1. Kotawaringin Barat	282 836	16 595	5 210	1 312	6 578	200	-	312 731
2. Kotawaringin Timur	414 856	23 723	13 019	28 100	5 647	101	-	485 446
3. Kapua s	275 200	41 311	3 552	35 957	541	-	-	356 561
4. Barito Selatan	97 705	23 678	9 825	5 282	390	-	-	136 880
5. Barito Utara	97 916	13 829	7 535	34 177	547	-	-	154 004
6. Sukamara	49 340	4 427	2 369	5 957	275	79	-	62 447
7. Lamandau	38 357	25 000	11 630	11 582	280	-	-	86 849
8. Seruyan	155 047	9 661	5 222	8 637	283	8	-	178 858
9. Katingan	96 938	22 421	2 892	36 277	268	-	-	158 796
10. Pulang Pisau	101 397	23 610	1 974	1 814	293	-	-	129 088
11. Gunung Mas	27 198	86 053	2 269	22 965	177	-	-	138 662
12. Barito Timur	50 197	32 164	14 237	11 000	369	-	-	107 967
13. Murung Raya	70 332	24 915	6 758	16 587	376	-	-	118 968
Capital City								
14. Palangka Raya	221 972	87 245	8 793	7 942	3 154	17	1 992	331 115
Total	1 979 291	434 632	95 285	227 589	19 178	405	1 992	2 758 372
2015	1 944 177	420 624	86 238	218 890	9 388	572	791	2 680 680
2014	1 935 303	415 935	75 327	203 564	5 173	345	7 849	2 643 496
2013	1 870 658	401 140	81 584	204 573	7 899	252	-	2 566 106
2012	1 839 340	363 979	69 973	205 101	6 551	306	5 851	2 491 101
2011	1 692 132	338 077	61 747	187 118	5 343	96	7 142	2 291 655
2010	1 617 612	350 634	75 284	191 632	3 993	-	7 384	2 246 539

Figure 1. 6 The total number of adherents of the religions amongst the people in Central Kalimantan. The Katingan Regency (Kabupaten Katingan), marked in green, has the highest number of Hindu believers (Kaharingan). (Badan Pusat Statistik Kalimantan Tengah 2018)

The Katingan Awa people who live along the Katingan River differ from the Ngaju who reside in the city, even though they share many cultural and social traits. The Katingan people rely on the river for their basic livelihood. Some six decades ago, when the river was

still in a relatively pristine state, there was an abundance of fish. However, over the last ten years illegal mining and logging in the area have seriously polluted the river, which is no longer clean and has acquired a muddy brownish colour. These illegal activities are threatening the livelihood and sustainability of local populations. Surrounded by dense rainforest, the Katingan people used to have plentiful access to food resources in the forest, through gathering wild plants and hunting birds, mouse deer and other mammals. Now however, they are experiencing increasing difficulty in finding forest food, due to the destruction of the surrounding natural environment.¹⁶

The Katingan Awa people use the Katingan Awa dialect on a daily basis. Sometimes it is mixed with the Ngaju language and used when Ngaju visit from outside the Katingan area. While the majority of the Ngaju population cannot speak the Katingan Awa dialect, surprisingly, the Katingan Awa people are able to communicate in the Ngaju language. My two months stay in the Katingan Awa area allowed me to learn and communicate in the Katingan Awa dialect. Even though it somewhat resembles the Ngaju, Katingan Awa has different inflexions and accents. Once I had learnt enough of the dialect for basic conversation, I could communicate comfortably with the people in their mother tongue and no longer had to communicate in Bahasa Indonesia.

Beside the linguistic features of the Katingan Awa, there is a form of language that is used specifically in vocal music called *sasana kayau*. There is no precise name for the language but the people in Katingan regard it as "high literary language" (*Bahasa sastra tingkat tinggi*) that is used mainly in vocal music and mixed with the Katingan Awa dialect. Apart from using it in the vocal music, the ceremonial leader sometimes recites this language while he performs the *sasana kayau* in a *tiwah* ceremony. For example, *bawui* means "pig" in the Katingan *Awa* dialect. But in the *sasana kayau* language, it is "*urak bawui samben paramuan penda bendang*". Nowadays, there are not many people who still recognise or remember the *sasana kayau* language. Knowledge seems to be restricted to some of the elders, and in particular the ceremonial leaders in the Katingan Awa.

The other type of language is called the Basa Sangiang, or Sangiang language. It is a ritual language of the Hindu-Kaharingan religion amongst the Ngaju people, particularly in the Kahayan and Kapuas River area. It is the language that is used by the *basir*¹⁷ (ceremonial leader) to communicate with the spirits. Based on my interview with the *basir* in Palangka

¹⁶ Personal communication with the people in Tumbang Panggu village.

¹⁷ Basir is the name of the Hindu-Kaharingan religion ceremonial leader, similar to *pisur* in the Katingan area. Basir is commonly used amongst the Ngaju in the Kahayan or Kapuas River areas.

Raya, it is virtually impossible to learn Basa Sangiang, because one has to have a "gift from the god" in order to memorise all the sentences. The other feature of the Basa Sangiang language is that it has both a feminine and a masculine-form. However, Basa Sangiang is not the kind of language that people use to communicate with each other, nor is it a type of language that is spoken on a daily basis.

Katingan Awa and Hindu-Kaharingan

The most common religion practised in Kalimantan Tengah is Islam, with almost two million followers. After this come Christianity (mostly Protestant, but also Catholic), and Hinduism (Badan Pusat Statistik Kalimantan Tengah 2018). Officially there are only six declared religions recognised in Indonesia: Islam, Christian-Protestant, Christian-Catholic, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism. More recently in November 2017, the Makamah Konstitusi (Constitutional Court of Indonesia) also gave approval to officially recognise the indigenous animist belief as a separate religion in itself, and provided means for individuals to be able to state this as their religion on their KTP or *kartu tanda penduduk* (the national identity card).

Hinduism in Indonesia is divided into several categories, including Hindu-Kaharingan in Kalimantan (which is the primary religion practised amongst the Katingan Awa community) and Hinduism in Bali. According to pre-20th century sources, it was said that knowledge of the rituals and ritual practice amongst the Hindu-Kaharingan religion was orally transmitted. These religious practices were commonly referred to before the 1960's as *agama*¹⁸ *helu* ("the old religion"). Since 1980, however, the Hindu-Kaharingan religion was officially integrated and classified with the forms of Hinduism practised in Bali. The Ngaju in Palangka Raya were subsequently declared to be Hindus along with others inhabiting contiguous areas such as Kahayan, Barito, Kapuas, and Lamandau. The Central Council of the Hindu-Kaharingan religion is situated today in the centre of Palangka Raya city.

How was the Hindu-Kaharingan religion officially recognised? According to government administrative guidelines, necessary elements are: a sacred text or texts: a hymnal in a prayer book; and a designated place of worship. Accordingly, a "holy book", was

¹⁸ The term *agama* refers to both a body of texts connected with Hinduism, and to non-Vedic Tantric practices and beliefs in South Asia.

¹⁹ "Dulu ini Kaharingan dikenal sebagai agama helu. Tapi tahun 1980 bergabung dengan agama Hindu di Bali." Back in the past, the Kaharingan was known as agama helu [old religion]. But then it merged with Hinduism in Bali in 1980. Personal communication with Pak Sius D. Daya one of the ceremonial leaders in Palangka Raya, 26 December 2014.

compiled in the 1970s based on the practices of the pre-existing oral tradition, *agama helu* (Mahin 2009:83). The *Panaturan* describes the cosmological beginnings of the Ngaju and provides instruction on ceremonial and ritual practices.²⁰ When Lewis KDR served as the general chairman, Simal Penyang as the first chairman, and Liber Sigai as the general secretary, MAUKI (Majelis Alim Ulama Kaharingan Indonesia²¹) was founded in 1972. They prepared and compiled religious texts to circulate to the public, such as the creation story (*Buku Panaturan*), a book on how to propitiate supernatural beings (*Buku Tawur*), a Kaharingan hymnal (*Buku Kandayu*), a prayer book (*Buku Do'a*), a guide to performing marriages (*Buku Pemberkatan Perkawinan*), a guide to performing funerals (*Buku Petunjuk Mangubur*), and a book of prayers appropriate for anointing celebrants in order to "cool their souls" on various supernaturally charged occasions (*Buku Kandayu Manyaki*) (Schiller, 1998:122). According to Schiller (1998), the Thursday evening worship service called *basarah* has been held in the towns and many villages throughout Central Kalimantan since 1981. The *basarah* that I witnessed in the two villages in the Tewang Tampang and Tumbang Panggu are similar to those that Schiller described (1998).

From a Ngaju perspective, certain elements of the pre-existing orally transmitted practices of the *agama helu* – such as the *tiwah* ceremony and its numerous rituals – were included. However other rituals practised amongst the Katingan Awa were not. According to my informants in the Katingan Awa, one of the most important ceremonies not to be included is the *mambayar hajat malabuh balai samburup*, a ceremony to propitiate the spirits that takes place when someone makes a wish for something and tenders thanks to the spirit submerged in the Katingan River by offering them "meals" of sacrificial chicken or pig which were distributed by villagers by boat. Another ceremony, *balas danum/balas bunu/mangayau*, is performed for someone who has died by unfortunate or unnatural circumstances, such as by drowning or being crushed by a tree. The family of the deceased seeks revenge to "assassinate" the spirit of the water, trees, etc, responsible for this ill fortune. Even though these ceremonies are not acknowledged in the Panaturan, they all nevertheless require a Hindu-Kaharingan religion ceremonial leader, *pisur*.

²⁰ I acquired the Panaturan book in 2015 on my first visit. But in my latest fieldwork, the people I spoke to said that it has been revised several times. It has also been translated to Bahasa Indonesia, which I believe will make reading easier for me, and my understanding of the Panaturan more profound. However, I did not have the resources to buy the book. Then I took photos from Nondoi's book in Tumbang Panggu with a good camera, which was satisfactory because I was then able to read it.

²¹ Council of Religious Scholars of Kaharingan Indonesia

Besides the two ceremonies already mentioned, I witnessed another four²² rituals in the Tewang Tampang and Tumbang Panggu villages during my field work. They too are not mentioned in the *Panaturan*. It is important to note that not all of those rituals relate to all the spirits and ancestors who lived near the villages.

But even with the official recognition of religious diversity by the government, the Ngaju still face ongoing discrimination and, at times, intimidation from ardent followers of other religions in the region.²³ These forms of discrimination affect the Ngaju in general, but the Ngaju community in the Katingan Awa region are especially exposed, because the great majority identify as adhering to the Hindu-Kaharingan religion.

In some parts of Central Kalimantan, the Ngaju people regard the *tiwah* as a final step in a death ritual. It plays an important role in the Hindu-Kaharingan religion. In other parts of Kalimantan, as among the Benuaq Ohookng Dayak people, the secondary death ritual is known as *kwangkai* (Zahorka 2001). Amongst the Ma'anyan people in Barito, it is known as the *idjambe* (Hudson 1967).

The Ngaju people, who are also referred to as *Utus Palangka Bulau* (the descendants of the gold bowl), believe that they come from the *Pantai Danum Sangiang*²⁴, and that they came to this world with the *Palangka Bulau*. Later on, the *Utus Palangka Bulau* or *Utus Batang Petak* called themselves *oloh Ngaju* (the Ngaju people). The meaning of "Ngaju" here is not the same as "upper river", but indicates that they have a relationship with *Pantai Danum Sangiang* (Mahin 2009).

The Ngaju cosmology has numerous objects and ornaments that are explained in the Panaturan, including the creation myth of the Ngaju people that is pictured clearly in the Panaturan. The micro and macro cosmos of the Ngaju is represented in many ways through ceremonies, rituals, and the people themselves. Each constituent of the whole changes every other part. The upperworld, known as Lewu Pantai Danum Sangiang, is the place for the sacred people while the underworld, or Lewu Injam Tingang, is the place for Raja Bunu²⁵ and his descendants. The upperworld and the underworld can be seen in Johannes Saililah's drawing in Schärer's book (1963) below:

²² The other rituals are *Ngapatung Sadiri* (a ritual to transfer the *peres* or illness to a small statue), *Pakanan Dahiang* (a ritual to feed the spirits of *dahiang*, a mythical eagle), *Hapuar Kambe* (a ritual using fire to cleanse a home where recently a person has passed away) and *Manawekas* (a ritual that has to be held before a burial).

²³ Personal communication with several informants in Palangka Raya.

²⁴ A term for the upperworld, also known as *Lewu Sangiang*.

²⁵ Raja Bunu is one of the children from Manyamei Tunggul Garing Janjahunan Laut and Kameluh Putak Bulau Janjulen Karangan, who are the ancestors of the human (Mahin 2009:95).

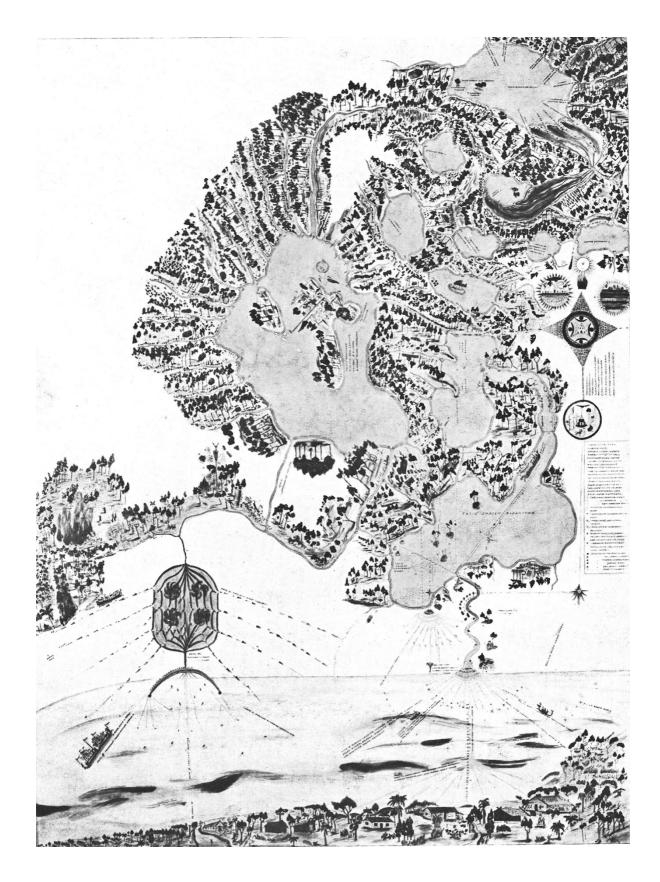


Figure 1. 7 The Ngaju upperworld drawing by J. Salilah (Schärer, 1963).

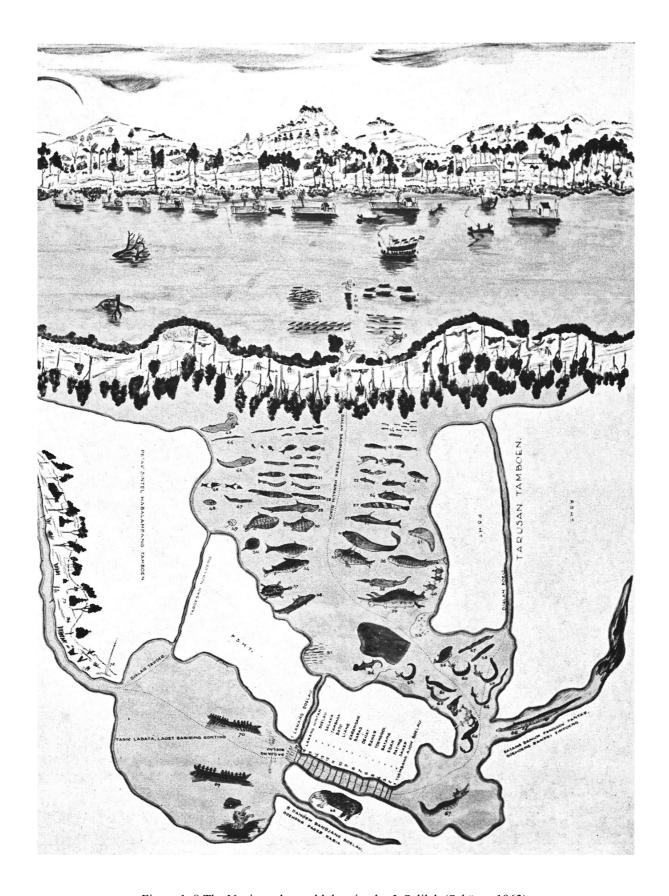


Figure 1. 8 The Ngaju underworld drawing by J. Salilah (Schärer, 1963).

The Location and the Informants of this Research

In 2019, I visited four villages in Katingan – Tumbang Liting, Luwuk Kanan/Tewang Tampang, Tumbang Panggu, and Handiwung – all of which are located in the Katingan Awa area. I chose these four villages in particular because they are easy to reach, close to one to another, and most importantly because the adherents of the Hindu-Kaharingan religion in those villages are more numerous than in other villages in Katingan. However, this study is limited to my observations of musical performance practices of the gong ensemble in two villages; Tewang Tampang and Tumbang Panggu, which I witnessed in February-March 2019. In addition, I intend to focus on the *tiwah* ceremony that was held from June to October in 2018 in the Tewang Tampang village for my analysis of the gong ensemble.

The *tiwah* ceremony in Tewang Tampang has been well recorded by local people from the village and surrounding area. I obtained several useful videos from participants in the ceremony, most of whom recorded it on their mobile phones. There is also a video lasting almost two hours recorded by one of the family members in Tewang Tampang. I was also privileged to be allowed to copy the video from two DVDs belonging to Pak Gagas Diul, the owner of the video DVDs. This footage contains information that is not covered by the video that the others captured on their mobile phones, including additional aspects of the *tiwah* ritual and parts of the *pisur*'s incantation, which was very useful for my research.

Pak Senty the *pisur* from Tumbang Panggu, conducted the *tiwah* ceremony in Tewang Tampang village in 2018. I was able to meet him at his house in Tumbang Panggu and authenticate all of the aspects in the *tiwah* ceremony. I was also able to ask many questions about matters I had not understood when I first watched the video. Pak Senty's enthusiasm in answering my questions, plus his view of the ceremony from the *pisur*'s perspective, made me realise that the *tiwah* ceremony is extremely complicated in its structure and meaning, as is also its music. But after discussing it for more than three hours with Pak Senty, I started to gain an understanding.

Furthermore, I was told by several respected people that the practices in these two villages are more authentic and truer to the ancestral requirements than those practiced in many other villages in the Katingan Awa area. This was the main reason I chose to work in those two villages. Overall, there are 161 villages across the Katingan waterways from the upper river region to the lower course of the river. The performances and practices described in this thesis are only based on those two villages. However, it is not possible to extrapolate

this account of the *tiwah* ceremony in those villages and to assume that the same performance and practice of the ceremony occurs in every village in the Katingan Awa or in other areas of the Ngaju settlement. Further research and documentation would be necessary to establish how representative the performance of the *tiwah* ceremony is across the Ngaju population.

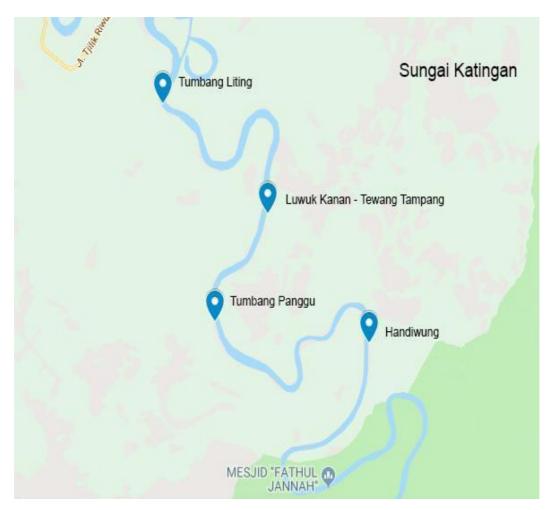


Figure 1. 9 The field work area along the Katingan River. Google Earth (2020)

The key informants for this research varied from place to place and gave interviews during my initial journey in 2014 to 2020. They consist of the *basir*, *pisur* and musicians from the Katingan Awa area and the Palangka Raya city.

Name of the Informants	Place of the Meeting	Status	Year
Pak Parada	Palangka Raya	Religious leader	2014
Pak Sius	Palangka Raya	Religious leader	2014
Pak Sidie	Tewang Rangas	Basir	2015

Pak Senty	Tumbang Panggu	Pisur	2019
Pak Napin	Handiwung	Pisur	2019
Hetdianto	Palangka Raya	Musician	2019

Figure 1. 10 The table of the informants I met from 2014 to 2019.

Tewang Tampang Village

I chose to conduct my fieldwork in Tewang Tampang for several reasons, one being because my friend Hetdianto, or Heet, a bamboo flute maker whom I met in 2015, introduced me to the village. While searching for an area for fieldwork, another acquaintance suggested I ask Heet because he came from the Katingan vicinity. When I arrived at his house, he invited me in and we immediately began talking. I was surprised when I heard that he was originally from Tewang Tampang, because that was the place I had been thinking about. During the discussion, he suggested I stay with *mama* (uncle) Busu, not only because of the easy access to go anywhere else, but also because *mama* Busu was his uncle, who could conveniently converse with me and answer questions regarding my research.

Tewang Tampang, otherwise known as Kampung Tabarung, is located in the middle of the Katingan Awa area (see Figure 1.9). Its location was useful because I was able to travel by small boat (*kalotok*) to the Acu and Awa areas without much difficulty. Nowadays almost ninety percent of its residents work as miners in the upstream area. Most of the roads in the village are made from asphalt. Three months before I arrived, a *tiwah* ceremony was held in the village.

Tewang Tampang became an extension of Luwuk Kanan village in 1968²⁶. The village is known as Kampung Tabarung ("meeting point"). Few people still use the name Tewang Tampang. Furthermore, the older people in the village used to call it "Lewu Panaretei Telu" in the *sasana kayau* language, because it symbolises the merging of the three villages in the area since they are close to one another. The Lewu Panaretei Telu consists of Luwuk Kanan, Tewang Tampang and Kampung Tabarung. When I refer to Lewu Panaretei Telu, Luwuk Kanan or Kampung Tabarung, I use the name "Tewang Tampang", because most of the people in the Katingan Awa region use it nowadays. This simplifies the nomenclature in this research.

²⁶ From Pak Millo, one of my informants in the Tewang Tampang village, personal communication, 30 January 2019.

Most of the people in the village follow the Hindu-Kaharingan religion, while others are Christians or Muslims. One building (the *Balai Kaharingan*) in the middle of the village called *Pasar Sawawulu* served as a centre place representing the cosmos for the *tiwah* (as shown in Figure 1.11). This *Balai Kaharingan* also acts as a meeting centre for the adherents to discuss and hold small rituals. Beside the *Balai Kaharingan* of the Hindu-Kaharingan, there is also a church for the Protestant Christians in the *Acu* of the village and a mosque for the Muslims in the *Awa* of the village. Overall, the Hindu-Kaharingan community has the largest number of followers compared to the Christians and Muslims in the village.



Figure 1. 11 The *Balai Kaharingan* (the red roofed building on the right) is in the background, while the *huma eka tiwah* (the house where the *tiwah* is held) is on the left. The statues called *sapundu*, representing the dead, are placed in the centre of the field.

The *Balai Kaharingan* is located on the right in the centre of the village near a *pambak*, the name of the place or "house" for the bones in the Katingan Awa area. The people of the Ngaju acknowledge it as *sandung* (see figure 1.12). Most of the *pambak* are located in the back of the residents' houses. In the Tewang Tampang village, there are three complexes of *pambak*. Most of them are placed not too far from the houses, but one belonging to a private inhabitant is quite distant from the village. The Hindu-Kaharingan families in the Katingan Awa area are allowed to have their own *pambak*. Pak Senty told me that this is dependent on the financial status of the family, especially since the cost of

building a *pambak* is quite high. Consequently, most family members put the bones of the deceased into existing *pambak*, so that the family does not have to build one²⁷. Yet, to build a *pambak* can be important for the family, so that they have a "home" for the family in the future. The *pambak* in the Tewang Tampang village is decorated with the representative colours of the people of the Ngaju, known as *balimé*²⁸ B.Ng. Thus, *bahijau* means "green", *bahenda* "yellow", *bahandang* "red", *baputi* "white" and *babilem* "black". The people of the Ngaju, especially the Katingan people in the Awa area, typically use these colours in the ceremonies as well as other events, or as decoration in their homes.



Figure 1. 12 A pambak located at the back of Tewang Tampang village, decorated with the balimé colours.

There are two main roads into the village. The first is the Luwuk Kanan Road across the river and the second, the Hampangen Road. Each road has its advantages and disadvantages for travellers. On the Luwuk Kanan Road it takes about three hours to travel from Palangka Raya, whereas on the Hampangen Road it takes about two hours. Once I took the Luwuk Kanan Road while it was raining, and the car slipped many times. Both roads flood often, becoming muddy and dirty, especially in the rainy season, caused by the large volume of the water in the *Acu* area of the Katingan River after it has rained. Because most of the level ground around the villages in the Katingan Awa area is lower than the river, it is often submerged, making the roads impassable. Luckily for me when I visited, the floodwater

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²⁷ Families who would like to create a *pambak* in a *tiwah* ceremony, need to carry out a ritual within the *tiwah* ceremony, and the ritual is called *sawang sarah*.

²⁸ "Ba" refers to the first two letters of the colours and "limé" is "five" in the Ngaju and Katingan language.

was not high, and I got safely through to Tewang Tampang village. To solve the flood issues, most villages in the Katingan Awa have built cement roads between the towns to restrict the water coming into the area. This has been successful because the cement has raised the level of the ground so that it stops the water from inundating the village. Cement roads can be found each two kilometres or so across from the Tewang Tampang village to the Luwuk Kanan village.

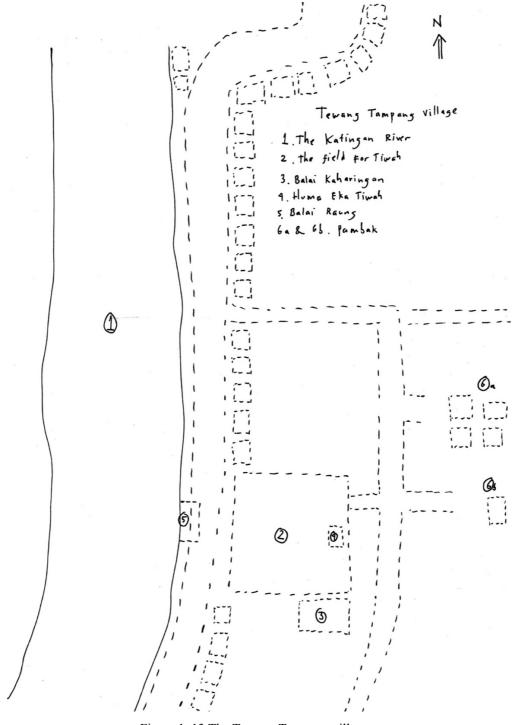


Figure 1. 13 The Tewang Tampang village.

Luwuk Kanan village is one of the oldest mentioned in the traditional creation story of the Katingan, which is told by word of mouth and written in the early literature known as Lewu Pulu²⁹. In the story, Luwuk Kanan village is called "Luwuk Penda Ekan" where luwuk means "a banyan tree", penda means "under", and ekan is the name of a type of tree endemic to Katingan. According to the people on the village, in essence "there was a banyan tree under the ekan tree located around the village". However, when I visited the village, there was no evidence of the *luwuk* or the *ekan* that some people in the village believe sank into the Katingan River. There are also a number of bamboo trees across the village, which the locals call *Haur Baduhi* (the thorny bamboo). It belongs to a local urban figure from the Katingan Awa area called Kutat, who is believed to be one of the ancestors from the Luwuk Penda Ekan and who has potent magic powers.

Tumbang Panggu Village

I researched the culture of the community in Tumbang Panggu village for comparison with Tewang Tampang village, and also to search for details not found in Tewang Tampang. Tumbang Panggu is quite close to Tewang Tampang, only about 20 minutes by kalotok. Pak Senty, who conducted the tiwah ceremony that I observed in Tewang Tampang, is from Tumbang Panggu. That is why the position of this village is also important.

While Tewang Tampang is accessible by road or river, one has to take a water taxi transportation (taksi danum) or kalotok to reach Tumbang Panggu. I was able to visit Tumbang Panggu twice while I was in Tewang Tampang to meet Bang³⁰ Silo, and I interviewed several people there. I stayed in Bang Silo's house with his two brothers, Bang Nondoi and Bang Yono, for a month. Over time, the village has been known by many names, such as Sungei Tamiang, Ehing Bayu, Dukuh Kaleka Kutat/Kaleka Lewu, Lewu Kaleka Mutei, Buntut Banut Manyu, Tewang Payawan, and Lewu Tumbang Panggu.³¹ It also has other names, famous in the Katingan area, such as "Panarusan Purang" or "Lewu Kayau-Pulang". But for this research I will use "Tumbang Panggu" to refer to the village.

²⁹ Lewu Pulu, meaning "the ten villages", is the name of a well-known story about the first ten villages along the Katingan River. I do not know exactly which villages are referred to, since the information from different sources varies. However, Luwuk Penda Ekan is one of the villages mentioned in the story of Lewu Pulu

Derived from Abang, meaning "older brother" in Bahasa Indonesia
 From the Tumbang Panggu's genealogical book called Djereh Banut Manyu, which translates as "the Genealogy Book of Banut Manyu". It is privately owned by a few people in the villages. The book was handwritten by Sahak Sahan and Sahida Nakut, senior residents of the Tumbang Panggu. Later the book was printed at the initiative of people in the village in order to preserve the knowledge of their forebears.

The *Lewu Kayau-Pulang* comes from the names of two siblings from Tumbang Panggu called Kayau and Pulang and usually referred to as Kayau-Pulang. This ancient story is well known and widely circulated in the Katingan Awa area and originates from Tumbang Panggu village. The Panarusan Purang name comes from a story describing how a man called Purang dug a canal from the edge of the Katingan River to the back of the Tumbang Panggu village to ease transportation along the village to the Katingan River. Since that time, when someone performs the *sasana kayau*, the whole name of the village must always be described fully using the words *Tumbang Panggu Panarusan Purang* or *Lewu Kayau Pulang*. The word *Tumbang* means "lower course or the river" and Panggu comes from the Piyanggo tree, an endemic tree that was said to be located near the village.

The Gandang Ahung Gong Ensemble

Jadi arti behas arti daha je kuam muh nah je mating sawang garantung te, amun uluh tiwah, jite mampakanan uluh je jahat, supaya dia mangganggu jalanan liau, dia mangganggu uluh je rami... manggunakan gong tuh ewen te hining pahiau garantung pasti dumah ewen, dumah bara ngambu bara ngiwa uras dumah, jadi ita amun ita dia manenga, nah pehe ita.

(Rice and blood [of animals] are placed in the rim of the *garantung* [gong] as offerings to evil spirits in the *tiwah* ceremony so that they cannot disturb the *liau's* path [to heaven³²] and cannot disturb the humans present. If the evil spirits hear the people playing *garantung* music they are likely to travel from their upstream and downstream locales to the ceremony, and if they are not properly fed, they will harm the humans present.)

 $^{^{32}}$ Also known as Lewu Tatau Habaras Bulau Habusung Intan Hakarangan Lamiang in the Old Sangiang language.

- Pak Senty, personal communication, 1 March 2019

The gandang ahung is the name of the gong ensemble that is the only musical accompaniment used in a tiwah ceremony by those Katingan Awa people who adhere to the Hindu-Kaharingan religion. The name is specifically known only in the Katingan area, especially the Awa area, whereas in the Ngaju people area, it is known as gandang garantung. The gandang ahung consists of several musical instruments, including a long frame drum (gandang), a small gong consisting of four pieces (kakanung) and a suspended gong consisting of five pieces (ahung). The ahung divides into two sections: the upui and the tokeng, which I will detail more thoroughly in Chapter Four.

The history of the *gandang ahung* is quite difficult to recount. Some people from the villages argue that it comes from the era of the Majapahit Empire³³, and that the *gandang ahung* was one of the items traded between the ethnic groups. As far as I can deduce from my research and the people of Palangka Raya and Katingan Awa, no one knows whether the *gandang ahung* was actually made in the area.

Apart from its function as a musical instrument, the *ahung* in the *gandang ahung* ensemble is not only used for a *tiwah* ceremony, but also other important rituals amongst the Katingan Awa people. For instance, the *ahung* may be used as a chair for a *pisur* to sit on when he conducts a ritual. According to Pak Senty, the *ahung* represents someone who is honoured. It is compulsory for the *pisur* to sit on an *ahung* (see Figure 1.14). According to Bang Silo, the *ahung* used as the place on which a *pisur* sits is taken from the *tokeng* on the right. On the other hand, according to Hetdianto, the sound of the *ahung* is able to open the gate of heaven (*lawang langit*). I will expand on this information in Chapter Five.

³³ According to the Old Javanese manuscript, *Nagarakretagama*, written by Mpu Prapanca in 1365, the Katingan region may have been a colony of the Majapahit empire in the 14th century (Riana 2009).



Figure 1. 14 Pak Senty sitting on top of the *ahung*, covered by a fabric when he conducted a *mambayar hajat* malabuh balai samburup ritual in his house in Tumbang Panggu, 27 February 2019.

Line of Research Inquiry

Having provided this introductory overview of the field of research in this thesis, the general line of inquiry I will pursue is shaped by the following specific research questions: What is the significance of the *gandang ahung* in the *tiwah* ceremony? In what ways does the *tiwah* ceremony express the Katingan Awa religion?

The ancillary questions are: what does the *tiwah* ceremony reveal about the Hindu religious identity? Are there any connections with the death rituals in Hinduism? Is the Hindu-Kaharingan religion more of an administrative term than a marker of belief and ritual? How is the gong ensemble placed within this inquiry? What is the significance of the *gandang ahung* in the *tiwah* ceremony? How does the *gandang ahung* contribute to the realisation of the *tiwah* ceremony? In what ways are the *gandang ahung* utilised in the *tiwah* ceremony? What does the *tiwah* ceremony reveal about Katingan Awa religion?

Research Methodology

My research methodologies in the field were participant observation, semi-structured interviews, archival research, and ethnomusicological analysis.

As Myers (1992) wrote, "participant observation enhances the validity of the data, strengthens interpretation, lends insight into the culture, and helps the researcher to formulate meaningful questions...the successful fieldworker achieves a balance between participation and observation, aiming always for scientific, systematic and sympathetic investigation of the art of music" (Myers 1992).

The semi-structured interview contains elements of both the "structured interview" and the "unstructured interview". In the structured interview, "questions are pre-determined and fixed, the researcher does not add or delete questions during the interview, [and] the wording and ordering of the questions are preserved usually in order to ensure standardisation across interviews" (O'Reilly 2012). In contrast, the unstructured interview is "much more free-flowing and formless, the interviewer is likely to have no more than a list of topics to cover or a guide to themes" (O'Reilly 2012). The semi-structured interview falls in between these two terms. "Some questions will demand fixed responses while others are presented as themes to explore in depth" (O'Reilly 2012).

The examination of historical and archival resources can provide useful supplementary information for research in ethnomusicology. Landau and Fargion (2012) state that "some researchers have come to understand the varied ways in which archival sound recordings can be used by such communities, often playing valuable and significant roles within the cultural and social life of individuals and groups and simultaneously vastly assisting our understanding of history, culture and performance" (Landau and Fargion 2012). The archival research component of this project entails an investigation of historical and archival resources to provide a perspective on the presence of *gandang ahung* amongst the Katingan Awa people.

For the analysis of musical style and structure, I have taken my ethnographic work as the starting point. Seeger in Myers (1992) writes that "the ethnography of music does not have to correspond to an anthropology of music, since ethnography is not defined by disciplinary lines or theoretical perspectives, but rather by a description approach to music" (Myers 1992). I use the terms and the descriptions of music used by the Katingan Awa people. The categorising, organising and interpreting of sound differs considerably between musical communities and cultures. I tried to seek written or spoken accounts of the experience of *gandang ahung* from musicians, farmers, women, men, ceremonial leaders and anthropologists in Central Kalimantan and used these terms in my thesis. I also include my experience of playing the *gandang ahung*, especially when I feel I have an understanding of

the musical terminology in the Katingan Awa. I believe this process may contribute to understanding the *gandang ahung* better.

At the outset is the initial encounter at Tewang Rangas village, where I witnessed a *tiwah* ceremony for the first time in 2015. However, I was only there for a day and immediately had to return to Palangka Raya because I had not meant to attend the ceremony. There followed the first hand observations in the villages I went to in Katingan Awa and the capital city of Central Kalimantan – Palangka Raya – for three months in 2019. Next, the secondary sources comprise research from previous scholars, and missionaries' accounts from the Netherlands and Germany. I gathered those resources from the Sir Louis Matheson Library at Monash University in Melbourne, Australia. Those resources are really important to my understanding of the Ngaju and Katingan people, since they do not recognise written literature. The last one is the audio and video recordings from the people of the villages in the Katingan Awa that helped me analyse the *gandang ahung* gong ensemble. Since a *tiwah* ceremony occurs at the same time and place for all the family members, it is quite hard to capture all the events simultaneously. That is why it is so important to have the many audio and video recordings by the people of the villages, because it enables me to view many events at the same time.

The research methodology for this study is informed by the ethnographic methods of Feld (1990), Mora (2005), Roseman (1993), and Seeger (2004) for which their respective monographs are well known. Following the notion that layers of meaning and experience can be discerned in the *tiwah* ceremony, my "rich account" of how the *gandang ahung* ritually charges the ceremony drew upon a variety of ethnographic methods to discern those layers. For this I also drew out the enhanced ethnographic scope inherent in the sensual scholarship theorised by Stoller (1989).

The examination of the performance practice of the gong ensemble follows ethnomusicological methods of transcription and analysis as well as the social organisation of sound. As video was the primary medium used to record the ceremony, I drew for my analysis of this material upon methods developed in visual anthropology (Banks 1998).

Schechner's (2017) framework shows that a ritual can be understood from at least four perspectives; structures, functions, processes, and experiences, which particularly suits the *tiwah* ceremony of the Katingan Awa people. I also used a method from Bell (1992), who describes the ritual between theatrical performances, and Bell's theory about ritual, especially the ritual relationship with other aspects such as religion, beliefs, symbols and myths (1992:19). Mora's research about the T'boli people is relevant to this study, in particular the

musical analysis of the central sections, sound quality and dynamics, delaying the outcome, spectrograph analysis, and symbolism and cultural connotations (Mora 2005). For my ethnographic studies, I used Feld's (1982) classifications and structural analysis, and ethnographic themes (Feld 1982:38). I also used Anthony Seeger's account (2004), of his ethnographic approaches to understanding the Suya, including his term "genre"; "structured tone", "time" and "text" (Seeger 2004).

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter aims to examine the relevant literature and to position this project within the wider field of related studies. My discussion centres on four main topic areas: historical and contemporary documentation of the Ngaju community, the literature on the role of gong ensembles in ceremonial and ritual performances in Southeast Asia, ethnomusicological publications on funerary rites, and selected ethnographic literature on small scale, rain-forest communities in ethnomusicology.

The Ngaju

There is a sizeable body of literature on the Ngaju that covers a wide variety of aspects of geographical, social, cultural, political and economic organization. Amongst them are Baier's article on Ngaju history from the late seventeenth century (2002), Arneld and Maiullari's (2015) description of Ngaju possession rituals in Southern Kalimantan, and Schiller's (1997), Hardeland's (1859), Mahin's (2009), Hertz's (2013), Corbey's (2016), Schärer's (1963) and Klokke's, Kunum's and Birim's on the documentation of Ngaju fishing and hunting practices and with the ceremonial customs of "headhunting" (2004).

The literature starts in the middle of 18th century with the accounts of missionaries who came to Central Kalimantan during the Dutch East Indies era. At that time there was no provincial or official border between the countries in the area, since the Indonesian Republic had not yet been formed. This change affected most of the region, since the areas, local names and terms known today are different from those used by the missionaries. Much of what is known about the Ngaju in the past relies on documentation undertaken mainly by European Christian missionaries.

Publications about the Ngaju start to appear after the arrival of the missionaries in Kalimantan. One of the key sources on the representation of the Ngaju by the missionaries described how "The first Protestant missionaries, representatives of the Barman Mission, reached southern Borneo in 1835 and soon afterward made tentative forays up the Kapuas River from their base in Banjarmasin" (Schiller 1997:10). Schiller (1997) mentions that Hardeland was one of the earliest missionaries who spent time with the Ngaju and was the first to write a Ngaju-German dictionary, which is still a useful resource for uncommon and now redundant words in Ngaju (Hardeland 1858). Based on her dissertation, Schiller (1997)

mentions in her book that "missionaries and colonial administrators travelling in southern Borneo between the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries penned the earliest descriptions of the death ritual in what is now Central Kalimantan".

After the literature of the missionary era, several anthropologists discussed the ways of life of the Ngaju people. One of them is Grabowsky in Schiller (1997), who outlines the Ngaju's understanding of their cosmological sphere according to "an elaborate set of rituals, the goal of which was to transport the souls of one's ancestors to a cosmological Upperworld. It is believed that the soul could only ascend to this place after a three-stage ritual cycle had been performed on their behalf by their descendants" (Schiller 1997:11).

On the other hand, Mahin (2009) states that almost all of the early research about the Ngaju religion needs to be approached with caution because of the sorts of filters that a missionary mindset might put on the documentation of the community. Mahin's doctoral dissertation is one of the deepest and most comprehensive studies of the Hindu-Kaharingan religion. It includes an account of the background and history of Hindu-Kaharingan and its development. Mahin is of the opinion that Schärer's writing is a classic case of imposing his conception of God on the Ngaju, resulting in a description of events that feels unnatural to the Ngaju people (Mahin 2009:13). Mahin further argues that Schärer's primary source for his research came only from the sacred chants of a *balian* (priest) in a religious ceremony. Schärer believed that the chants contain coded information portraying the Ngaju's conception of God (Mahin 2009:13). Hertz's study (2013) of the *tiwah* ceremony and Weinstock's work (1981) on Ngaju belief systems have also been roundly criticized by Mahin for the same reason (2009:15).

Mahin (2009) also sets forth the history of the development of the Hindu-Kaharingan religion, including its initial formation. In 20 January 1972, two Dayak Kaharingan, Simal Penyang and Liber Sigai, formed an organisation called Majelis Besar Alim Ulama Kaharingan Indonesia (MBAUKI). Later, in 19 April 1980, this was legalised by SK Dirjen Bimas Hindu dan Budha Departemen Agama Republik Indonesia. Finally, the Kaharingan were integrated with Hinduism to become the Hindu-Kaharingan (Mahin, 2009:186). However, the history of the Ngaju peoples' quest for the recognition was exhausting. On 2 May 1962, the Department of General Government and Regional Autonomy (Department Pemerintahan Umum dan Otonomi Daerah) in Jakarta released a letter recognising the

Kaharingan as belonging to a belief system, although this was not what the Kaharingan people wanted.³⁴ (Mahin, 2009:208).

This is reinforced by McDaniel, who states that "the modern Indonesian Hinduism or, Agama Hindu Dharma, was accepted as an official religion in several stages during the late 1950's...[with] one god...called *Sanghyang Widhi Wasa*, a god unknown in India" (2017:4). He then points out that the Katingan Awa people, although classified as adherents of Hindu-Kaharingan actually worship a different god, *Ranying Hatalla Langit*.

Additional Sources of the Ngaju

The Ngaju language is the *lingua franca* of the Ngaju people and other ethnic groups. A Ngaju dictionary³⁵, which was published in 2016 has the most complete vocabulary to have been produced in Central Kalimantan. It helped me understand more of the context of the interviews I conducted with my informants in the Ngaju language.

The Ngaju Neighbouring Ethnic Group: The Ut Danum

As I explained in Chapter One, there are other ethnic groups in Central Kalimantan apart from the Ngaju. I am not going to list them all but I will provide an overview of the Ut Danum people, which I believe will help frame the bigger picture of the Ngaju and their comparative cultural aspects, since they are located quite close to each other, especially in the Katingan River area.

Perelaer (1870:3) in Corbey (2016) explains that "the Ngaju are (so) closely related to the neighbouring Ut Danum³⁶". Kuhnt-Saptodewo states that "…considerable regional variation exists within both populations corresponding to the river or part of the river along which the people live. The main inhabitants of the region are bilingual, and Ngaju has been the *lingua franca*, i.e. the common medium of communication, ever since Protestant missionaries started working in this language during the 19th century" (Kuhnt-Saptodewo 1993:11) in Corbey (2016). Knapen (2001) in Corbey (2016) states that "oral history strongly suggests that the Ngaju are related to the present-day Ut Danum and were originally dwelling

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³⁴ See Mahin (2009:208-217)

³⁵ The dictionary, "Kamus Pengantar Ngaju – Indonesia", has not been published yet. My informant, Siyok gave it to me as a reference for the Ngaju language, in case I had difficulties understanding some words.

³⁶ The people are also known as Ud Danum, Oot Danum, Ut Danum, or Uut Danum.

in the central mountains at the headwaters of the large Southeast Borneo rivers from where they have gradually...descended towards the coast" (Knapen 2001:90). Furthermore, "(the) Ngaju and Ut Danum religious beliefs and practices have been influenced by the Indo-Javanese state of Majapahit during the 14th and 15th centuries and by the earlier Hindu-Buddhist Srivijaya state based on Sumatra (Corbey 2016:15). The other example is that of the Ngaju's oral genre, *sansana*, which has similarities with Ut Danum, *kandan* (Couderc 2013:1). Couderc also states "*kandan*, may be used in a variety of contexts (wedding, secondary funerals, etc) to sing prayers, invocations, or praise songs" (Couderc 2013:1). Couderc's research about *kandan* is also significant in order to understand *sasana kayau* vocal music from the Katingan Awa area, which I argue has similarities with *kandan*. This can be seen by the way in which *kandan* works, and how it relates to the belief system he mentions in this research.

The Katingan

In Chapter One I stated that the Ngaju are one of the biggest ethnic groups in Central Kalimantan. The Ngaju have other sub-ethnic groups, one of them being the Katingan people who live along the Katingan waterways.

Arneld and Maiullari (2015) specified that the Katingan is a Ngaju subgroup of southern Borneo (Arneld and Maiullari 2015). Their research has provided significant information about the Katingan people's ritual called *basangiang*, "the traditional Ngaju practice aimed at healing an illness of spiritual origin through the use of possession is called *basangiang*" (Arneld and Maiullari 2015:224). Their article supplies rich information not only about the Ngaju in general, but specifically about the Katingan people's customs. Arneld and Maiullari also talk about a *timang* or *tawur*, used by the *tukang sangiang*, the people who perform the *basangiang*. They write that "... this practice of reciting the *timang* has been described mainly in connection with the priests' performance of the famous *tiwah* ceremonies, but it is also done by the *tukang sangiang* during *basangiang* healing ceremonies" (Arneld and Maiullari 2015:228). Amongst the Katingan Awa people, the term *timang* is widely used for the *sasana kayau*, meaning to give *timang* ("guidance" or wisdom) to a specific person. I will explain this in greater depth in Chapter Four. Arneld and Maiullari also state that "the opening of a ceremony begins with a *tawur* rite. *Tawur* means, literally, 'asperging', i.e. 'sprinkling' or 'casting into the air'. By casting grains of rice into the air, the

priest or the healer acts to awaken the seven rice deities and send messages to the intended deities" (Arneld and Maiullari 2015:228). In the Katingan Awa community, the *tawur* is also performed by a *pisur* when he conducts the ritual *manapesan* in a *tiwah* ceremony. Therefore, a *pisur* is known in *sasana kayau* language as "*pisur tukang tawur*".

Anthropologists have written a number of books about the Katingan. One of them is Hans Schärer (1963). The Katingan name appears quite often in his book, and it is clear that one of the villages that he went to was the Tumbang Lahang village, nowadays located in the Katingan Acu area. Schärer refers to them as South Borneo people, not from Central Kalimantan, since the official administrative location had not been gazetted by the Indonesian Republic. His is the most complete research up until the 1960's about the belief systems of the Katingan and Ngaju people. According to Schärer (1963), "a village represents the social and cosmic totality...these villages are not only represented at the great purgatory sacrifice, but the blood with which the whole world is cleaned is itself sent to these villages, where it is used to complete the total purification of village, river, fields, men, animals, fruits trees and so on" (Schärer 1963:65). In regard to the gong instruments, he states that the priest (ceremonial leader) has to strike the gongs facing towards the four cosmic directions; where the sun rises, sets, the upriver (ngaju) and the downriver (ngawa/awa) (Schärer 1963:66). This is particularly true in the Katingan Awa community, known as pambelum (sunrise) and pambelep (sunset), which is followed in a tiwah ceremony.

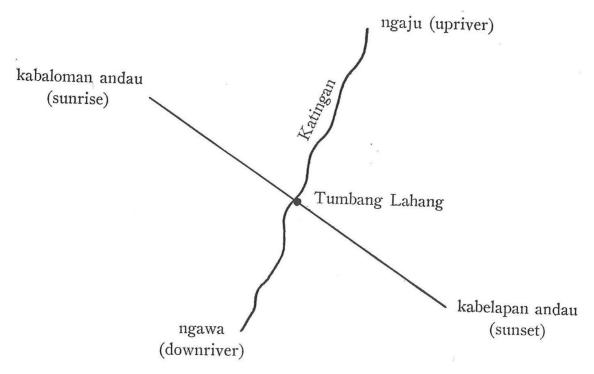


Figure 2. 1 The four cosmic directions from Schärer (1963) in Tumbang Lahang village, in the Katingan Acu.

Schärer also refers to the five gongs in a sacred house that represent the important goods in the upperworld, together with other heirlooms (Schärer 1963).

Additional Sources of the Katingan

Arneld & Maiullari (2006) discuss the *sapuyung*, a traditional hat from the Katingan people used for the *basangiang* ritual. Their article contains several motifs and patterns in *sapuyung* not often mentioned by other scholars. The article also distinguishes between the *sangkaraya* and the *pasar sababulu/balai pangun jandau*, *pandung kayu* and *balai pali* (Maiullari and Maiullari 2006:217).

Unlike for the Ngaju, an official Katingan dictionary containing all the Awa, Beteng or Acu dialects has not yet appeared. For this reason, Lambut's book about the structure of the Katingan dialect is extremely valuable in understanding the Katingan language, especially the Awa dialect (Lambut et al. 1979). Lambut et al. (1979) divides the Katingan language into two dialects; the Awa and the Acu. The Acu dialect is influenced by the Dohoi dialect, the sub ethnic group from the Ut Danum people, whereas the Awa is influenced by the Kahayan and Banjar languages (Lambut et al. 1979:19) who also argue that the Katingan Awa people speak more correctly and pronounce words with a nasal consonant (*suara sengau*) (Lambut et al. 1979:19).

Ritual Death Ceremony

Ethnomusicologists have approached the music for death ritual in funerary rites from several perspectives. Kartomi (2012) has outlined the connections between ritual practice and ceremonial performance in Sumatra; including from a baby's first wash/haircut, weddings, male circumcisions, and funerals, agricultural cycle rites and shamanic rites; and morale-boosting rites before going into battle, and so on (Kartomi 2012:7).

Another ethnomusicologist, DeVale (1990), mentions that "music for death has received considerable attention from scholars, resulting in a huge corpus of works on music for death contexts from a monophonic setting" (DeVale 1990:59). DeVale (1990) writes about two genres in the context of death rituals in Bali: *kakawin*, a form of sung poetry, and the ensemble known as gamelan *bebonangan* or gamelan *baleganjur*. According to an article titled "Death Symbolism in Music: Preliminary Considerations", *kakawin* are "old Javanese

poetic texts incorporating *wirama* metres from Sanskrit classical verse" and sung to a dead person (DeVale 1990:59). However, they are not only performed in religious rituals but also in secular rituals that are educational, social or entertaining in nature (DeVale 1990:60). The gamelan *baleganjur* is always used to accompany a cremation, and is perhaps related to an early association with battles and wars (DeVale 1990:60). Furthermore, DeVale has formulated that:

There are two primary modes in which musical instruments can participate in ritual; the 'receptive mode' and the 'transitive mode'...in the transitive mode, the instrument is not the focus of the ritual; instead, it is an active agent in ensuring the efficacy of a ritual performed on or for a person, place or thing, whether seen or unseen, other than the instrument itself. In this mode, an instrument can be seen to participate in ritual in two realms, that of its voice and that of its body. In the transitive mode, the instrument often symbolises the worldview of a culture as expressed in the ritual context... in this mode, the instrument and its spirit often function as a vehicle for communication between the living and the dead, a mediator between the human and the spirit worlds. (DeVale 1988).

DeVale's hypothesis relating to the *gandang ahung* amongst the Katingan Awa is that it acts as an instrument that can be seen in two realms: its body and the voice. Furthermore, DeVale continues that, "in the transitive mode, an instrument participates in ritual along a physical-metaphysical continuum. This continuum exists for any one aspect of the instrument or for the instrument taken as a whole. As simple representation of a physical-metaphysical continuum can be demonstrated using some of the functions and meanings..." (DeVale 1988:151).

The Realm of the Voice		The Realm of the Body		
Physical	Metaphysical	Physical	Metaphysical	
Music of the harp: Strings, 8 in number Strings: higher four, female lower four, male	Voice of Nyingwan Mebege, Sister of God	Whole harp:	Body of Sister of God and of each Banzie Spirits of dead may enter it as they also enter the chapel	
	As such, the music: drives evil spirits out of the chapel, invites the ancestors, carries prayers to heaven, is the female voice of pity and consolation Music is that played by the dead in the afterworld or by angels in heaven Like the eight sacred trees, the strings are locales for receiving and sending messages from the unseen Female and male intermingle in music as in ritual	Carved "shelf:"	Features of the Sister of God	
		Neck:	Backbone of the Sister of God Male potency	
		Tuning pegs:	Ribs of the Sister of God	
		Strings:	Sinews and tendons of the Sister of God: her flexibility and endurance	
		Resonator:	Stomach of Sister of God Womb: Spiritual Source of Life	
		Neck in Resonator:	Sexual union	
		Sound Table: left 1/2 red, right 1/2 white	Respectively: Female and male (blood and semen, as are Banzies and Bwiti chapel halves) Sin and purity Dress of harpist/guardian (white), leader (red), Banzies (both)	
		Soundholes, upper pair: lower one:	Breast holes: nurturance from the Sister of God Birth hole	

Figure 2. 2 The transitive mode by DeVale (1988) of the musical instruments' participation in a ritual. The data example is from *Bwiti* ritual in Gabon (DeVale 1988).

Bakan (1999) has also written on the gamelan *baleganjur*. He states that "*baleganjur* music is the most ubiquitous type of music ensemble in contemporary Bali" (Bakan 1999:11). He mentions that the gamelan *baleganjur* continues to function centrally in the traditional life of Hindu-Balinese ritual and custom while thriving in a *moderen kreasi* (new creation) musical world (Bakan 1999:12). His book contains remarkable research on gamelan *baleganjur* music in Balinese ritual that I believe will help me to identify the musical and extra-musical nature of the gong ensemble.

Recent studies outlined by Schechner (2017) suggest that "rituals are collective memories encoded into actions...they also help people (and animals) deal with difficult transitions, ambivalent relationships, hierarchies, and desires that trouble, exceed, or violate the norms of daily life". He continues "that ritual and play lead people into a 'second reality,' separate from ordinary life. This reality is one where people can become selves other than their daily selves. When they temporarily become or enact another, people perform actions different from what they do ordinarily. Rituals that transform people permanently are called 'rites of passage'" (Schechner 2017). He further states "many people equate ritual with religion, with the sacred. In religion, rituals give form to the sacred, communicate doctrine, open pathways to the supernatural, and mould individuals into communities" (Schechner 2017). He suggests that all rituals – sacred, secular, public or hidden all share certain formal

qualities (Schechner 2017). Schechner says that ritual divides into two main types, the sacred and the secular, and sacred rituals are those associated with expressing, or enacting, religious beliefs (Schechner 2017). He argues that rituals can be understood from at least four perspectives: structures (what rituals look and sound like, how they are performed, how they use space, and who performs them), functions (what rituals accomplish for individuals, groups, and cultures), processes (the underlying dynamics driving rituals; how rituals enact and bring about change, and experiences (what it is like to be "in" a ritual) (Schechner 2017).

The early theory outlined by Gennep (1960) about the theatrical dynamics of ritual shows that the rites of passage move through three phases of structure of ritual action: the pre-liminal, liminal, and post-liminal. Gennep explains that "life was a succession of passages from one phase to another and that each step along the way was marked by ritual" (Schechner 2017:59). He further argues that humans have developed rituals into elaborate and sophisticated systems divisible into three main categories: social ritual, religious ritual, and aesthetic ritual (Schechner 2017). Turner (1969) also examines the liminal aspects of ritual. He suggests that "liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial" (Turner 1969). This explanation is addressed by Schechner (2017) when he writes: "during the liminal phase, the work of rites of passage takes place. At this time, in specially marked spaces, transitions and transformation occur". Schechner (2017) continues that the liminal phase fascinated Turner because he recognised it as [a] possibility for ritual to be creative, to make new situations, identities, and social realities" (Schechner 2017). Meanwhile, Harris (1997) wrote: "It is widely accepted that ritual is an instrument of communication". Also, in his book he quoted Lawson (1993) that "rituals also involve communication in the sense that they contain information and transmit it" (Lawson and McCauley 1993). In contrast, Staal (1979) argues that ritual has no meaning or goal. This claim has not been backed up by my initial fieldwork, though my response suggests otherwise.

Dell (2017) claims that music and death are intimately connected and are often present in the preparation for death and loss provided in palliative care and for family support. "In funerary ceremonies, in public mourning and commemoration, in the private memories of the bereaved, music has played a central role across different ages and different communities" (Dell and Hickey 2017). "Death is ever-present in human life and is everywhere accompanied by music" (Dell and Hickey 2017). She continues by writing that "power is not causal so much as enactive; the miraculous fact is that music can sometimes make happen what it enacts, at least while the music lasts and sometimes for longer" (Dell

and Hickey 2017). "That is why music plays such a central role in the rituals surrounding death and why it has proved so effective in palliative care, funeral rites, continuing care of the bereaved and all its functions associated with death" (Dell and Hickey 2017). She states that "music acts to dispose of the dead, not only their bodies but of what remains to us of them in whatever form that may take: a soul, a memory, a ghost, a trace. The need for their disposal, their being correctly positioned, ordered, symbolised, commemorated, historicised or mythicised – mirrors our own predicament as bereaved and as ourselves mortal" (Dell and Hickey 2017).

Bell (1992) states that "ritual, like action, will act out, express, or perform these conceptual orientations...ritual is then described as particularly thoughtless action-routinized, habitual, obsessive, or mimetic – and therefore the purely formal, secondary, and mere physical expression of logically prior ideas" (Bell 1992:19). This is particularly important for this research, to understand the *tiwah* ceremony amongst the Katingan Awa people. Bell (1992) continues that the structural patterns in the book explain that, "ritual is first differentiated as a discrete object of analysis by means of various dichotomies that are loosely analogous to thought and actions; then ritual is subsequently elaborated at the very means by which these dichotomous categories, neither of which could exist without the other, are reintegrated" (Bell 1992:21).

Ritual Death Ceremonies in Kalimantan

Many scholars have engaged in death ritual research in funerary rites among the Dayak people in Kalimantan, especially in Central Kalimantan and they have done it from numerous perspectives. These scholars include Schiller (1987 & 1997), Dyson & Asharini (1980), Mahin (2009), Riwut (2007), Riwut et al. (2003), Maunati (2003), Harrison (1962), Metcalf (1981), Miles (1966), Hertz (2013), Della Ratta (2015), Venz (2014), Zahorka (2001 & 2013), Pugh-Kitingan (2004, 2009, 2012 and 2014), Skog (1993), Matusky & Beng (2017) and Gorlinski (1994).

All their articles and journals cover the general information about death rituals in the Dayak communities. The earliest book about the *tiwah* ceremony written by Indonesian scholars is by Dyson and Asharini (1980). It contains a useful description of the *tiwah*

ceremony from the early 1980's along the Kahayan River³⁷, but does not consider the musical dimension of the gong ensemble (Dyson and Asharini 1980). And there is little if any consideration of musical aspects of the *tiwah* ceremony in Central Kalimantan. The most comprehensive examination of the Ngaju *tiwah* ceremony is by Schiller (1997), who outlines the historical development of the Hindu-Kaharingan and discusses the *tiwah* ceremony in the Kahayan area (Schiller 1997). She explains the order of the ceremony in detail, step by step, from start to finish. However, this *tiwah* ceremony was in the Kahayan area, quite different from that of the Katingan (for reasons discussed later in Chapter Six). Moreover, in her dissertation (Schiller 1987), she describes the Ngaju ritual from an individual's death to the *tiwah* ceremony, and the ritual's place in determining Ngaju identity. Her papers and dissertation represent the most complete writing about the Ngaju people's ritual but do not fully consider the musical aspects of the ceremony, or the performance of the ceremony amongst the Katingan.

The musical aspects and oral traditions of the Ngaju people are also briefly mentioned in Riwut's wide-ranging book on Kalimantan history (Riwut and Riwut 2007). He was a former governor of Central Kalimantan, and a national hero of Indonesia because he united the Kalimantan people's aspirations. Riwut's daughter, Nila, also writes about the Central Kalimantan people and their culture (Riwut 2003). Their work contains new information, such as the names of the languages of the Ngaju and Ot Danum peoples of Central Kalimantan (Riwut and Riwut 2007). In another book, Maunati also outlines Kalimantan's history and *adat* (customary law) but focuses on the identity and the social problems of the Dayak people in Long Mekar, South Borneo (Maunati 2003).

Harrison's (1962) description of the death ritual in Kalimantan is based on the accounts of several Kelabit and Ngaju witnesses and focuses on the burial ceremonies (Harrison 1962). Metcalf (1981) states that for the Berawan people of Sarawak, the *tiwah* ceremony is also known as *nulang* (Metcalf 1981). Metcalf summarises a study by Hertz (2013) who argues that the *tiwah* ceremony could be performed immediately after a death occurred (Miles 1965). This statement is incorrect, however, according to Pak Sidie, with whom I spoke in the Tewang Rangas village. Hooykaas (1956) states that the Balinese term *atiwa-tiwa* is cognate with the Ngaju word for secondary death ritual, *tiwah*, as also noted by Metcalf (1981).

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³⁷ The Kahayan River is located alongside and to the east of the Katingan River. Both rivers together encompass the Ngaju people's region.

In East Kalimantan, Della Ratta (2015) describes some musical aspects of the *kwangkay*, a secondary mortuary ritual from the Benuaq people. He states that "music within the *kwangkay* can be considered as a medium of communication between this world and the after world" (Della Ratta 2015:253). Still from the same area of the Benuaq people, Venz (2014) discusses the spirits, the skulls and their connections to the ancestors in the *kwangkay* ceremony (Venz 2014). Another scholar who describes the *kwangkay* among the Benuaq people is Zahorka (2013). This article describes the *kwangkay* ceremony from the beginning and contains a lot of useful ethnographic data that will inform in this study. In his other article (2001), he mentions the death ritual, which concentrates on the use of the masks in the ceremony, in the Tumon ethnic group region (between Central Kalimantan and West Kalimantan) (Zahorka 2001). He also draws a cultural connection between the Tumon people and the people of West Sumatra - Minangkabau.

Pugh-Kitingan (2014) in her article portrays two ritual ceremonies that are still performed today in northern Sabah and Lotud Dusun in Malaysia. She also describes various ritual aspects including ceremonial dancing and making offerings. According to her paper, "...gong ensemble music and drumming in ritual ceremonies must be played only by experienced performers in the correct context. [The ensemble's] sound is believed to awaken the cosmos and merge the human and spiritual worlds...bridging the two worlds" (Pugh-Kitingan 2004). In 2004, she established the use of musical instruments in Sabah, Malaysia, including the styles, techniques, and names of the instruments (Pugh-Kitingan 2004). In her article in 2012, she describes in depth the gong ensemble of the Dusun Tinagas in Sabah. This will also be beneficial for my comparative research. In her 2009 article, she explains the use of the drum and the gong in the Mamahui Pogun ceremonies of the Lotud in Sabah, Malaysia.

Skog (1993) identifies the relationship between rhythmic modes, *kulintangan* melodies and several stylistic links in Sabah, North Borneo. She also observes the gong tradition in relation to the Javanese gong ensemble (Skog 1993). Matusky & Beng (2017) explain the instrumentation in the Malaysian part of Kalimantan, especially in Sarawak and Kuching and introduce a lot of instruments from Malaysia, particularly the idiophones (Matusky and Beng 2017). Gorlinski (1994) reports on historical and social considerations and their relation to the gong instruments among the Kenyah Uma' Jalan people in East Kalimantan (Gorlinski 1994).

Literature on the Tiwah Death Ceremony

There is considerable scholarly commentary on the *tiwah* ceremony. Schiller (1997) states that "*tiwah* is actually the general designation for a host of rituals that together constitute the final treatment for human souls as well as for mortal remains" (Schiller 1997). The primary death ritual happens when a person dies and the family of the deceased are waiting for the corpse to decompose. Hertz (2013) states that "even if all the necessary material conditions for the final burial are fulfilled, it still cannot take place immediately after the death: the right thing to do is to wait for the corpse to have decomposed entirely, till only the bones remain" (Hertz 2013). The *tiwah* is only practiced by the people who adhere to the Hindu-Kaharingan religion. Dyson and Asharini (1980) state; "[T]he spirits will continue to live. In order to bring the spirit of the dead to the afterlife world, hereafter, they build the *tiwah* ceremony" (Dyson and Asharini 1980).

The family of the deceased has an obligation to initiate the *tiwah* ceremony, otherwise the deceased's spirit will stay in the world and not enter the afterlife. The ceremony is an opportunity for the family to pay its last respects to the dead. The *tiwah* rituals include making offerings to the spirits, choosing the instruments and tools for the preparation of the ritual, and the leader of the ceremony, and deciding which animals have to be sacrificed (Dyson & Asharini 1980). Another scholar, Kuhnt-Saptodewo (1999) asserts that "the final stage of the Ngaju death ritual (*tiwah*) is the biggest ritual in an individual's lifecycle, and it alone takes 33 days" (Kuhnt-Saptodewo 1999). Kuhnt-Saptodewo (1999) outlines Schiller (1997) that "the Ngaju celebrate their death ritual in two stages: primary burial called *tantulak matei* is performed from three until seven days after death; and secondary burial called *tiwah* is held about nine months or more after primary burial" Kuhnt-Saptodewo (1999).

Research by recent scholars is really important to understanding the *tiwah* ceremony amongst the Ngaju. However, the *tiwah* ceremony amongst the Katingan Awa people is quite different to the Ngaju people. This happens because customs vary from place to place. Since the integration of the Hindu and Kaharingan systems, all the sources come from the Hindu-Kaharingan beliefs that are shaped in Palangka Raya. One obvious example of the differences is the name of the priest, who in the Ngaju area is known as *basir* and in the Katingan Awa area as *pisur*.

Although it plays an important role in Hindu-Kaharingan religion in some parts of Central Kalimantan, the Ngaju people regard *tiwah* as a secondary death ritual, especially along the Katingan and Kahayan Rivers. In other parts of Kalimantan, as among the Benuaq Ohookng Dayak people, the secondary death ritual is known as *kwangkai* (Zahorka 2001), while among the Ma'anyan people in Barito, it is known as the *idjambe* (Hudson 1967).

Other Relevant Ethnographic Studies in Ethnomusicology

Ethnography has figured extensively in the methodology of many ethnomusicological studies. Ethnographic method has been applied to the analyses of many musical contexts, including the 'micro-musics' of the West (Slobin 1993); the musical lives of specific traditional communities, such as the Kusamira in Uganda (Hoesing 2018); generational friction amongst musicians (Mason and Walker 2017), identity, place and time (Rice 2003) and so on. It has also been used reflexively in theorising the relationship between the ethnographer and the community with which they are engaged (Hellier-Tinoco 2003).

Out of this rich body of ethnomusicological literature, sources relevant to this discussion include the ethnographic studies of Feld (1990), Mora (2005), Seeger (2004) and Roseman (1993). Also considered here is Stoller's famous study of the Songhay in Niger (1989). Although the prime disciplinary focus of this seminal work in the area of sensuous scholars is anthropological, it nevertheless offers an important theoretical construct useful to the analytical framework applied in later chapters of this thesis.

Amongst these well-known studies, Feld's ethnographic study of the Kaluli people from 1976 to 1977 in Mount Bosavi on the Great Papuan Plateau in the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea (Feld 1990) is particularly pertinent here. This is so not only because of the overall discursive framework through which he engaged with a rainforest community, but because of the structure and function of myth in the ceremonial performance of *Gisalo* (1990:6), the function of the longhouse in the social life of the community and in the performance of rituals and ceremonies (1990:5), and the correspondences between musical sound and sentiment within the community.

Mora (2005) also has explored the connections between myth and magic in the musical and spiritual life of the T'boli people from the highlands of Southwestern Mindanao, Philippines (Mora 2005). His description of an *utom*, an instrumental composition, as a "complex musical aesthetic concept whose inherent utility is to connect musical activity and

meaning with extra musical referents by creating or recognizing inherent analogic similarities" (2005:2), is especially relevant to the exploration of the extra musical function of the gong ensemble among the Katingan. Furthermore, Mora's research provides analytical and discursive frameworks by which the ritual process of the T'boli people can be understood. He does this by dividing ritual into two areas: the rite of separation (transgression, retribution, illness) and the rite of incorporation (fulfilment of instruction, recovery) (Mora 2005:77). "The gongs then are highly valued for their potential to activate, excite, and attract people in a public situation." (Mora 2005:48). Furthermore, he affirms that "the musical characteristics of the framing sections of the 'hard' instruments tend to be standardized and consist of the most commonly used rhythmic pattern...typically framing sections played on the s'lagi [suspended gong]... these patterns are rhythmically simple and repetitive, and are in contrast with the more complex patterns found in the central section" (Mora 2005:112). Mora also points to the significance of metaphor and analogy, called *heled*, to explain all manner of things; "...the T'boli use the metaphor of 'delaying the outcome' to describe how the musical processes of transformation and movement of utom are handled" (Mora 2005:102). Furthermore, he says that the metaphor "codifies the means for ascertaining what makes a particular performance compelling, and is useful for analysing its formal performative structures and devices" (Mora 2005:102).

Seeger's focus on the Suyá community in the state of Mato Grosso, Brazil, discusses singing, the study of music and the role of music in social processes (Seeger 2004:13), arguing that "...whenever music is heard, something important is happening. Usually some connections are being created or recreated between different domains of life, the universe, or the human body and its spirits, animals, and those hard-to-imagine beings in between" (Seeger 2004:7). His research in the Suyá area clearly produces a fine observation about the community and musical meaning. He suggests "any ethnomusicological study of music should begin by examining music in relationship to other art forms, because nothing simply exists in itself" (Seeger 2004:25). He writes that "ideas about the origin and composition of music provide an important indication of what music is and how it relates to other aspects of the lives and the cosmos of community" (Seeger 2004:52). He also defines the accompanying ceremonies for every month of the agricultural cycle, and when a song has to be performed (Seeger 2004:72). He claims that "if music is to be studied not as sounds but as the production of sounds, approaches to musical performance must provide a great deal of ethnographic data in order to present the social processes of which music is a part" (Seeger 2004:82). Moreover

the intense experiences, the close personal relationships, and the total physical and intellectual involvement anthropologists tend to develop with the communities they study are essential features of anthropological research...the researcher must be able to understand what he or she is being told not only through language, but through gesture, a glance, a brief silence, or an omission. (Seeger 2004:24)

His theory and classification of the vocal genre is crucial to understanding how it is performed, especially in the Suyá vocal genre table (Seeger 2004:26, 72, 76). "Unison songs were sung by groups of individuals singing the same melody and words...there were a number of other contrasts as well: shout songs were sung in a high, forced voice... they usually began on the highest note, or its leading note" (Seeger 2004:40). Seeger also says: "Humans and animals were carefully separated and contrasted in many aspects of Suyá life, including the delineation of space and time, the characterization of persons, the conceptions they had of the life cycle, and the definition of sickness" (Seeger 2004:60). In the Katingan Awa area, *sasana kayau* songs also acknowledge the name of a few animals, such as water buffaloes, pigs, and chickens. Seeger argues that

comparisons are as essential to anthropology and ethnomusicology as in-depth understanding of single cases...first, ...song is the result of a particular relationship between humans and the rest of the universe... second, the non-human order provides a model for music...music provides an emotional experience of considerable force. Kaluli songs arouse sadness and anger, Suyá singing arouses sadness in some and creates euphoria in the rest... (Seeger 2004:62).

Seeger also discusses performance spaces: "[T]he way Suyá sang in space was significant. The different parts of their cosmos were marked by the sounds performed there (or the silence observed). The empty space in the middle of the circle of the houses became a plaza when it was the stage for public performance" (Seeger 2004:69). This also applies to the idea that the cosmos is the *pasar sawawulu* in the Katingan people, for the *tiwah* ceremony is performed in the centre of a field. He continues by describing the use of the percussion instrument that has to be played, movement with dance also being part of it (Seeger 2004:80). This too can be found in the *tiwah* ceremony where the participants in the *manganjan* dance and the gong ensemble perform in the background. In terms of vocal music, Seeger also notes that, "their singing was part of the creation of their society and their cosmos... Suyá musical performance was a 'structuration' (a creation of the structures) of sound, place, time, person, and meaning in particular circumstances" (Seeger 2004:85).

Regarding music transcription, Seeger argues that, "I believe transcription should never be an end in itself, but rather a tool for raising questions" (Seeger 2004:102).

Roseman's (1993) observations about the *orang asli* (original people) of the Highland Temiar villages in the Malaysian rainforests are similar to the Ngaju people in Katingan. "For Temiars, the symbolic power of the image of the paths arises from their daily travel along land and river routes running through the jungle and settlement" (Roseman 1993:8). She also found that the Temiar is but one of the ethnic groups amongst the *orang asli* (original people) using a linguistic classification to describe *orang asli*: *Semang* or *Negrito*, *Senoi*, and *Aboriginal Malay* (Roseman 1993:18). The Ngaju region comprises a few ethnic groups. The practice of healing amongst the Temiar people has similarities to the Katingan people called *basangiang* as Arneld & Mauilarri found (Arneld and Maiullari 2015). Roseman states that a meeting between a researcher and a people is not just one way, but bilateral, each influencing the other:

Ethnography, and all interactions, occurs not between a subject and an object, but arises from the meeting of two or more agents ...we engage one another, turning each other into memory in our cultural engravings, inscribing each other in our respective forms of discourse: the Temiar in their historiography of song, me with my field notes, tape recorder, and publications. (Roseman 1993:174)

She also helps Seeger to divide songs into a number of sections based on musical and linguistic features, and she suggests to Seeger that, "further ethnographic research is necessary to explore why the shifting pitch occurred in the song she had analysed" (Seeger 2004:93). In addition, she states of the relationship between sounds and odours that, "sounds and odours, themselves detached from yet traceable to their sources, set bound form into energized motion. Examples of the interrelations between voice, person, and personal space abound. They are separable and permeable, yet they give the illusion of substance and source" (Roseman 1993:51). She alleges that, "to comprehend musical and ceremonial performance in Temiar society, then, we must comprehend the dynamic structure of the self" (Roseman 1993:51). She argues that, "we are often so busy watching the people we are studying that we forget they, too, are watching and listening to us... ethnography occurs in that intersubjective space between the ethnographer and the people studied" (Roseman 1993:174).

Stoller (1989) states in his book that "today you are learning about us, but to understand us, you will have to grow old with us" (Stoller 1989:6), showing that to

understand a community, one has to stay long-term. He suggests that "...considering the senses of taste, smell, and hearing as much as privileged sight will not only make ethnography more vivid and more accessible, but will render our accounts of others more faithful to the realities of the field--accounts which will then be *more*, rather than less, scientific." (Stoller 1989:9). The Ngaju community in the Katingan also share the same idea. He continues, "[I]n tasteful fieldwork, [the] anthropologist would not only investigate kinship, exchange, and symbolism, but also describe with literary vividness the smells, tastes, and textures of the land, the people, and the food." (Stoller 1989). This statement helped me to realise that when I first encountered the Katingan Awa community in Tewang Tampang village, food was going to be one of the crucial aspects of the field trip. He continues, "I smelled and tasted ethnographic things and was both repelled by and attracted to a new spectrum of odors, flavors, sights, and sounds" (Stoller 1989:4). Stoller observes "Slowly, I uncovered an important rule: one cannot separate thought from feeling and action; they are inextricably linked" (Stoller 1989:5).

On the other hand, he talks about the association between an anthropologist and the study of shamanism, such that

[an] anthropologist engaged in the study of shamanism, for example, may observe or experience something so extraordinary that they can find no reasonable explanation for it... those anthropologists... tend to discuss it in informal settings-over lunch, dinner, or a drink. In formal settings we are supposed to be dispassionate analysts; we are not supposed to include in discourse our confrontations with the extraordinary because they are unscientific. It is simply not appropriate to expose to our colleagues the texture of our hearts and the uncertainties of our 'gaze'. (Stoller 1989:39)

His view is crucial to understanding an unexpected occurrence within the Ngaju community.

Conclusion

Clearly anthropologists have written much more than ethnomusicologists about the Ngaju and Katingan people. No books have been written about the music of the Ngaju and Katingan in the Palangka Raya area compared with other regions I have explored. Publications by other ethnomusicologists mentioned above have helped me to understand the larger context of the Ngaju belief, ritual, ceremony, and musical performances.

In the next chapter, I will clarify and detail my findings, that have not been covered by previous researchers in Central Kalimantan, not only from my field area, but also those interviews that were conducted in Palangka Raya and with other people outside the city. This will include my interviews, audio and video recordings, and other resources that helped me understand the Ngaju and Katingan cultures, especially their gong ensemble and its features.

Chapter Three: Ethnography of the *Tiwah* Ceremony

Seperti dandang tingang ini, putih diatas itu tuhan. Nah kan suci dia...di bawah suci juga. Bumi alam kita ini suci juga. Makanya jangan diotak-atik bumi kita ini, jangan dikeruk jangan ditebang jangan macam-macam. Nah ditengah ini hitam, duniawi ini, tempat dosa, tempat kematian dan segala macam, dunia itu yang hitam... berapapun garis panjangnya itu dunia. Makanya umat Kaharingan itu diajarkan agar menghormati alam, begitu kami bikin ladang, kami hormati ladang dulu... bikin sesajen."

As this *dandang tingang* ornament shows³⁸, the white [colour] above represents God, who is sacred...the other white [colour] above represents God's piety. Our earth and nature are also sacred. So do not disturb this earth, do not scrape [the ground], do not cut down [the trees]. Then the black [colour in the middle] represents this world: a place for sin, a place for death and everything, the black is the world, how long [the colour] has represented the world. That is why the [Hindu] Kaharingan believers are taught to respect nature... when we are preparing the field [to plant vegetables], we have to respect the [spirits in] the field first, then prepare the offerings.

- Pak Sius D. Daya, personal communication, 26 December 2014

After spending a month in Tewang Tampang village, I arrived in the neighbouring Tumbang Panggu village. There were a number of people whom I wanted to meet, one of them being the oldest *pisur* in the village, Pak Senty. He was the main leader of the *tiwah* death ceremonies in Tewang Tampang village that were carried out according to local Hindu-Kaharingan belief in 2018. I wanted to ask him many questions about the *tiwah* ceremony, and in particular, about the meaning and significance of Pak Sius's take on the function of the *tiwah* ceremony in the above quotation, in order to obtain a deeper insight into local ideas of sacrifice and death. Unfortunately, I did not have an opportunity to meet Pak Sius again because he passed away in 2017.

After a couple of days in Tumbang Panggu village, I set out to meet Pak Senty, whose house was located not far from Bang Silo's house where I had been staying. As I walked

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³⁸ A *dandang tingang* is an ornament in a Hindu-Kaharingan religious ceremony.

along the cement footpath built by the villagers to block water from the river entering the residential area, I looked out for a *sawang* tree, which Bang Silo told me marked the entry to Pak Senty's house. Just as I arrived his wife came out of the house and welcomed me and then led me inside. I was asked to wait for him as he was still preparing for a *mambayar hajat malabuh balai samburup* ritual that would take place later that day. This ritual is held to thank the spirits for granting a wish.

Realising that he was busy, I decided to cancel my interview and go home. But before I could leave, Pak Senty appeared and asked me why I had come. Surprisingly, he said I could record the ritual, and more importantly for my research, that he and his friends would be playing (manewah) the gandang ahung music that I was interested in. Later he promised to explain the tiwah ceremony, which he was to conduct as the pisur.

This chapter describes the *tiwah* ceremony in Tewang Tampang village in 2018, noting in addition some aspects of the ceremony that I saw in Tewang Rangas village in 2015, and focusing on those components in which the *gandang ahung* ensemble is involved. It includes references to Pak Senty's explanation of the components of the tiwah ceremony and its alignment with wider Hindu-Kaharingan beliefs about creation and identity, known as *agama helu* ("the old religion") and adhered to by many people in the Katingan Awa area. Their beliefs differ somewhat from those held by the Ngaju along the Kahayan and Kapuas Rivers. However, since several anthropologists have already written about aspects of the *tiwah* ceremony amongst the Ngaju, I shall not describe the differences. My focus will be on the procedures and religious meanings of the ceremony in the Katingan Awa area, especially the role, performance practice, repertoire and style of the musical ensemble called *gandang ahung*.

Description of some *Tiwah* Ceremonies in Four Villages in the Katingan Awa Area

Like the final steps in the death ceremony amongst Hindu-Kaharingan believers in the Katingan Awa area, *tiwah* ceremonies in the four villages I am focusing on involve three stages: the pre-event, the main event, and the post-event. Every stage consists of several rituals, most of which are led by the *pisur* in particular places and at particular times. The various stages from the pre-event to the post-event take around six months to carry out. Each of the rituals and ceremonies has to be executed with careful attention to order and detail, especially the main event, which lasts for three days.

The Pre-Event

The pre-event stage comprises several rituals, one of which is the *manggantung* mangkuk sahur tiwah³⁹. In this ritual, each of the family members asks for the protection of the spirits so that the upcoming tiwah ceremony will run smoothly and be safe.

Three months after this ritual, on Sunday every week, the families have to start preparing the tools that will be needed for the *tiwah*. This is because everyone has to work during the week and being too tired are unable to prepare for the ritual after work. The *manggau kayu apui* ritual requires them to look for specific types of wood for ceremonial purposes. Then they have to clean up the *pambak*, i.e. the place in which to put the bones after the *tiwah* ceremony is finished.

Another ritual requirement is *gotong royong* ("cooperation"), meaning they have to work together to prepare everything in the village, including cleaning up the river, the road, and searching for missing kinds of wood. The next day they need to prepare the animals that will be sacrificed, then to find the tools to set up the *pasar sawawulu*, the place that represents the cosmos of the *tiwah* ceremony where the main part of the ceremony is held. Almost all of these activities are led and instructed by a *pisur* who has been appointed by the people of the village to be the ceremonial leader. The *gandang ahung* instrumental ensemble is not involved at this stage. Figure 3.1 shows the complete timeline for the pre-event of the *tiwah* ceremony in Tewang Tampang village in 2018.

WEEK	DAY	DATE	NAME OF THE RITUAL
	SATURDAY	23-JUN	MANGGANTUNG MANGKUK
	SATORDAT	23-3011	SAHUR TIWAH
	SUNDAY	23-SEP	MANGGAU KAYU APUI
		24-SEP	
1		25-SEP	
		26-SEP	
		27-SEP	

 $^{^{39}}$ Also known as *mampunduk sahur tiwah* in other parts of the Katingan area

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		28-SEP	
		29-SEP	
	SUNDAY	30-SEP	MANGGAU KAYU APUI
		1-OCT	
		2-OCT	
		3-OCT	
		4-OCT	
		5-OCT	
		6-OCT	
	SUNDAY	7-OCT	MARASIH PAMBAK
		8-OCT	
		9-OCT	
2		10-OCT	
Δ		11 - OCT	
		12-OCT	
	SATURDAY	13-OCT	GOTONG ROYONG
	SUNDAY	14-OCT	GOTONG ROTONG
3	MONDAY	15-OCT	TAMBANG TAHARANG METU
		16-OCT	
		17-OCT	MANGGAU ALAT PASAR
4	WEDNESDAY	17-001	SAWAWULU
		18-OCT	MAMPENDENG PASAR
	THURSDAY	10-001	SAWAWULU

Figure 3. 1 The rundown for phase one of the pre-event of the *tiwah* ceremony.

The Main Event

The main event, lasting three days, includes digging the grave where the bones of the deceased person or persons (manggali tulang) will be placed, putting the bones in the coffin for a day in the balai raung (mangecen), and putting the bones in the final resting place (manapesan). Each of the rituals has to be carried out in the correct order. Each day is full of activity from dawn until evening. Every section is crucial. Only a pisur is able to conduct or instruct the people in the tiwah ceremonial area known as hinting pali. These three days in the main event are the most important part, since it is then that the liau (soul of the deceased)

will ascend to *lewu tatau* (heaven). Almost all of the rituals at this stage utilise the *gandang ahung* ensemble.

Manggali Tulang (Day 1)

On this occasion, 50 families were to take part in burying their dead. As usual, the day started with the *pisur* welcoming the families to the *tiwah*, and arranging for them to perform the *manganjan* dance together. The animals - buffaloes, cows, pigs, and chickens - were then spiritually welcomed after their arrival by car from another village. Then the families had to carry out the *potong pantan* ritual, during which they were required to cut a piece of wood using a *mandau*, i.e. a traditional Dayak sword, to symbolise the fact that they were entering the *tiwah* ceremonial area.

Then the family members had to dig the bones of the deceased out of the graveyard, clean them, and put them on the *balai raung*, i.e. a building which is constructed of wood and acts as the transit place before the bones are lowered into the *pambak* (grave). Finally, the family members of the *tiwah* ceremony had to carry out the *manganjan* (circling the cosmos) ceremony called the *pasar sawawulu*, before the end of the day.

Mangecen (Day 2)

On day two, the *pisur* instructed the family members of the deceased to sacrifice the buffaloes, cows, pigs, and chickens (*mampatei metu*), followed by their performance of the *manganjan* dance. In the afternoon, the families and other members of the *tiwah* held the *laluhan* ritual to welcome new guests from two or three other villages who arrived by river. Right after the *laluhan*, the day ended with the family members of the deceased waiting for the bones of the deceased, due to arrive in the *balai raung* by dawn the next day.

Manapesan (Day 3)

The third and final day of the main event started with the *manapesan* ritual, which involved delivering the bones to the *pambak*. Right before the *manapesan*, the *pisur* carried out the *hanteran* ritual in order to release the *liau* to heaven (*lewu tatau*). Figure 3.2 shows the sections of the main event during which the *gandang ahung* was played.

PHAS E	DAYS	DAT E	NAME OF THE RITUAL	PLACE	GANDAN G AHUNG	TIME	
			WELCOMING THE FAMILY MEMBERS	FIELD IN THE <i>PASAR</i> <i>SAWAWULU</i>	YES		
			WELCOMING THE ANIMALS	FIELD IN THE <i>PASAR</i> <i>SAWAWULU</i>	NO	MORNING	
			POTONG PANTAN	FIELD IN THE <i>PASAR</i> <i>SAWAWULU</i>	YES		
			WELCOMING THE PEOPLE FROM OTHER VILLAGES	LALUHAN PLACE, NEAR THE RIVER	NO		
			MANYAKI ALAT TIWAH	HUMA EKA TIWAH AND PASAR SAWAWULU	YES	AFTERNOO N	
	FRIDAY	19-	SACRIFICING THE PIGS	PASAR SAWAWULU	NO		
	TIMDAT	Oct	<i>MANGGALI TULANG</i> (DIGGING UP THE BONES OF THE DECEASED)	GRAVEYAR D	YES		
EVEN			BRINGING THE DECEASED'S BONES TO THE <i>BALAI RAUNG</i>	GRAVEYAR D TO <i>BALAI</i> <i>RAUNG</i>	YES	AFTERNOO N	
T			LIFTING UP THE <i>SAPUNDU</i>	PASAR SAWAWULU	YES	11	
			WAITING FOR THE DECEASED'S BONES	BALAI RAUNG	YES		
			MANGANJAN	PASAR SAWAWULU	YES		
			WAITING FOR THE DECEASED'S BONES	BALAI RAUNG	YES	EVENING	
			MANGANJAN	HUMA EKA TIWAH	YES		
	SATURDA Y	20- Oct	MANGENCEN/MAMPAT EI METU		YES		
			MANGANJAN		YES	MORNING	
			SAWANG SARAH	PASAR SAWAWULU	YES		
			PISUR MANAWUR		YES		
			MANGANJAN		YES	AFTERNOO N	
			MANYAKI SALUTUP	HUMA EKA TIWAH	NO		
			KINYAH	<i>LALUHAN</i> PLACE,	YES	AFTERNOO N	

		LALUHAN	NEAR THE RIVER	NO	
		MENYAKI MUKA DENGAN MINYAK DAN TEPUNG		YES	
		WAITING FOR THE DECEASED'S BONES	BALAI RAUNG	YES	EVENING
		MANAPESAN	PASAR SAWAWULU	YES	MORNING
SUNDAY	SUNDAY 21- DECE Oct TO PU DECE	BRINGING THE DECEASED'S BONES TO THE <i>PAMBAK</i>	D AMD AV	NO	AFTERNOO
		PUTTING THE DECEASED'S BONES TO THE <i>PAMBAK</i>	PAMBAK	YES	N

Figure 3. 2 The timetable for the second stage of the main event.

On the day after the *manapesan* ritual was carried out, all of the family members had to take part in the *mamapas pali* and the *bakakahem* (erasing misfortune ritual), the *mambuhul* (giving good wishes to the fortunate ritual), the *mangibul sawang* (planting the *sawang* tree ritual), and the *manipas sahur* (granting promises ritual). Each of the phases was executed in that order throughout the day. The *gandang ahung* was not played during these rituals.

PHASE	DAYS	DATE	NAME OF THE RITUAL
	THURSDAY	24-Oct	MAMAPAS PALI
			BAKAKAHEM
		25-Oct	(ERASE
	FRIDAY		MISFORTUNE) &
			MAMBUHUL
POST-			(WISH FOR THE
EVENT			FORTUNATE)
	SATURDAY	26-Oct	MANGIBUL
			SAWANG (PLANT
			THE SAWANG
			TREE NEAR THE
			TIWAH

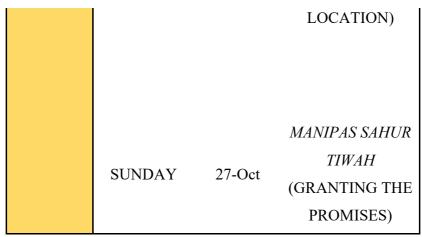


Figure 3. 3 The final stage of the *tiwah* ceremony, post-event.

The Post-Event

In this final stage, which lasted three months, the family members had to apply the *pali tiwah* restrictions mentioned above. They needed to demolish all the ornaments and ritual spaces, including the *pasar sawawulu*, *balai raung* and *huma eka tiwah*, but not the *sapundu* statues in the middle of the field where the ceremony was held. The final stage of the *tiwah* ceremony is the ritual called *ngalangkang pambak* and is shown above in Figure 3:4.

Ngalangkang Pambak

Three months after the post-event ritual was held, the *ngalangkang pambak* took place. Usually it lasts for a day, from early in the morning until late afternoon, but sometimes it lasts longer, depending on whether the *sapundu* has finally been relocated to the *pambak* area. The ritual that I saw in Tewang Tampang lasted for two days, since there were quite a few *sapundu* that needed to be relocated, which took time.

The ritual started with the principal *pisur*, Pak Senty, and the *pisur pangapit* Babak and Bang Silo, going to the *pambak* area and sacrificing the pigs. Then they moved the ceremonial location to the *pasar sawawulu* to cleanse the *sapundu*. All three *pisur* cleaned the ornaments that were still attached to the *sapundu* and *mamapas* with the *sawang* leaves sprinkled with pig's blood (see Figure 3.4 showing Pak Senty cleansing the ornaments). After all the *pisur* in the *sapundu* had been cleansed in the *pasar sawawulu*, they had to move all the *sapundu*, one by one, to the *pambak* in this last stage of the *tiwah* ceremony – the *ngalangkang pambak*.

According to Pak Senty, the *gandang ahung* does not need to be played in the *ngalangkang pambak* ritual. His predecessors never played it.



Figure 3. 4 Pak Senty cleansing the ornaments that were attached to the *sapundu* in the *ngalangkang pambak* ceremony.

The Significance of the *Tiwah*

The Hindu-Kaharingan people believe that holding a *tiwah* is the only way their dead can return to Ranying Hatalla (God). Without it, the *liau* would stay forever on earth and would never move to the *lewu tatau*. For that reason, the *tiwah* ceremony is extremely important.

Additional Information about the Tiwah Ceremony in Tewang Tampang

In the early 20th century, the Katingan Awa people always worked together and helped each other to fulfil their obligations. By 2018, however, the cash economy required that they seek help from the government.

In the *tiwah* ceremony held in Tewang Tampang village in 2018, almost all of the expenses were covered by the government of the Kabupaten Katingan (Katingan Regency)

and by the regent himself. The Tewang Tampang villagers requested and were given IDR 200,000,000 (approximately AUD \$22,340). They used the funds to buy the animals, ornaments and food, and for an honorarium for the *pisur*. The villagers told me that their incomes were below average, and that they were therefore unable to afford all of the *tiwah* ceremony's requirements. For this reason, several *tiwah* funerals were held at once, thereby creating a "new" type of *tiwah* ceremony called *tiwah masal* (mass *tiwah*), which eased the families' responsibilities by sharing them. The *tiwah* ceremonies in Tewang Tampang in 2018 and Tewang Rangas in 2015 were *tiwah masal*. Seventy-five *liau* were involved in the *tiwah* ceremony in Tewang Tampang village. It was considered to be the largest *tiwah* ceremony amongst the Katingan River area ever held.

In return for the contribution from the Katingan Regency government, the villagers agreed to allow outsiders, especially domestic and international tourists, to come and watch the *tiwah* ceremony as one of the government's annual offerings to outsiders.

The Tewang Tampang Village

I was introduced to this village by my friend Hetdianto from the Katingan area, whom I met in 2015. He was a bamboo flute maker. When I first came to his house, he let me in and immediately suggested that I stay in the home of his uncle and Hindu-Kaharingan adherent, *mama* Busu, so that I could continue to ask him to explain aspects of the *tiwah* ceremony.

The next day I took a walk in the village and noticed there were many tall statues in the form of human figures standing near the *Balai Kaharingan*. Nende, *Mama* Busu's nephew, told me that a *tiwah* ceremony had been held there three months ago, and that those statues, called *sapundu*, needed to be relocated near each of the *pambak*. He also said that the *ngalangkang pambak* ritual would be held in the next two weeks.

He explained that the first part of the *ngalangkang pambak* involves cleaning up the area around the *pambak*. This is followed by the *manawur*, when the *pisur* scatters yellow rice over the ground to evoke the spirit of the rice; the *ngapetik* when the *pisur* sprinkles the yellow rice to repel evil spirits; the *mampatei metu* when the chickens and pigs are sacrificed; the *ngalangkang sapundu* when the *sapundu* and surrounds are cleansed; the *cabut sapundu* when the *sapundu* are removed; the *nyasana kayau* when the *sasana kayau* is performed around the *pambak*; a repeat of the *ngapetik*; then finally the ritual of placing the *sapundu* near their *pambak*.

Bang Nende told me that Pak Senty, the *pisur*, did not want to have the gong ensemble played at all on these two days, because his predecessor never did. However, I heard that other family members wanted it played during the *ngalangkang pambak* ritual on the next day.

So I borrowed a motor-bike and rushed along the muddy road to the location at which Bang Nende had mentioned it would be played, at the back of the village. The place was relatively isolated, so I had to leave my motor-bike, walk along a footpath and cross over a creek (see Figure 3.5).



Figure 3. 5 A creek that needed crossing before reaching the location of *cabut sapundu*.

I arrived just before the *pisur* began. Pak Sendok gave the instruction to kill the animals (*mampatei metu*). I had met several members of the other families who were involved in the *ngalangkang pambak* ceremony the day before. Each family could choose who they wanted to lead the ceremony. On this occasion Pak Senty was chosen, but one family hired Bang Silo because they felt closer to him.

Then I saw the *gandang ahung* hanging by the wooden poles (see Figure 3.6), and observed that it was a bit different from the one I encountered the day before.



Figure 3. 6 The *gandang ahung* being played in the *ngalangkang pambak* ceremony in Tewang Tampang village.

The Elements of the *Tiwah* Ceremony

There are too many elements of the Katingan Awa *tiwah* ceremony to mention here. I will explain only the general elements to provide a context for understanding the ceremony and its musical elements.

The Taboos related to the *Tiwah* Ceremony

The main taboo (*pali tiwah*) related to the *tiwah* ceremony is that family members and visitors are forbidden to move outside the borders of the ceremony under the *pisur*'s jurisdiction, which are marked by long lines of rattan rope and bamboo skin. The borders are called *hinting pali*. Other taboos are:

- Dia tau kalahi kajama / hajawab hasual -fighting is forbidden
- Dia tau hassium habewau bawi hatue public displays of affection are forbidden
- Dia tau basarak, basundur combing hair is forbidden
- *Dia tau kuman sahang/lombok* chilli may not be eaten
- Dia tau mimbit bacang bringing a deer is forbidden
- Dia tau mimbit karahau bringing a mouse deer is forbidden

- Dia tau mimbit lauk / bere bringing a fish and a turtle is forbidden
- Dia tau mimbit bakara bringing a proboscis monkey is forbidden
- Dia tau mimbit tupai bringing a squirrel is forbidden
- *Dia tau mimbit sikah [umbut/bajungan]* bringing rattan shoots is forbidden)
- Dia tau mimbit ucau bringing bamboo shoots is forbidden
- Dia tau mimbit batang patik bringing a helani tulip (etlingera hemisphaerica) is forbidden
- Dia tau mimbit dayung bringing a paddle is forbidden

Anyone who violates any of these regulations must pay a fine (*jipen*). A *jipen* can be an amount of money, or an animal that can be sacrificed so that its blood can "purify" the offence made inside the *hinting pali* of the *tiwah* ceremony.

The Animals in the *Tiwah* Ceremony

The animals to be sacrificed include *hadangan* - water buffaloes, *sapi* - cows, *bawui lewu* - pigs, and *manuk* - chickens. The slaughter occurs on the second and the third day of the main *tiwah* event. The *hadangan* and *sapi* are tied in a *sapundu* one by one, and the pigs are put in a bamboo cage where the chickens are, with their feet tied together. Normally the Katingan Awa sacrifice their own animals. Pak Mumus of Tewang Tampang village showed me his small holding consisting of eight cows kept for the eventual *tiwah* to be held for his parents, which he said was much cheaper than to buy animals nearer the occasion. The same goes for the water buffaloes, which are only sold by a few people. Pigs and chickens are much easier to come by.

According to Hindu-Kaharingan belief, chickens are acceptable in most rituals. When I was in Tumbang Panggu, Bang Silo held a *bayar hajat* ritual for his niece who had always been disturbed by evil spirits that made her ill. Her parents believed that she could be healed by a kind spirit at a *mambayar hajat malabuh balai samburup* ritual, which was subsequently held. The offerings consisted of rice *katupat* in coconut leaves, a traditional rice cake called *lamang, pulut*, or *cucur*, cold water (*danum sadingen*), a bowl (*penyau*), eggs (*kate*), betel nut and leaves mixed with tobacco and put in a bowl of rice (*sipa rokok*), three chickens (*manuk telu kungan*) fermented rice wine (*baram*), and chicken blood (*daha manuk*). The people believe that when a basket (*acak*) made of bamboo twine and tied with rattan string

containing the offerings is washed away in the Katingan River, the *daha manuk* will help feed the spirits, thereby purifying and healing Bang Silo's niece. However, to hold a *tiwah* ceremony, a chicken is not enough. Pigs, cows and water buffaloes must also be sacrificed.

Water Buffalo (Hadangan Laut)⁴⁰

The water buffalo (*kerbau* (I), *bubalus bubalis*, or *hadangan*) is mentioned in the epic entitled the *Panaturan* (Widya Dharma 2015:27) about a descendant of Rama Batanduk Garing, who married his sibling. Water buffaloes are believed to be able to affect the stability of the environment and neutralise the effects of nature. That is why at least one water buffalo is sacrificed in a *tiwah* ceremony.⁴¹

Most villagers save up to buy a baby water buffalo, which grows up to be their most valuable animal until two or three years later it is usually sacrificed in a *tiwah* ceremony.

Family members traditionally felt proud and honoured to sacrifice a water buffalo at a *tiwah* ceremony, and some still do today. They believe the soul of their deceased relative(s) will feel very happy to receive this 'gift' from the family members still living on earth.

To sacrifice a water buffalo, a *pisur* must follow the correct order of proceedings. First, the buffalo has to be tied in the *sapundu*, each of which can represent one or two souls. A member of the family then has to stab the buffalo, then his spouse (if there is one), his son, his daughter, his son-in-law, and finally his daughter-in-law. In the *tiwah* ceremony I described in Tewang Tampang village, a story is told that the son-in-law stabbed the water buffalo, but after doing so few times, no blood or wounds appeared in the water buffalo's body. Afraid that something bad had happened, the family members called the *pisur*, Pak Senty. After carrying out a ritual, he decided to ask the deceased's biological son to stab the buffalo, and blood appeared. He kept stabbing until the water buffalo felt weak and fell to the ground.

⁴⁰ The buffaloes, known as kerbau in the Indonesian language, are not only sacrificed by the Dayak people in

Indonesia, but also by the Toraja people (Sulawesi), Sumbanese, and Florenese (Brighenti 2002). Brighenti wrote that the buffalo is 'the most important animal they can offer as a sacrifice at both primary and secondary ceremonies for the disposal of the dead, as well as at ancestor-worship ceremonies.' He mentioned that: 'The Ngaju Dayak of central Kalimantan observe a similar, yet more complex mortuary ritual which is also pivoted upon the slaughtering of buffaloes. The kinsmen of the departed spear the animals to death. The heads of all the

upon the slaughtering of buffaloes. The kinsmen of the departed spear the animals to death. The heads of all the slain buffaloes are exposed on a special wooden structure resembling an analogous sacrificial rack commonly used by the Naga tribes at funeral ceremonies. When the ceremony for the secondary burial is concluded, the jawbones of the sacrificed buffaloes are affixed to the wooden ossuary containing the ashes of all the deceased members of a single lineage. It is maintained by some scholars that buffalo-sacrifice replaced human sacrifice in the mortuary observances of the Dayak tribes as late as the 19th century.' (Brighenti 2002).

⁴¹ Personal communication from Pak Senty, 1 March 2019.

After it fell, the animal's head had to be moved so that it pointed upriver in the direction of the sunrise (*pambelum*), before they could cut off its head. Nowadays the man who decapitates a water buffalo has to be a Muslim.⁴² When I asked Pak Senty why, he said that not all family members and participants are Hindu-Kaharingan believers, and the *tiwah* committee want the meat to be eaten by all the participants, including Muslims. Finally, the beheaded water buffalo is laid on the ground and covered with *batik* fabric (see Figure 3.7), and its head is tied above the *sapundu*, after which its blood is poured into one of the gongs, to be mixed with the blood of other sacrificed buffaloes later.



Figure 3.7 The slaughter of the animals at the *tiwah* ceremony in the Tewang Rangas in 2015.

The Cow (Sapi Ucang Batanduk Tulang)

The cow (*bos taurus indicus*) is the second most important animal to be sacrificed at a *tiwah* ceremony. Like the water buffalo, families usually buy a calf and feed it till adulthood before it is sacrificed.

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⁴² According to Islamic practice, when an animal is to be killed, a Muslim must pray for it before it dies, after which Muslims may eat the meat.

The Pig (Urak Bawui Samben Paramuan Penda Bendang)

At most Hindu-Kaharingan rituals the *pisur* gives the instruction to sacrifice a pig, which is the least expensive animal, and most can afford it. That is why it is a common to see pig cages in villages along the Katingan River, where most villagers adhere to the Hindu-Kaharingan religion. They are not allowed to use a wild bearded pig, called *bornean* (*sus barbatus*), from the forest; they have to use a domestic pig (*bawui lewu, sus domesticus*) kept in a bamboo cage. The animal is killed inside or outside the cage by stabbing its armpit. After the blood flows from its body, the first flow has to be poured into an upside-down gong.

The Chicken (Manuk Darung Tingang Burung Piak Rukui Ambun)

A chicken is sacrificed not only in the *mambayar hajat malabuh balai samburup* ritual (see Figure 3.8) in a *tiwah* ceremony but also in other smaller rituals. It has to be a village chicken (*manuk lewu* – personal property, *gallus gallus domesticus*), not a livestock chicken (*gallus domesticus*). Before a *tiwah* ceremony, a chicken's feet are tied together and its neck is cut with a *mandau*, and the blood is poured into the upturned gong.



Figure 3. 8 The offerings to the spirits in a *mambayar hajat malabuh balai samburup* ritual, showing the chicken blood on the right. In Tumbang Panggu, 11 February 2019.

According to Pak Senty, the slaughter in the Katingan Awa area has to start with the biggest animal and progress to the smallest – i.e. from the *hadangan* to the *sapi* to the *bawui lewu*, and finally to the *manuk*. Yet the rules are not always followed – sometimes they start

from the smallest animal, the chicken, which is wrong, as he explained in an interview with me (see the original conversation in Katingan language in footnote 43):

Rayhan: In what order are the animals sacrificed? Starting from the biggest or the smallest?

Pak Senty: From the smallest. However, our ancestors started from the biggest - the *hadangan*, then the sapi, then the *bawui*, and finally the *manuk*.

Rayhan: So that's the example from the ancestors?

Pak Senty: Yes. But I have seen people start from the smallest first nowadays.

Rayhan: How come there are changes in the practice of the ancestors?

Pak Senty: I do not know, maybe it is that other *pisurs* use different rules, but the rule of our ancestors is to start from the biggest.

Rayhan: But in the *tiwah* that you lead, do you start from the biggest?

Pak Senty: Yes, but the Ngaju people start from the smallest. I wonder why, by whose instruction? There are no such instructions from the ancestors. I asked my predecessor *pisur* who said to start from the biggest.⁴³

Rayhan: Yet in a *tiwah* ceremony, it is important to start with the biggest animal?

Pak Senty: The cow sacrifice only began recently. If there is no water buffalo, a cow can substitute now. Our ancestors had to use a water buffalo in a *tiwah* because originally a slave (*jipen*) was transformed into a water buffalo. That is the story from our ancestors. So a *pisur* has to use the name of a slave to tame the furious water buffalo before it is killed.⁴⁴

Rayhan: I have seen so many *hadangan* and *sapi* in *tiwah* ceremonies. I wonder how many animals are required? So only three are basically needed for a *tiwah*?

Pak Senty: Yes, only three.

Rayhan: But many people add more than three?

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⁴³ Rayhan: Nah amun mampatei metu te pak, bara hai atau bara kurik? / Pak Senty: Bara kurik. Nah itah mampatei metu tuh je sebenar lah, amun ita manalah ji bahalap, tatu hiang ita bihin, ngarai megalang, he, patei je hai helu kilau hadangan, limbah te sapi, limbah te bawui, limbah te manuk. / Rayhan: Amun jituh bara bihin? / Pak Senty: Iyuh, amun asal. Tapi uluh wayah jituh bara kurik manampayah. / Rayhan: Berarti embat pak? Kenampi tege perubahan bara bihin? / Pak Senty: Dia kutawa jite ndai, uluh menalah pisur ndai, je menelah. amun aturay bara bihin puna jite bara hai. / Rayhan: Amun Pak Senty, melai tiwah bara hai kia? / Pak Senty: Bara hai. Amun uluh Ngaju tapare bara kurik. Narai huangkuh petunjuk kilau jituh. Jatun contoh bara bihin. Puna ikei misek bara pisur asal puna bara je hai. Pak Senty, 1 March 2019, personal communication

⁴⁴ "Te sapi te taheta, bihin te amun dia ulih hadangan, bawui. Jadi kerbau tuh maksud te, je uluh bihin je harus tiwah nampa hadangan te, gawi utus met ute utus jipen asal, uluh kalunen basaluh. Iyoh, gawi kesah bue datu te bihin, awi te je hapa uluh mampatunduk met ute, mampatunduk kare hadangan te je hadangan sawuh, jite hapa pisur ma anu, aran asale te, aran kalunen je asal tuh." Pak Senty, 1 March 2019, personal communication.

Pak Senty: Actually, in the *tiwah* in honour of my late wife, only three pigs were sacrificed.

Rayhan: But if a *tiwah* is held only for one person, only three animals then?

Pak Senty: Yes, three. One for *manggali tulang* - digging the bones, one for *ngecen andau lekas* - day 2, one for *napesan pambak* – the final day, putting the bones in the final resting place). That's it. After that animals are sacrificed for the *nipas pali* - erasing the taboos. So, there may be a lot of pigs from a lot of families. For the wealthy, it is a water buffalo or a cow. For underprivileged people, pigs are adequate. It depends on the material ability of the person. ⁴⁵

I also asked Pak Senty about the betel leaves and the "X" mark on a pig before it is stabbed.

Rayhan: I saw that before a pig is stabbed in its armpit, a family member places betel leaves on it (see Figure 3.9). What is the meaning of that?

Pak Senty: It means that the pig will have a peaceful heart

Rayhan: And also, on the leaves, an "X" mark is written with chalk. What is the meaning of that?

Pak Senty: The "X" mark protects the living; it cannot be controlled by a person after death. If there is no "X" mark, the living could pass out [in the middle of the ceremony] and other bad things could happen. So we avoid this.⁴⁶

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⁴⁵ "Rayhan: Oh, jadi sebenar te telu lah? / Pak Senty: Iyoh, telu. / Rayhan: Tapi are uluh nambah kilau tuh? / Pak Senty: Jadi kan, jakai aku kilau aku bihin niwah ka baling ku hete, telu kungan ih ayung. Itung mun 50 ku tuh kuluk, 50 kali 3? Te, are ampi te ganan are uluh je niwah, are kuluk! / Rayhan: Amun kabuat telu ih? / Pak Senty: Telu ih. Andau hapan menggali tulang, lapas te hapan ngecen andau lekas, limbah te hapan napesan. Jite ih. Limbah te ije hapan nipah pali ndai. Jadi ih. Uluh je manampayah hai te ganan uluh are, gabungan! Kan akan je mampu ulih sapi/hadangan. Akan je dia mampu nah bawui ih. Tergantung kemampuan." Pak Senty, 1 March 2019, personal communication.

⁴⁶ "Rayhan: Nah pas aku manampayah tiwah te, sahindai tusuk bawui melai kelek tuh, tege dawen gehat. Narai arti tuh pak? / Pak Senty: Nah, supaya uluh je handak supaya bahalap atei tuh nah, atei bawui te, liau te dia menyimpan tuh je papa, supaya belaku bersih. / Rayhan: Nah tege ndai tuh melai dawen gehat tuh, tege kapur 'X', narai tuh arti? / Pak Senty: Kapur 'X' tuh supaya itah belum dia ningak liau, dia puji liau model. Tidak dipengaruh gawin almarhum. Kan amun dia 'X' tuh ita je tau kare tujah, macam-macam. Jite memang persyaratan jite. Supaya itah dia kana pengaruh liau." Pak Senty, 1 March 2019, personal communication.



Figure 3. 9 A family member lunges into the sacrificial pig's heart through its armpit, with betel leaves and an "X" marked on them, at of the *tiwah* ceremony in Tewang Rangas village, 2015.

The Qualities of a Pisur, and Priestly Statues

A *pisur* has special rights and privileges in a *tiwah* ceremony as the ceremonial leader amongst adherents of the Hindu-Kaharingan religion in the Tewang Tampang and Tumbang Panggu villages in the Katingan Awa area. They include the right to communicate with the spirits through offerings of yellow rice, and through various spiritual capacities.

The meaning of "pisur" is still unknown, but a text in the sasana kayau language mentions the term pisur tukang tawur, which refers to the pisur's right to scatter behas bahenda - yellow rice in the ceremony as the medium that allows the pisur to communicate with the spirits. Every statement uttered by the pisur is important and final and must be obeyed by all. As Pak Senty, the pisur from Tumbang Panggu village, told me:

To be a pisur is not a matter of intelligence. It is an ability to understand the ancestors. Raja Bunu, came from Batu Nindang Tarung [heaven], and held our ancestral ceremonies. So the *tiwah* ceremony comes from there [heaven].⁴⁷

Further, according to Pak Napin from Handiwung village, to become a pisur is not an easy job. He or she first has to be authorised by the Hindu-Kaharingan Council/Majelis Pisur/Basir Agama Hindu-Kaharingan of Kabupaten Katingan, in a small town called Kasongan, located on the Katingan River. After becoming a legal pisur, the man or woman is given a stamp to legitimise his or her status at a formal event, such as a wedding (see Figure 3.10):



Figure 3. 10 Pak Senty's stamp on becoming the *pisur* of Tumbang Panggu village.

A pisur must be able to remember every word used in a ritual, especially in the tiwah ceremony. Pak Senty told me that a pisur has to read from a book whenever he or she mentions the spirits. As he told me:

Rayhan: I really admire a pisur who is able to remember all [the words] in a hanteran, ngapetik ceremony. How many words are in his or her head?

Pak Senty: Many!

Rayhan: What I understand so far is that a *pisur* has to memorise all the words?

⁴⁷ "Jadi pisur te dia mahapan kepintaran, ie kan harus mengerti leluhur, leluhur asal nga Lewu Batu Nindan Tarung maniwah hiang tau ie Raja Bunu bihin, jadi tiwah tuh asal bara batang ngambu kanih", Pak Senty, 1 March 2019, Tumbang Panggu. Personal communication.

Pak Senty: True. For example, a *mahanteran* (a ritual in a *tiwah* ceremony to deliver the souls of the deceased to heaven) is unable to read a book. All the words are already here [pointing his head]. Words to deliver souls of the deceased back to Hatalla [God] are there inside the head. Except in the *ngapetik* (a ritual in a *tiwah* ceremony), however, [the *pisur*] has to use a book

Rayhan: Then in the *ngapetik*, the *pisur* is able to read a book?

Pak Senty: Yes. We anticipate any mistake, the numbers [of the spirits], start from upriver and go to downriver, from the river to the ground, up all over the place.

Rayhan: No [spirits] can be forgotten, not even one?

Pak Senty: No! In the *tapetik tiwah*, there are 160 [spirits] who have to be fed [honoured]!

I was able to hear the names of half the spirits when Pak Senty led the *mambayar* hajat malabuh balai samburup ritual in his house. But during the interview, he only mentioned a few of them.

The Power of the Pisur

To Hindu-Kaharingan believers, the *pisur* has power not only over the people, but also the spirits. Pak Senty mentioned that it is important that a *pisur* have an invisible body guardian (*palindung bereng*) for protection from bad spirits who want to attack him. He said that it is only the *pisur* who is able to invite all the spirits to come to a ceremony or a ritual, but then they have to be fed. Inviting the spirits is important because after they have been fed, not only will they not interfere in the ceremonial event but they will also help the families and members of the *tiwah* ceremony stay safe. As he told me:

Pak Senty: When we are holding a *tiwah*, we sacrifice a lot of animals so that we are able to invite guests to come from other villages. But if we invite them to come and then only sacrifice one chicken? That's not enough! They [the spirits] cannot [be expected to] eat only one chicken!

Rayhan: Oh, that is true.

Pak Senty: It is important to have enough food for them to eat. If we call them to come but there is nothing left for them, they will get angry because they are hungry, right?

Rayhan: So, if we sacrifice more animals, will they be more likely to come?

Pak Senty: Yes, for example in the *tiwah* ceremony in Luwuk [Tewang Tampang village] the other day, there were 26 cows and buffaloes. We were not embarrassed to invite all the [spirits] in Katingan, for they would not go hungry.

Rayhan: So, all of the spirits from Katingan came?

Pak Senty: Yes, from Katingan [river area], Kahayan, Barito, all of them came. The *Talun Kambe* [one of the most powerful spirits] also came.

Rayhan: So, a *pisur* may not be careless about that?

Pak Senty: True. Like I told you, if we invite people to come from everywhere, it is not appropriate if we only serve them insufficient food.⁴⁸

In that conversation, Pak Senty made clear by example from the *tiwah* ceremony that he led as the primary *pisur* in Tewang Tampang village in 2018, that a *pisur* must be able to feed all the spirits – both kind and evil, though powerful. Feeding the two lots of spirits requires different foods and ritual. The *pisur* must give the kind spirits a bowl of rice mixed with pork, betel nut and betel leaf, and he must scatter the rice grains by reciting (actually remembering) their names (see figure 3.11). For the evil spirits it is completely different. They are given a bowl of rice mixed with pig's blood and the *pisur* has to throw the rice while reciting the evil spirits' names (see figure 3.12). This ritual is also known as *ngapetik*.

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⁴⁸ "Pak Senty: Kan ita tiwah, mampatei metu hai, mampatei metu berpuluh-puluh, kan ita ulih mangundang uluh tetangga pire-pire lewu tetangga. Coba ikau mangundang itah, mampatei manuk kilau jituh? Dia tau atun kinan ewen! / Rayhan: Oh, iyau lah / Pak Senty: Sesuai umba je mampatei, kilau pulut, sesuai kinan luse! Amun ewen tepanggil dia kuman, jite maka besingi ie belau kan? / Rayhan: jadi amun semakin hai itu mampatei metu, semakin hai kia uluh uluh dumah / Pak Senty: iyoh, kilau Luwuk (Tewang Tampang village) male kan, sapi en hadangan te 26 kungan, ita di mahamen biar mengundang seluruh uluh Katingan, dia belau ewen te. / Rayhan: jadi kilau uluh Katingan te uras dumah lah? / Pak Senty: Dumah! Bara Katingan, bara Kahayan, Barito, uras male. Kilau je talun kambe nah. / Rayhan: Awi, dia tau sembarang berarti pisur lah? / Pak Senty: Dia tau sembarangan. Makanya pisur te je kuangkuh te amun mangundang patei manuk ije due kungan, ngundang bara kanih kate, dia pas, kan dia sesuai amun nyundau." Pak Senty, personal communication, 1 March 2019



Figure 3. 11 Babak, the *pisur pangapit* carrying out the *ngapetik* ritual while reading (actually remembering) the spirits' names from a book during the *ngalangkang pambak* ceremony in Tewang Tampang village, 17 February 2019.

However, a senior *pisur* also requires assistance from another *pisur*, who could be a senior or a junior *pisur*. The *pisur pangapit* (assistant) is important because the *pisur* has to carry out many tasks and they must be done correctly without any mistakes. If there is even one mistake in a ceremony or ritual, the *pisur* will have to take responsibility. That is why in every *tiwah* ceremony, the primary *pisur* needs to be assisted by one or two *pisur*. The primary *pisur* handles the difficult tasks, such as opening the *pambak*, *hanteran*, or *ngapetik*, which involves handling both the kind and the evil (yet powerful) spirits. The *pisur pangapit* takes care of other duties such as sacrificing animals, assisting the families of the deceased while digging up the bones (*manggali tulang*), and other less complicated tasks. But then, if the *pisur pangapit* encounters any difficulties, they have to consult immediately with the primary *pisur* so that he or she will take care of the problem.



Figure 3. 12 Susilo, the *pisur pangapit* doing a *ngapetik* ritual to feed evil spirits in *ngalangkang pambak* ceremony in Tewang Tampang village, 17 February 2019.

Other skills that have to be mastered by the *pisur* include carrying out the *manenung* ritual, i.e a ritual held when a *pisur* is unsure about what to do on a particular occasion. For example, Susilo (I call him Bang Silo) told me that a lady came to his house from a neighbouring village. She dreamt that her daughter, who had passed away a couple months earlier, came to her in the dream and criticized a ritual carried out by a *pisur* from another area. She and her family then discussed the dream and decided to consult Bang Silo as a *pisur*. Bang Silo invited me to join the meeting in that village and I documented the *manenung* ritual, as follows.

After obtaining a bowl of rice mixed with henda (turmeric) called behas bahenda (yellow rice), some coconut oil (undus), and some fermented rice wine (baram), the pisur asked the spirits for a long spear (sipet) in rattan twine. He then stretched out both hands to pick up the spear. If the spirit agrees, the pisur's left index finger will be able to pick up the spear, if not he will be unable to do so. As Bang Silo told me, the spirit decides whether to "lengthen" or "shorten" his muscle. Figure 3.13 shows Bang Silo holding the spear under his chin. Finally, Bang Silo fixed a decoration that is needed in a ritual, which had done incorrectly by a previous pisur. The manenung ritual is also carried out at the beginning of

another *tiwah* ritual: *manggantung mangkuk sahur tiwah*, to make a decision (see figure 3.13).

The *manenung* ritual showcases the *pisur*'s ability to communicate with, ask questions of, and instruct the spirits about the meaning of a dream, and even ask about something which does not make sense to most people.



Figure 3. 13 Bang Silo holding the spear in the manenung ritual in Tumbang Liting village, 20 March 2019.

Male, Female, Senior and Junior Pisurs

I met many male *pisurs* in the Katingan River region, especially in the Katingan Awa area, and one female *pisur* by the name of Indu Supri in Tumbang Liting village. Pak Senty mentioned that back in the past, there was no mention of female *pisurs* in the Katingan River area. There are a few junior *pisurs* novices in the Katingan Awa area who serve the needs of local villagers if a senior *pisur* is unable to attend, though their inferior knowledge usually requires assistance from a senior *pisur*.

What Happens when the Soul leaves the Body?

Once the soul (*liau*) leaves the body, it is believed that it stays on earth until a *tiwah* ceremony is held. There are two stages that the soul has to pass through to reach heaven (*lewu tatau*) in the Katingan Awa.

The First Stage: *Matei* (Dead)

After dying, a person's corpse is put in a coffin (*pati kakurung*) until the night before being buried in the ground. The *matei* stage consists of many steps under the direction from the *pisur*. A family member has to organise the whole process and obey the rules.

If an unnatural death occurs, a special additional ritual is needed at the *matei* stage. For example, after a woman hanged herself – committed suicide (*patei arep*) – in Tumbang Liting in February 2019, the ritual, called *mangayau* or *mambaleh bunu*, needed to be carried out to kill the evil spirits who were believed to have caused the death. The ritual is also carried out in the case of a drowning (*matei buseng*), death from being crushed by a fallen tree (*tinggang kayu*), or other unnatural death. The *matei* begins with the *basarah*, during which the family members and relatives pray and listen to the *pisur* preach. This is followed by the *puar Kambe* ritual to get rid of the evil spirits in every corner of the house by waving a fire torch held by several people, especially near the corpse. According to Bang Silo, the last ritual is the above-mentioned *mangayau*, in which the family members kill the evil spirits who inhabit the trees, water, the house, even inside inanimate objects and who are believed to have caused the death, i.e. interfered in the soul's journey to heaven. In the *mangayau* rituals that I saw in Tumbang Liting and Telangkah villages, the family members stabbed the evil spirits represented by a coconut (*enyuh*) decorated as a human skull in the place where the victim died (see Figure 3.14).



Figure 3. 14 The family members of a deceased person stabbing the *enyuh* that represents the evil spirit in the place where the person died.

The Second Stage: Manawekas and Mangubur

After a person dies, a few rituals called *manawekas* are carried out in the morning, until noon. The final stage of the *matei* is the *mangubur* meaning the burial of the corpse. Then the family has to wait until the body of the corpse has decomposed, i.e. only the bones remain. Then it is ready for the *tiwah* ceremony.

The Final Stage: The Ceremony in the *Tiwah* Ritual Space

The final stage - the "main event" – usually takes three days in the Katingan River area, but the preparation begins around three months beforehand (see Figures 3.1 to 3.3). In this final stage, the *pisur* sends the soul (or souls) of the dead to heaven (*lewu tatau*) through several complex rituals. These occur in special places in the Katingan Awa area

The rituals may take only a day, but if they are held in a number of ritual sites, they may take around three days. Their aim is to help the family grieve, not to address the soul of the dead.

Pasar Sawawulu

The cosmological centre of the *tiwah* ceremony, the centre of all creation, is called *pasar sawawulu*. The *pasar pawawulu* is the most important place in the ceremonial area. The primary *pisur* and the *pisur pangapit* build a sacred ornament made from a bunch of bamboo poles that have been decorated with many kinds of fabrics and flags. Those bamboo poles are formed into a circle and decorated with many ornaments.

The pasar pawawulu is known as sangkaraya amongst the Ngaju people in the Kahayan or Kapuas River area. The term pasar pawawulu is only used and understood in the Katingan Awa area. The pasar sawawulu that I saw in Tewang Rangas village in 2015 was located in front of the huma eka tiwah with a small pasar sawawulu inside it. There are two pasar sawawulu: one is inside the huma eka tiwah and the other one in the ceremonial area. According to Pak Senty, all the participants in a tiwah ceremony are obliged to circle the pasar sawawulu at least three times, with guests and other outsiders able to join in, though not circle the pasar sawawulu inside the house. Circling the pasar sawawulu inside the huma eka tiwah is only meant for the family members. The participants circle around the pasar sawawulu and the animals – the buffaloes and cows tied to the wooden poles – that are to be sacrificed, after a direction by the pisur.

While circling the *pasar sawawulu*, the participants drink *baram* served by the family members, who also brush the participants' heads with water and coconut oil, and finally put

uncooked rice on their heads. The rice represents life and strengthens people's souls against evil spirits. This ritual is called *semenget*.



Figure 3. 15 The family members of the *tiwah* ceremony performing the *manganjan* dance as they circle around the *pasar sawawulu* in the centre of the area in Tewang Rangas village, 2015.

The male family members dance around the *pasar pawawulu* wearing traditional hats (*lawung*), with the *pisur* wearing a special hat (*salutup*). The females wear a scarf (*salendang*) and a traditional hat of the Ngaju (*lawung*) as well. In Tewang Rangas village, the family members and committee wore a uniform made from yellowish *batik*. Those who wanted to join in the dancing had to wear a *sirau* (a wrist band), and possibly a carnelian stone bracelet (*lamiang*), or they could give a coin covered in red fabric and put it on their wrist. These items are believed to protect the participants from any evil spirits who might want to attack them.



Figure 3. 16 The tiwah family members from Tewang Rangas village help one of the guests put on a sirau.

After I joined in the circle dance, the *pasar pawawulu*, in Tewang Rangas village, I was told that I had taken a risk because I was not wearing any protection from the evil spirits. So a family member made me a *sirau*, and said I should have worn it from the beginning but better late than never. As a male I should also have brought and worn a sword-like weapon, a *mandau* or *duhung*. *Mandau* are found in most parts of Kalimantan, while *duhung* originally came from Central Kalimantan, especially from along the Kahayan, Kapuas, and Katingan Rivers, and is mentioned in the *Panaturan* book referred to above.

The Manganjan Dance

The name of the *manganjan* dance refers to the performance style of this circle dance around the *pasar sawawulu*. The musicians in the gong ensemble decide on the tempo for the participants' movements, which are supposed to be 'not too slow and not too fast'', according to Bang Silo. The piece of music does not have a title; it is simply known as *manganjan* music, and once the musicians are asked to play *manganjan* music, they immediately understand what they need to play.

Balai Raung

The *balai raung* is the place where the bones of the deceased rest for two nights before they enter the final resting place prior to burial (*pambak*). *Balai* means "house" and *raung* is the Katingan Acu word for coffin. It is constructed from one piece of wood, and carved into a boat-like shape without using modern technology. The *balai raung* has to face the *huma eka tiwah*, and look across the river.

The Katingan Awa people call a standard coffin a *pati kakurung*, meaning "a place in which a body rests", not a *raung*. As has been mentioned, the family members are not allowed to sleep as they watch over the bones in the batik-covered coffin all night with the skull facing the *pambelum* direction (of sunrise). However, Pak Napin said that the family members are able to sleep while watching over the bones. The *tiwah* family are exhausted by now, so musicians from a neighbouring village play the gong ensemble in a corner of the *balai raung* to honour the host and make his job easier.

Huma Eka Tiwah

The *huma eka tiwah* is the central house for every activity in a *tiwah* ceremony. This house is located in front of the *pasar sawawulu* and the *balai raung*. This is also where they put the most important gong ensemble to accompany the *manganjan* dance. Inside a *huma eka tiwah*, there is also a smaller *pasar sawawulu* that is meant only for the *manganjan* dance by the inner members of the family group. The gong ensemble inside is hung on poles in the house, and in the front of the house, many "X" or "+" symbols are written in white chalk. Pak Senty said that this is to protect the family members from evil spirits.



Figure 3. 17 The small *pasar sawawulu* inside the *huma eka tiwah* with the *gandang ahung* hanging in the background.

Sapundu

A sapundu is a male or female human or animal figure representing the deceased. It is carved from a piece of wood and placed vertically on the ground [Figure 3.18]. It is the last ornament left after a tiwah ceremony has finished, following which it has to be relocated near the pambak of the family to which it belongs. Sapundu are mostly decorated with many colours, mostly balimé (the five colours known amongst the Katingan people). It is prohibited to touch the sapundu in the tiwah ceremony or the pre- or post- event unless one wears a sirau, for protection against the evil spirits.



Figure 3. 18 The *sapundu* in the Tewang Rangas village in 2015.

Laluhan

Laluhan means an act by neighbouring villagers to help the grieving family members at a tiwah ceremony. It usually involves bringing food or goods in a large boat from another village. It serves as a means to repay the neighbouring village's debt to the grieving family who helped them at one of their tiwah. After the neighbours arrive with their gifts, the family members give them a ritual welcome and allow their leader to cut a piece of wood with a mandau. Then, flour or other substances are scattered over the neighbours or rubbed onto them as a sign of welcome and invited to join the ceremony.

Pambak

Pambak is like a grave, decorated in several colours and usually situated in a cluster at the back of the village. However, the deceased's bones are not lowered into the ground. They are put inside a small wooden house into which many pati kakurung are placed until it is full. In the final stage of a tiwah ceremony the bones are moved from the balai raung to the pambak. Only the pisur has the power to open the pambak. Other people cannot for fear of being cursed (tulah) by the spirits.

Bukung

A *bukung* is the representation of a slave (*jipen*) in a *tiwah* ceremony and in the upperworld. The Katingan Awa people believe that *jipen* will be their servants in the upperworld. Each *bukung* wears a decorated mask, and his body is covered in coarse fabrics. I ask Pak Senty about this:

Rayhan: What is the meaning of bukung, Pak?

Pak Senty: A *bukung* is the servant/slave (*jipen*) of the soul of the deceased (*liau*). He gives "food" to human beings. For example, I have a slave whom I can order to do what I say. Most of our ancestors were not interested in being a *bukung*; they tended to avoid being a slave of the deceased. Therefore, they decorate a statue to look like a *kambe* (ghost) instead.

Rayhan: But what is the function of a *bukung* in a *tiwah* ceremony? Just to frighten people?

Pak Senty: No, people who have not seen them get scared. So that interests' people to come and see them.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ "Rayhan: Jadi amun bukung te narai tuh pak? / Pak Senty: Bukung? Nah! Bukung tuh amun sejarah, pembantu liau melai lewu tatau akan jipei kelakuan uluh hetuh, mampahata kalunen, kan kilau aku, tege jipen lewar, tege kan nunjuk uluh ikau kan anu, ngguan anu anu. Pesuruh! Jipen kuai uluh hetuh. Awi te sebagian te uluh bihin, dia handak maname bukung te. Kalahan uluy ita akan jipen liau, akan pesuruh liau. Nah makanya, uluh je manampa te kilau talun, kambe! / Rayhan: Tapi amun fungsi bukung melai tiwah te narai? Sekedar mamikeh uluh? / Pak Senty: Dia, puna uluh te, uluh dia puji nampayah mikeh ie. Supaya pengaruh te, kilau talun model kan, beci nampayah taluh." Pak Senty, personal communication, 1 March 2018.



Figure 3. 19 Bukung wearing masks at a tiwah in Tewang Rangas.

Lewu Tatau (Prosperous Village)

Prosperous Village (heaven), is described in Hindu-Kaharingan sources. One description translates as: "Prosperous Village of Gold Sand, of Diamond Beaches, Carpeted with Silk, of Jasper Pebbles, Heaps of Jasper Beads, Grand Place Where Bones Never Decay Carrying the Burden of the Glorious Flesh, Where the Muscles Never Tire"50 (Schiller 1997:30).

Summary

This chapter has described the various rituals of a tiwah ceremony and its meanings based on my ethnographic field studies in the Katingan Awa area, supported by explanations of the Hindu-Kaharingan cosmology and creation myth as described by previous anthropologists and my key informants in the field, especially in Tewang Tampang village.

In Chapter Four Part one, I will focus on the place of the primary musical instruments of the gandang ahung ensemble played in a tiwah ceremony, including the instrumentation and the style of the pieces that are performed in a tiwah and other events. Part II will focus on the vocal music.

⁵⁰ Lewu Tatau Habaras Bulau, Habusung Hintan, Hasahep Bati Lantimpung, Hakarangan Bawak Lamiang, Hapasir Manas Marajan Bulau-Lewu Tatau Dia Rumpung Tulang Rundung Raja Isin, Dia Kamalesu Uhat.

Chapter Four: The Instrumental and Vocal Music in the Katingan Awa area, with particular reference to their roles in the *Tiwah* Death Ceremony

Jadi filosofi tiwah konsep masyarakat Dayak ini, cinta kasih, kasih sayang ini bukan hanya di mulut, tapi sampai tulang belulang leluhur kita, orang tua kita itu, kita sucikan, kita bersihkan, kita upacarai...lalu taruh di sandung sampai beberapa ribu keturunan dia masih bisa melihat itu. Kalau konsep perkawinan, dalam rumusan orang kaharingan "sampai taluh entang tulang", artinya perkawinan itu hanya dipisahkan oleh kematian, dan dihubungkan dengan kasih sayang terhadap tiwah itu. Proses tiwah itu mengembalikan kita kepada tempat asal kita. Kita lahir dari rahim ibu, kita dikembalikan kesitu... inti tiwah itu menyambungkan tali pusat.

The philosophy of the *tiwah* ceremony amongst the Dayak people represents love. Love for our ancestors, our deceased parents. When we take part in a *tiwah* we purify and cleanse their bones and place them safely in their final resting place, the *sandung*, so that thousands of their descendants can see and revere them. Weddings also represent the concept of love – as we [Hindu] Kaharingan believers say: *sampai taluh entang tulang*, a couple are separated only by death, and in this sense married love is connected to the *tiwah*. We are born of our mother's uterus and return to it at death. The *tiwah* reconnects us to the umbilical cord.

-Pak Parada, personal communication, 26 December 2014

Pak Parada's words echoed in my mind as I searched for the essential meaning of the *tiwah* death ceremony for the Katingan Awa people. The *tiwah* is a complex ceremony led by a spiritual leader. It has many ritual parts that must be performed in a proscribed order, with some parts affording a special role for the musicians playing the *gandang ahung* gong

ensemble and the performers of the sasana kayau vocal music, according to ways of the ancestors.

This chapter is in two parts: (i) Instrumental music and (ii) Vocal Music in their respective social and ritual contexts.

In Part 1, I will describe the gong ensemble and its musical role and style, and in Part 2, I will describe the vocal music. My data includes explanations from many informants as well as my own observations as a participant in various contexts, but especially in a monthlong *tiwah* ceremony that I attended in Tewang Tampang village in 2018. My accounts are also informed by my audio and audio-visual recordings of the gong ensemble and the vocal music in several villages, and interviews that I held with artists and spiritual leaders about the music. I was able to obtain some valuable mobile phone footages of the music and its ceremonial adjuncts from several villagers in the area between January and March 2019, including a whole *tiwah* ceremony and other events in my field area.

Part I: The Instrumental Music

Introduction to the Gandang Ahung Ensemble

Gandang ahung is the name of the instrumental ensemble in the Katingan Awa area of Central Kalimantan. The ensemble is known by different names in the Kahayan or Kapuas River areas – i.e. gandang garantung or garantung although its instruments are the same. It consists of a long frame drum called gandang made of tawelien (iron wood); three suspended gongs called the upui placed to the right, two suspended gongs called tokeng on the left, and four tiny gongs called kakanung framed in a wooden case and played on the floor⁵¹. The gongs are made of a bronze alloy. According to the people in Tewang Tampang village, the gongs first appeared through trade with merchants from the Majapahit Empire in Java (1293 – ca. 1527 CE), in exchange for their ancestors' heirlooms, and they have always played a crucial role in the tiwah and other ritual ceremonies of the Hindu-Kaharingan religion.

According to Pak Ayu, the drum (gandang) is quite easy to make, but the gongs and the kangkanung, which are particularly expensive and valuable, cannot be made locally. Thus, when sanggars and other arts-oriented groups need to acquire gongs, they order new ones from gamelan makers in Java or Bali.

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⁵¹ There are no gong-making foundries in Kalimantan, as far as I am aware.

However, some artists in Central Kalimantan are not satisfied with the finish, timbre, tuning and appearance of these gongs. They greatly prefer the gongs inherited from their ancestors, which they say have a much more authentic sound and greater sustaining power. Pak Senty had to buy his small *upui* gong from a Tewang Derayu villager for about six million rupiah (approximately \$600 AUD). Usually a *pisur* borrows gongs from an elder in the village where the ceremony is held, or if they own any, they bring those.

Some informants told me that over the decades the elders of many poor families had to sell their *gandang ahung*, especially the *upui* and the *tokeng* gongs, to people who live outside Kalimantan. They also said that many gongs were lost to collectors who gathered heirlooms and later sold them to collectors outside Indonesia. Most people sold the gongs because they could command a good price and they needed the money, or because they no longer officially adhered to their ancestral Hindu-Kaharingan religion and its practices since they had been converted to another religion (Christianity or Islam). I heard that some of the elders who were converted threw their gongs into the Katingan River.

Accordingly, there are not many gongs left in the Katingan Awa area. Elders who own gongs write their names in the rims so that if they are lent for playing in a ceremony, they are not mixed up with other owners' gongs. They also drill holes in the wooden *kakanung* stand from which the gongs are suspended so that they will not fall off.

Pak Senty said he uses a gong as a place on which to sit in a *tiwah* ceremony, by covering the gong with a fabric in a particular ritual. He explains that the gong gives him the strength and power to face the spirits in the ceremony.

Two gandang ahung are played in a tiwah ceremony. One is set up in the balai raung, and the other in the huma eka tiwah. Both ensembles play a similarly important role: to accompany the manganjan dance. The first ensemble accompanies the dance only for the family members of the tiwah ceremony, and the second one accompanies the whole tiwah ceremony, for all the participants. There are no dedicated musicians who play the gandang ahung. Male or female can play in a ritual as long as they understand the techniques, style and repertoire of the set. Even the toddlers in the village play at times.

The essential instruments in the *gandang ahung* in the Katingan Awa area are the *gandang*, *upui*, *tokeng*, and *kakanung*, and the optional instruments are the *tarai* and *neng neok*.

I will now explain the instruments' ergology and playing techniques, one by one.

The Gandang

The people in Katingan Awa, including the drum maker Pak Ayu from Tumbang Panggu, said that it is quite easy to make this instrument. Cut a branch from a tree, cut it into a drum shape, carved the inside and make it hollowed, and cover one end with the skin of a water buffalo or cow.

The *gandang* player leads the team of musicians in the sense that he decides on the tempo of a performance. The *gandang* player sits on top of the drum and beats it between his or her legs, producing only two sounds, each with onomatopoeic names: *duk* and *tak* (Figure 4.1).



Figure 4. 1 The *gandang* player sitting on his long drum, as he beats its skin head between his legs in Tewang Tampang village.

The Upui

Upui is the name of the set of three suspended bronze gongs that are located to the right of the large suspended gongs. All three *upui* are played by the one person, with the left *upui* beaten by his or her left hand and the centre and right *upui* by the right. The *upui* provides a low frequency bass sound that is not, however, sustained. Usually the player beats mainly on the right and centre *upui* when he/she wants to change the tune and the feel of the *manganjan*. In the *ngarerek*⁵² piece, the player does not play the left *upui* at all, while in the *manganjan* piece, the player plays the left, centre, and right *upui* together to produce a wide

⁵² This *gandang ahung* type of music is not played in a *tiwah* ceremony.

range of low frequency sounds. However, most of the *upui* in the villages I went to were cracked and in poor condition, though they had no choice but to play them. Pak Ande's *upui* in Luwuk Kanan village even had the words "please do not hit it hard" (*jangan memukul keras*) written on each gong to make it known that the instruments were valuable even though cracked and had to be played in the ritual. In fact, the *upui* are the most fragile of the instruments, most of which are inherited from the ancestors, over the generations.



Figure 4. 2 The three *upui* at Pak Mumus's house in Tewang Tampang village.

The *upui* are beaten with wooden sticks covered at one end with rubber so that the wood does not touch the bronze surface and produces a low frequency sound. Right after they beat the *upui* they also dampen the sound by touching them with their sticks. The same technique is used when beating the *tokeng*.

The Tokeng

Tokeng is the name of the pair of gongs that are smaller than the *upui* and located to the left of the three *upui* (Figure 4.3). They are played by one musician, who holds them with his left hand while striking them with the rubber-covered end of a wooden stick on his right so that its sound, at medium-low pitch, is not sustained, unlike the sound of the *upui*, which is less resonant. Usually in the middle of a piece, the player beats the right *tokeng* three times

before his or her hand moves to the left to produce syncopated, interlocking rhythms with the *upui* player. The *tokeng* player plays a unique rhythmic role in the ensemble.



Figure 4. 3 Pak Mura plays the two tokeng at Pak Senty's house in Tumbang Panggu village.

The Kakanung

The *kakanung* is a set of four kettle gongs resting on crossed cords in a wooden frame on the floor (Figure 4.4). Unlike the *upui* and *tokeng*, they are beaten with a pair of wooden sticks without any rubber covering. There are only a few musicians who really know how to play the *kakanung* properly. Once the players knew many melodic formulae called *mamang* that they played expertly on the zinc instruments with the *upui* and *tokeng*, but unfortunately few of the *mamang* are remembered now in the Katingan Awa area. Some players strike the instrument with a fork, a spoon, or any other 'mallet' at hand. In the *ngarerek* pieces, two, three, or four people play the instrument together in order to produce a louder and more percussive sound. Like the *upui* and *tokeng*, almost all of the *kakanung* I inspected are in poor condition.



Figure 4. 4 Pak Ayu plays the kakanung at Pak Senty's house in Tumbang Panggu village.

Additional Information about the Gandang Ahung

There are two types of bronze *upui* and *tokeng* gongs in the Katingan Awa area: the thick (*lisung*) and the thin (*papan*). The thin type is now rare: I found the *papan* type only in one village: Tumbang Liting (Figure 4.5).

Due to the rarity of the gongs amongst the Katingan Awa nowadays, most people use whatever *upui* and *tokeng* they can find and combine them with other available *gandang* ahung instruments to make a set. According to Pak Ayu, most people in the past usually possessed just one set of *gandang* ahung. A complete set is known as *pajak*. Most are tuned to specific pitches that I will explain in the Chapter Five.



Figure 4. 5 The papan (the left) and the lisung (the two on the right) from Tumbang Liting.

Two Rarely Found Instruments in the Gandang Ahung

Two instruments called *neng neok* and *tarai* were once played in the Katingan Awa *gandang ahung* ensemble, but are now very rare.

The Neng Neok

I heard about this instrument from many people in Palangka Raya and the Katingan Awa area, but my initial searches for it were in vain. Some people told me that they had sold their neng neok heirloom for a high price because they believed it was made from a mixture of bronze and gold. Eventually when I asked the people in Tumbang Panggu village about it I was told that an elderly man named Pak Awim still owns a gandang ahung. When I met him, he told me that he keeps his instruments in a safe place. He brought his neng neok from its hiding place and showed it to me (Figure 4.6). I am convinced that it was a real neng neok and that Pak Awim is the only person who still has one in the Katingan Awa area. It is also mentioned in a sentence in the sasana kayau language: neng neok takung undang, meaning "a neng neok is shaped like a shrimp."

A somewhat similar instrument is found in archaic Javanese gamelan ensembles, where it is known as a *kemanak* (and other local names). It dates back to the Hindu-Javanese era, and

is referred to in ancient Javanese literature, including the 12th century CE Vrtta (Kunst 1973:180-182). However, in Java the *kemanak* usually consists of a pair of hollow bananashaped bronze instruments, not a single instrument as in the Katingan Awa area. The *neng neok* 's shape somewhat resembles that of a single Javanese *kemanak*, but the *neng neok* that I found in Tumbang Panggu village is much bigger than the two Javanese *kemanak* disks that I saw in the Music Archive of Monash University (MAMU), Figure 4.7.

The *neng neok* is played in a very different way from a pair of Javanese *kemanak*. Pak Awim showed me how to play it in Tumbang Panggu village. Figure 4.6 shows how he held the *neng neok*. He covered one side of the split in its concave surface with his hand and beat out rhythms on it with a stick made of wood to produce the high-pitched sound. The performance style resembles that of the *kakanung*, but the rhythms he produced are different.

Unfortunately, Pak Awim was unwell and in bed at the time, and I could not ask him to play his *neng neok* with a complete *gandang ahung* ensemble. Fortunately, I was able to play back several *gandang ahung* pieces that I had recorded in other villages on my mobile phone through my Bluetooth speaker, and I asked Pak Awim to play his *neng neok* along with my recordings. Once he started to play, I recorded him on audio and video. Later when I combined his recordings and the *gandang ahung* ensemble, I found that the *neng neok* sound paired well with the *kakanung*'s.



Figure 4. 6 Pak Awim playing the *neng neok* at his house at Tumbang Panggu village.



Figure 4. 7 A pair of Javanese kemanak from Central Java, photo in the Music Archive of Monash University.

The Tarai

The *tarai* is a flat gong that is also quite rare in the Katingan area; few people still include it in a *gandang ahung* ensemble. It seems likely that this instrument produces the longest sounds amongst the gongs in the ensemble, approximately 20 seconds.

Pak Dio from Luwuk Kanan village showed me his *tarai*, which was in good condition (Figure 4.8). He keeps it locked away with the rest of his *gandang ahung* ensemble in an unused house together with several broken gongs. I recorded performances on the *tarai* and the other instruments (except the *gandang*) one at a time. This was the only occasion that I saw a *tarai* in all the villages I went to. The *tarai* is an additional instrument like the *neng neok* in the *gandang ahung* ensemble and not necessarily needed in the ensemble nowadays.



Figure 4. 8 The tarai at Pak Dio's house in Luwuk Kanan village.

Two pieces played on the Gandang Ahung in a Tiwah Ceremony.

The two musical pieces played on the *gandang ahung* in a *tiwah* ceremony – the *manganjan* and the *ngarerek* – are distinguished from each other by their function and tempo.

The Manganjan

Manganjan is the name of a compulsory piece of sacred music in the manganjan ritual. It is played to accompany the traditional manganian circle dance by the mourners in a slow, steady tempo (approximately 90 bpm) for as long as the pisur instructs them to, without any variations or improvisations. When the family members and other mourners dance around an animal, it is called the manganjan metu, whereas when they dance around the pasar sawawulu, it is called the manganjan pasar sawawulu⁵³.

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⁵³ Personal communication from Pak Napin, the *pisur* from Handiwung village

The Ngarerek

Ngarerek, meaning "fast", is the name of a gandang ahung secular music that has been modified by the younger generation in Tewang Tampang village. The elders describe it as taheta, meaning "a recent modification". Its performance practice differs somewhat from manganian's and does not have any relation at all to a dance. The gandang player beats the drum not only with the hands but also the heels of both feet, and often produces a fast-glissando effect by moving his heel up and down on the skinhead (Figure 4.9), a technique that is also commonly used by Javanese and Sundanese kendang players. A second point of difference is that kakanung kettles are played by more than two adults or even children who beat not only on the boss with various kinds of sticks but also on the rims and other surfaces. As a result, they tend to play polyrhythms, often with everyone playing in different time signatures.



Figure 4. 9 Pak Maya playing a gandang with his heel and hands in Luwuk Kanan village.



Figure 4. 10 Four children play the *kakanung* simultaneously in Tumbang Panggu village. Photo by Kevin Candra Winata

The Combination of Manganjan and Ngarerek

Sometimes musicians combine the *manganjan* and *ngarerek* techniques, including in the *tiwah* ceremony in the Tewang Tampang, where two performers of the *kakanung* play in the *ngarerek* style while the rest play in *manganjan* style. This is acceptable, according to Pak Awim, as long as it is not a *manganjan* piece that they play: it has to be a *ngarerek* piece, *and* the musicians must play slowly and without variations.

I initially found it difficult to distinguish between the two styles because their instrumentation is only slightly different. However, the locals could easily distinguish between the *manganjan* and *ngarerek* styles, and after listening to my audio recordings, I found I could too.

The two Gandang Ahung in Tewang Tampang village

On the day I first arrived in Tewang Tampang, I was told there were two *gandang ahung* ensembles in the village, one of which was owned by Pak Jagau Asne - also known as Pak Mumus - whose home was next to *mama* Busu's house where I was staying. However,

when I visited him on the same day, I found only an incomplete set, comprising two *tokeng*, an *upui* and a *kakanung*. His wife told me that the rest of the instruments had been borrowed and she did not know when they would be returned.

Later the gongs, kettle gongs in a wooden frame, and drum were returned and set up for playing in Pak Mumus' spacious living room together with other heirlooms such as a traditional *pisur's* hat made of rattan skin, and an antique jar (*balanga*). Figure 4.11 shows Pak Mumus (left) playing the *gandang* in his *gandang ahung* ensemble. I was fortunate enough to be able to learn a good deal from him about the instruments, the *adat* (customary law), and the history of the village and the Katingan people. Eventually I recorded three pieces played on his *gandang ahung* ensemble, and I came to realise that Pak Mumus' *gandang ahung* was the more complete of the two in Tewang Tampang village, and one of the best tuned and cleaned sets in all the villages I visited.



Figure 4. 11 Pak Mumus playing the *gandang* with other *gandang ahung* performers in Tewang Tampang village.

The other *gandang ahung* belonged to Bu Erna, but her *gandang ahung* is not a complete set, and contains a newly created gong made in Java.

Part II: The Vocal Music – an Introduction to the Sasana Kayau & Sasana Kayau Pulang

The vocal music performed on story-telling occasions and at sacred ceremonies, including the *tiwah*, is known as *sasana*⁵⁴ *kayau*. In a *tiwah*, its role is to deliver messages to and from the spirits via the *pisur sasana kayau* who recites the words melodically. *Sasana kayau* vocal music is not only well known in the Katingan River area but also along the Kahayan and Kapuas Rivers, and even in the capital city of Central Kalimantan, Palangka Raya.

First, I shall discuss the *sasana kayau* vocal music, which originally comes from Tumbang Panggu village, so it is said. *Sasana* means "story," and according to some people, *kayau* refers to an ancient practice amongst the Dayak people in Kalimantan: head-hunting. These people, then, claim that the *sasana* are head-hunting stories. However, this view is rejected by everyone I met amongst the Katingan Awa.

According to my informants in the Tewang Tampang and Tumbang Panggu villages, the real origin story was as follows. *Sasana Kayau* was once known as *Suasana Kayau Pulang*, the complete title of a story about two siblings called Kayau and Pulang who lived a long time ago in the Sungei Tamiang area, located not far from today's Tumbang Panggu village, according to a map in a genealogical book (*jereh*) owned by Bang Nondoi in Tumbang Panggu (Figure 4.12).

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⁵⁴ During my first visit to the area, I only heard about the vocal music known as *sasana bandar*, which originally came from the Kahayan river area and tells a story about a merchant (*bandar*) and his travels throughout Central Kalimantan. During my first visit to Central Kalimantan in 2015, I recorded a *sasana bandar* excerpt recited by a ceremonial leader (*basir*) called Rabiadi in Palangka Raya. He recited a story in the Ngaju language mixed with the sacred basa *Sangiang* language. He explained that *sasana* means a story, and that the *sasana bandar* is a story about a merchant (*bandar*). Later my friends told me that there is another kind of *sasana* vocal music called *sasana kayau* that is well known in the Katingan River area. I recorded some of this *sasana kayau* vocal music in 2019 and it became part of my research project.

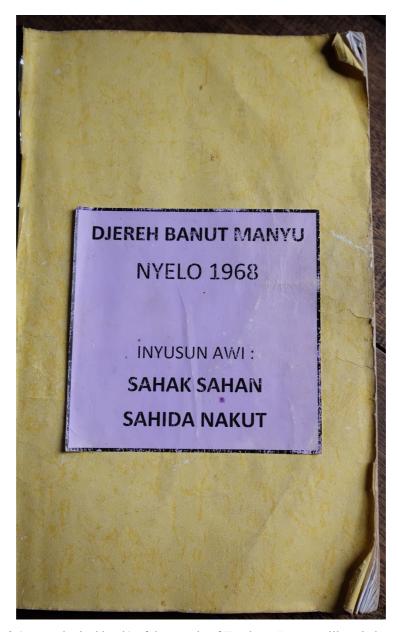


Figure 4. 12 The *jereh* (a genealogical book) of the people of Tumbang Panggu village belonging to Bang Nondoi. The *jereh* was rewritten by another author and reprinted in 1968 for Bang Nondoi and family's sole use.

When a storyteller wants to tell the sacred story about the two siblings Kayau and Pulang, he or she must mention the story's original, full name (*Sasana Kayau Pulang*) and prepare offerings and carry out rituals to appease the spirits who are believed still to live amongst the people in the village. Moreover, the *Sasana Kayau Pulang* story must be recited over three consecutive nights, from mid-evening until midnight. If not, the relator will be cursed (*tulah*) by the spirits.

I tried to interview the only person who was able to recite the *sasana kayau pulang*, in the Katingan Awa area, Indu Er. However, she politely refused to oblige, afraid that

something bad would happen to her. She had mastered the *sasana kayau pulang* by listening to and watching her mother, a late *pisur*, perform the story.

I also heard that the late Bapak Idut, known as Bapa Ucen, was a distinguished bard in Tumbang Panggu village who could perform *sasana kayau pulang* in the right order over the three nights. Several people recorded his performance on cassette tape in the 1980s. I asked his children if they still have the cassettes in their home. Sadly, they said that every cassette recording that they owned was thrown in the river because they thought that the cassettes no longer had any important meaning. They had also got rid of their CD/DVD players by throwing them in the river. Pak Ayu from the village confirmed this as follows:

Pak Ayu: Yes, everything was thrown into the river. Nothing is left

Rayhan: Are you sure? Including the cassettes?

Pak Ayu: Yes. If you want, you can ask the elders in the village. Pak Ucen's recordings have gone. There were three [series of] cassettes if I am not mistaken.⁵⁵

Thus, the term *Sasana Kayau Pulang* became known as *Sasana Kayau*, without the name of the second sibling, *Pulang*. This vocal music is performed in various rituals, including the *tiwah* ceremony amongst the Katingan Awa. The vocal melodies are usually set in a tonal system based on a specific scale, which will be explained in Chapter Five.

Performing the Sasana Kayau

To perform sasana kayau vocal music, at least three skills must be acquired – (i) an ability to improvise quatrains in the Katingan Awa or Katingan Acu dialects, (ii) an ability to improvise appropriate melodic settings for the words in the specific scale, and (iii) an ability to memorise and understand the Katingan Awa or Katingan Acu vocabulary and sasana kayau stories. Thus, proficient performers have to master both the musical and linguistic aspects of improvisation. They must also be able to choose the right register according to their vocal range, which may be a high, medium or low male or female voice. If they fail to start at the right pitch for their voices, the whole sasana kayau performance will lack carrying power and beauty of sound. I shall now discuss the four necessary abilities.

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⁵⁵ Pak Ayu: Iyau, uras nganan pa sungei. Dia basisa ndai tuh. / Rayhan: Oh iyau lah? Termasuk kaset uras te? / Pak Ayu: Iyau, Han. Cuba ikau misek uluh bakas into lewu tuh, hiam kaset Pak Ucen tuh. Tehe telu kaset amun dia sala

An ability to improvise quatrains in the Katingan Awa or Katingan Acu dialects.

The performer needs to be able to improvise textless sections and four or six line verses with the last syllable of each line ending in *ang*. For example, Pak Atin, known as Pak Betut of Telangkah village, dedicated his *sasana kayau* performance to his nephew who had died by drowning, with the following verse, performed in March 2019:

Gawie ngingat ngan**ang**...

Behin usang ma aken rengan tingang...

Puna je pajak pasang kilau ahung gandang...

Je dia pandai sumb**ang**...

Je jadi munduk hatalumbang...

Nutung nak anding salendang tewun tihang...⁵⁶

These words were all spontaneously generated by Pak Betut; they contained metaphorical, indirect meanings. As he remembered sitting with him and drinking *baram* (a local fermented wine), he likened his nephew to a set of *gandang ahung* instruments that cannot be untuned.

While performing, performers of *sasana kayau* usually have only around five to ten seconds to think up the words of the next phrase they will sing, though the experienced performers clearly remember aspects of their past performances and sometimes at least plan certain aspects of their performances in advance.

An Ability to Improvise Appropriate Melodic Settings for the Words in the Specific Tonality or Scale

The specific scale in the *sasana kayau* is really well known amongst the people in Central Kalimantan, including in the Tumbang Panggu and Tewang Tampang villages in the Katingan Awa area, and among the singers of the traditional songs of the Ngaju (called *karungut*), and in the *sasana kayau* vocal music. The performer has to know how to invent the melodies in the specific scale spontaneously, and as long as he or she does so, it is acceptable. The tonal aspects will be explained in Chapter Five.

⁵⁶ "I recall the memory of you, my nephew, looking like a set of *gandang ahung* which cannot be untuned, as we sat together drinking *baram*" (this is a rough translation). I think Pak Betut chose these words to rhyme with *sasana kayau*.

An Ability to Memorise and Understand the Vocabulary in the Katingan Awa or Katingan Acu Dialects and Sasana Kayau Stories

The crucial skill of a performer is an ability to memorise and understand the vocabularies of the Katingan Awu or Katingan Acu dialects, for the same word in one dialect can have another meaning in another dialect. For example, the word "mug" in English is *galas* in the Katingan Awa dialect, but "mug" in the *sasana kayau* language is *galas saranang basugu lamiang* (as in the expression "a mug that shines looks like a *lamiang* - a carnelian stone"). Another example is "sit" or *munduk*, but in the ancestral *sasana kayau* language it is *munduk hatalumbang sapalaki tingang* (sit together and cross the legs). As a consequence of using these long words, the *sasana kayau* is normally performed from 10 minutes to almost half an hour or longer for every performer.

The Structure of a Sasana Kayau

A story-telling type of *sasana kayau* performance consists of three sections: the opening, the main content section, and the closing section. Every section is divided from the others with a *ngawus* – i.e. a standard phrase or filling in phrase in the gaps between stanzas in a *sasana kayau*. The performer's telling of the main story is aided by at least one assistant storyteller and often two or even more.

The Opening Section

An assistant storyteller begins the *sasana kayau* performance with a standard *ngawus* followed by other assistants' *ngawus*, while the main performer privately asks permission of the spirits in the local area to perform the *sasana kay*au, and thinks up the opening words that he plans to narrate in the performance proper.⁵⁷

In this section, the performer may discuss various topics in long, unpredictable sentences, for example telling his or her life story (mangesah pambelum), offering advice about something (manimang), paying respects to the dead (sasana kayau uluh matei), and telling the sasana kayau pulang story, as explained above. He or she will also likely mention the audience and give credit to his assistants in the performance. For instance, in the sasana

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⁵⁷ Personal communication from Pak Millo, 30 January, 2019.

kayau performed by Pak Betut in Telangkah village, Pak Betut spoke about his assistant as follows:

"...Dear Kiris, my late nephew. Here is your uncle Betut. I have to stop my *sasana* performance for a moment to mention that your friend is here from Tewang Rangkang village helping me connect and continue my *sasana* so that he can also express his feelings toward you..."58

The Main Content Section

Then Pak Betut performed the *sasana kayau* for his nephew Kiris who had drowned in Telangkah village. He performed in front of Kiris's grave, witnessed by his family members and close friends. Pak Betut's spontaneous selection words differed from the standard *sasana kayau* because he wanted his own words to be aimed at Kiris. His main message was addressed not only to Kiris's soul but also to his family left behind on earth (*lewu danum injam tingang*).

It is important to note that the performer's melodic narration must contain metaphors and rhymes so that it sounds poetically beautiful, but most significantly, it must touch the hearts of the listeners (*hanjak*). I have seen family members so touched by the words that they cry, or even sob.

The Closing Section

After finishing the main section of the performance, the performer has to let the audience know he or she is going to close the performance. The performer apologises for any shortcomings in the performance, such as unintentionally hurting the feelings of anyone present. The assistant performers then finish the event by performing the last standard *ngawus*. The whole performance may last between five and 30 minutes, depending on the performer's skills as mentioned above.

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⁵⁸ "Iyau aken rengan tingang ku Kiris, situh helu rawei sasanan jang yaku mama apang mu Yapang Betut bangang. Gawi tege kawal dehang mu bara lewu Tewang Rangkang pajak pasang mu bihin usang je tau nyambung ndahang nak rawei lu sasanangkuh mamara huang umba tambung beteng bahuang mu..." (Pak Betut's sasana kayau in front of Kiris grave, March 2019)

Additional Information about the Sasana Kayau

Some of the words sung during a *sasana kayau* are in the Katingan Awa dialect, as the main dialect in the Katingan Awa area, but they may be mixed with Old Ngaju (*basa sangiang*) vocabulary because, as mentioned in Chapter One, the Katingan Awa belong to the Ngaju population. Almost all of the *sasana kayau* words have specific suffixes, such as *-ang*, which are added to the names of villages, verb forms, etc.

As has been mentioned, a sasana *kayau* is only rarely performed without one or two assistant performers, who perform once the main performer finishes, then automatically become the assistants to the next performer. They must be able to narrate standard *ngawus* melodically between the main performer's stanzas, when the main performer takes time to think up the next sentences. That is why the role of the assistants is so important – to allow the main performer time during his performance to compose beautiful lyrics. There is no restriction on the number of assistants who can contribute a *ngawus*.

The assistants sing meaningless sasana kayau syllables such as ooooo, oeeeiii, and finally nanaiii. The combination of these three syllables is not fixed and can be uttered any time. For example, an assistant could start with oooo then go to nanaiii then to ooooeeii, depending on the assistant's decision. However, in numerous sasana kayau performances I noticed that almost all follow the first example above, especially in Tewang Tampang and Tumbang Panggu villages. The assistants stay with the main performer until the performance is over, as directed by the main performer, after which a new piece begins.

A distinguishing characteristic of a *sasana kayau* performance is the *leut*, i.e. the specific accent of the narration uttered by the main performer. The original *leut* that was always used was the accent spoken in Tumbang Panggu. However nowadays, performers have their own *leut*, depending on which elder they follow. As Babak, the *pisur* from Tewang Rangkang explained:

Rayhan: I am curious about the *leut* in the *sasana kayau*. Do the elders influence the

leut?

Babak: Yes. We listen to the elders who can perform the sasana kayau.

Rayhan: Where did the original *leut* come from?

Babak: It is from Tumbang Panggu⁵⁹

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⁵⁹ Rayhan: "Aku panasaran kilau leut melai sasana kayau, berarti tuh tehe pengaruh bara uluh bakas kia?" / Babak: "Tehe, ita mahining bara uluh bakas helu je puna tau masana kayau... tergantung ikau mahining" / Rayhan: "Tapi amun je asli, je suwei leut-leut te?" / Babak: "Bara Tumbang Panggu"

The Types of Sasana Kayau

I have mentioned several types of *sasana kayau* above. Besides the *sasana kayau* pulang, the main type that I documented was the sacred manimang, also known as timang in the villages of the Katingan Awa area where I worked.

Manimang in the Sasana Kayau

People normally request that a *manimang* ceremony be included in a *sasana kayau* when they want to offer advice, for example from a father to a son or daughter so that they may learn from his life experience. Another level or kind of *manimang* is performed when a performer wants to give a *timang* (give advice) to a stranger whom he or she has met. In this case the performer will ask certain details about the stranger – e.g. his name, birthplace, past activities. With these key points the performer can tell a story about him, thus extending the *sasana kayau* by up to half an hour or more, as I experienced in Tewang Tampang village.

My informants introduced me to Indu Semuleng, the *sasana kayau* performer. She asked me to introduce myself, then suddenly began to perform a *sasana kayau manimang* by telling a story about my journey from Australia to Kalimantan, with her sisters narrating standard *ngawus* phrases. The story about me lasted 10 minutes, and it covered all the information I had given her on our first meeting.

It is customary at the beginning of a *manimang* to give the performer a small sum of money, as I experienced in Tewang Tampang village at a post *tiwah* event called the *ngalangkang pambak*, when a deceased's final resting place is cleaned to contain his or her bones. The family members of the deceased requested that a *pisur* named *Babak* from Tewang Rangkang, who was present at the event, perform a *sasana kayau*. The money given to him was a sign of respect to the performer and also acted as a fee (Figure 4.13).



Figure 4. 13 Babak, the *pisur* from Tewang Rangkang village who performed a *sasana kayau manimang* at a *ngalangkang pambak*, post *tiwah* event in Tewang Tampang village. The money he received was placed in front of him, and other money lies under the *baram*.

Practicing the Sasana Kayau

After spending two months in the Katingan Awa area, I met several people who were able to perform the *sasana kayau*, including Pak Senty and Bang Silo, and I asked them to teach me to perform some melodic narrations and explain the meanings of some of the *tiwah*-related terms.

Bang Nondoi, Bang Silo's youngest brother, helped me perform some of the difficult verses in a *sasana kayau*. Once I had mastered them, I performed for Bang Nende. However, I started at too low a pitch for my voice, and right away Bang Nende commented, "That is good, but your voice needs to be in the high register (*sip pas ih, tapi harus tinggi suara tuh*) and your performance needs to be polished. Katingan performers always use a high register so that their voices carry well in the distance."

It is noteworthy also that people from different villages can take part in a *sasana kayau* performance. As Herwandi, the *sasana kayau* performer from Tewang Manyangen Tingang village, explained to me, every *sasana kayau* performance can be "connected" to others' performances. Thus "even someone from afar can immediately join in a performance

of a *sasana kayau* in another village."⁶⁰ I saw this happen during an interview with a *sasana kayau* performer called Donly in his house. As Donly performed his *sasana kayau*, Herwandi arrived and suddenly joined in Donly's performance with a *ngawus*. Later Herwandi started his own *sasana kayau* with a *manimang* performance, in which he gave advice to Donly not to forget his parents' affection for him.

The Role of a Sasana Kayau in a Tiwah Ceremony

When a *sasana kayau* is performed in a *tiwah* ceremony in the Katingan Awa area, it must follow special rules and adopt a special structure. It is the most important and sacred part of the *tiwah*. The main difference between an ordinary *sasana kayau* and a *sasana kayau* in a *tiwah* ceremony is that every word must be selected carefully and performed by someone who has already mastered the art and its spiritual meaning.

Thus, a *sasana kayau* in a *tiwah* is normally performed by a *pisur*, or at least by a person with a full knowledge of the *sasana kayau* in the village. Pak Napin was the *pisur* in the *tiwah* ceremony I attended at Tewang Rangas village in 2015. Although he came from another village in Handiwung, the people in Tewang Rangas trusted him as the ceremonial leader of the *tiwah masal* in their village. Not only did he act as the *pisur*, but he also performed his own *sasana kayau* while he performed the *manganjan* dance. Babak was his assistant or *pisur pangapit* who performed the *ngawus* at first, and he was joined later by Kiris from Tumbang Panggu village⁶¹.

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⁶⁰ Sasana kayau itu bisa connect satu sama lain. Kalau orang dengar dari jauh, langsung bisa merespon dan bergabung, Herwandi, personal communication, January 2019.

⁶¹ Kiris's original name was Kristian, and he was originally from Tumbang Panggu. He was considered to be a maestro of the *sasana kayau* performances in villages along the Katingan river. This was not only because of his beautiful, loud, high-pitched voice but also because he could construct delightful metaphors and make good use of the high language. Whenever he started to perform a *sasana kayau*, everyone recognised his signature qualities. All my interviewees in Tewang Tampang and Tumbang Panggu referred to him and advised me to learn about the *sasana kayau* from him should I meet him. He originally came from Tumbang Panggu, but he had moved to a distant village called Telangkah. I sent him several text messages, but tragically, he drowned (*matei buseng*) one morning while fishing in the Katingan River. Two days after he died he unexpectedly recovered in the same location once a ritual was held for him, I was told when I visited his village. His death shocked me because I had intended to visit him two days before he died. His wife told me that in his last week, he never touched his mobile phone, which is why he never answered my call.



Figure 4. 14 Pak Napin (the second from the right) and his friends with the author in the *tiwah masal* at Tewang Rangas village in 2015. Photo by Adhitya Rizky Isnandya

Pak Napin started his *sasana kayau* performance by paying his respects to the ancestors of the village and surroundings, and asking for protection and blessings from the spirits so that the *tiwah* ceremony would not be disrupted. He performed for fourteen minutes, after which Kiris arrived. The full text of Pak Napin performance can be found in the Appendix. Right after he finished, Kiris began to perform.

Four years later I met Pak Napin again at his house in Handiwung village. I asked him questions about the Hindu-Kaharingan religion and confirmed the structure of some events in the *tiwah* ceremony that he led in Tewang Rangas (Chapter Five below contains an analysis of his *sasana kayau* performance).



Figure 4. 15 The author with Pak Napin at his home in Handiwung village in January 2019. Photo by Pak Dendi

The Four Sections of the Sasana Kayau in a Tiwah Ceremony

The sasana kayau in a tiwah ceremony is divided into four parts: (i) the ritual of digging up the bones of the deceased in the graveyard (manggali tulang), (ii) the ritual while placing the bones in the huma eka tiwah (house of tiwah), (iii) the ritual whilst waiting for the bones to be placed in the balai raung (manunggu tulang), and (iv) the ritual held in front of the pasar sawawulu (manganjan). This was pointed out by Pak Idut Main, the pisur from Tumbang Panggu village, and later rewritten by Mariatie who printed a limited number of copies for people in the Katingan Awa. Each part was presented at different ritual sites.

Manggali Tulang (Digging up the Bones of the Deceased in the Graveyard)

Whilst the members of one or more families of their deceased relatives are digging up their bones, they are supposed to hold the *sasana kayau manggali tulang* ritual. In a VCD recording owned by a family member of the *tiwah* ceremony in Tewang Tampang in 2018, I saw a woman named Indu Er from Tumbang Panggu village performing the ritual while the family members dug up the bones of their parents. She performed the *sasana kayau* in a loud, clear voice with amplification.

Manunggu Tulang (While Waiting for the Bones of the Balai Raung)

The sasana kayau may also be performed in a place called the balai raung ("the transit place"), where the bones of one or more families' deceased relatives are located in the coffins before they are carried to the pambak, their final resting place. In the same video, I saw that the bones were placed in the balai raung for a day and that each family sat and waited near the coffin of their deceased relative. The video showed Babak, a pisur from Tewang Rangkang village, performing the sasana kayau as requested by the group of families of the deceased.

After the Manganjan in the Huma Eka Tiwah

After the close family members attended the *manganjan* inside the *huma eka tiwah*, the *sasana kayau* was also performed by Babak, surrounded by the family members.

The Ritual in front of the Pasar Sawawulu

The *sasana kayau* is the most important ritual in a *tiwah* ceremony, because it happens on the main day and has to be performed by a *pisur* during the *manganjan* dance.

Pak Napin explained that the term *manganjan* can also be applied to this event in a *tiwah* ceremony, as follows:

Rayhan: What about this, what's the name of this *manganjan*?

Pak Napin: It is called manganjan metu (manganjan circling the animals in the centre)

Rayhan: I see. I noticed that in the balai raung there were people waiting for the

bones of their deceased relatives, whereas people in the huma eka tiwah were

performing the manganjan. What's the name of that manganjan?

Pak Napin: Manganjan pasar sawawulu, performed in the house⁶²

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⁶² Rayhan: "Amun jituh, manganjan narai ara?" / Pak Napin: "Manganjan metu ara" / Rayhan: "Nah, amun melai balai raung kan tege kia uluh manunggu tulang, nah amun melai huma tiwah, tege kia uluh manganjan, manganjan narai ara tuh?" / Pak Napin: "Manganjan pasar sawawulu, melai huma". Pak Napin, 29 February 2019, personal communication.

Summary

This Chapter has presented a detailed introduction to the instruments of the *gandang* ahung gong ensemble and some additional instruments and their contexts. It detailed the rituals associated with the vocal music, *sasana kayau*, which is just as essential a part of a *tiwah* ceremony as the *gandang ahung* music amongst the Katingan Awa people.

Chapter Five will focus on an analysis of the gandang ahung ensemble.

Chapter Five: Analysis of the Gandang Ahung and the Sasana Kayau

Kalau tanpa gong, itu tidak bisa dilaksanakan upacara tiwah itu. Jadi kenapa? Karena gong ini, dia bersuara, suara dia adalah suara yang agung. Artinya dia bisa menembus Lawang Langit...bisa menembus alam kahyangan, bisa menembus alam malaikat. Gong itu yang bisa menembus alam malaikat. Itu satu. Kemudian waktu orang manganjan, dia harus dipukul (gong), kalau gongnya ini, oh ini ada orang nganjan, artinya malaikat itu tahu bahwa; "oh, orang ini sedang menganjan". Kalau tidak ada suara gong, yang pertama, efek ritual itu tidak akan pernah jadi, karena ritual tanpa gong ini, manganjan. Kamu bergerak, engga ada musik, engga mungkin bisa terjadi kan?

A tiwah ceremony cannot be held without the gongs, why? Because the gong produces a magnificent (agung) sound that can penetrate the gates of heaven (lawang langit), indeed can enter paradise, the realm of the "angels." Furthermore, when the people perform the manganjan dance, the gong has to be played. When the angels hear the gongs, they understand that the people are performing the manganjan dance. Without the gong sounds, the ritual will never be complete. Because if you dance in a ritual without music, the ritual cannot have occurred, right?

- Hetdianto, personal communication, 11 January 2019

I was able to interview various villagers in Katingan Awa about the significance of the gongs. The preceding words of Hetdianto, a Hindu-Kaharingan adherent, clarify their

importance in the philosophy associated with the *gandang ahung* ensemble. As he says, the sounds of the gongs can penetrate the gates of heaven (*lawang langit*) and invite the angels (*sangiang*) to come down and listen close by, and later join in a ritual. The gong must be struck during the *manganian* dance. Indeed, the ceremony cannot be held without the gongs sounding.

In this chapter, I will focus on analysing performances of the *gandang ahung* ensemble and the associated *sasana kayau* vocal music, based on my fieldwork in Tumbang Panggu village in 2019 and the *tiwah* ceremony in Tewang Tampang village in 2018. The data on the *sasana kayau* is from the *tiwah* ceremony in the Tewang Rangas village in the Katingan Awa area in 2015.

One reason why I chose these two different villages for my analysis is that my recordings are the clearest in audio quality there compared to the other recordings I acquired from the people in the villages. Moreover, I was able to record the *gandang ahung* music entirely from beginning to end, the most comprehensive recording being from Tumbang Panggu village. Another reason was that the ensemble in the *tiwah* ceremony in Tewang Tampang village was borrowed from Tumbang Panggu village. Most of the villages in the Katingan Awa have a *gandang ahung* ensemble, since the great majority adhere to the Hindu-Kaharingan religion, and a *gandang ahung* is a necessary component of a traditional funeral. A further reason for my choice was that the *sasana kayau* performed in the *tiwah* ceremony by the *pisur* Pak Napin in Tewang Rangas village was one of the most complete.

I shall explain some of the details now, and then draw together aspects of the significance of the gong ensemble and the vocal music at the end of the chapter.

The Background of the Manganjan piece

As mentioned in Chapter Four, there are two types of gandang ahung music in the Katingan Awa area: the secular (ngarerek) type, performed at a fast tempo, and the sacred (manganjan) type, performed at a slow tempo. I shall focus only on the manganjan piece below, because it is the only music that is played in a tiwah ceremony among the Katingan Awa people. Every manganjan piece I heard in Tewang Rangas village in 2015 and in Tewang Tampang and Tumbang Panggu villages in 2019 was identical. The ensemble instruments were the same - gandang, upui, tokeng and kakanung, and both were complete

sets. Each was performed at a tempo of approximately 90 beats per minute, and each was preceded by a ritual.

The Ngaju people's tari manganjan is always marked by elaborate dance gestures to which are attributed complex associated meanings. However, as Larasaty has already researched these meanings (2017), I shall focus on the music.

The only strict rule that each musician must observe is to maintain a slow tempo in the manganian. Since the players' function is to accompany the dancers, the musicians must feel relaxed and not hurry their performance.

As Pak Napin told me in Handiwung village while we listened to my recordings of the manganjan in Tewang Tampang village, "This is the correct old version of manganjan music performed in slow tempo, different from the manasai."63 He explained that the manasai in the Acu area is a special type of manasai dance-accompanying music in a tiwah ceremony: "In the Acu area between Tumbang Samba village and the upper area, the manasai is performed. But we, the (Awa), never perform the manasai [in a tiwah ceremony]."64 Pak Napin clarified that there are various differences between the rituals of the Acu and the Awa. He said that most Katingan people know the manasai⁶⁵ as both a secular and a religious dance, but the Katingan Awa people do not practice it at all.

The Overall Structure of a Manganjan Performance

Every Katingan Awa manganjan performance that I attended, including in Tewang Rangas village, started with a gandang ahung piece, followed by the pisur and audience uttering the malahap (a type of shout)⁶⁶, which is one of the critical features of a tiwah ceremony. The pisur and attendees have to shout three times while the family members and the other manganjan participants circle the pasar sawawulu. Once the malahap shouting is over, the pisur or another competent leader performs the sasana kayau vocal music, which

⁶³ Tuh gandang manganjan, je asli bakas. Amun je asli lambat tuh, dia kilau manasai. Pak Napin, personal communication, 9 February 2019

⁶⁴ Amun tingkat Awa tuh manganjan uras melai tiwah tuh, amun Acu tuh tau melai tiwah manasai, bara Tumbang Samba Acu kanih. Dia puji nasai Awa...tapi amun uluh Acu tau ampi beken masing-masing daerah. Pak Napin, personal communication, 9 February 2019

⁶⁵ There is no clear explanation about the differences between the Katingan Awa and the Katingan Acu rituals, especially in the manasai dance. My preliminary analysis holds that the Ut Danum people were heavily influenced by the cultural context of the Katingan Acu people, but further in-depth observation is needed to

⁶⁶ Malahap, or lahap, is a type of shout that the Katingan Awa people utter before or during a ritual. As Hetdianto said, after the pisur utters a long sentence: "ololololooooo..." followed by a pause of two or three seconds, he utters the word Kiew! and thereby opens the gates of heaven (lawang langit).

lasts from five to ten minutes depending on the ability of the performers. After the *sasana kayau* and the *manganjan* dance have been performed, the *pisur* shouts the *malahap* three times again, and then all the *manganjan* participants dance together with the *pisur*. Finally, the *gandang* player gives a rhythmic cue to the other performers in the *gandang* ahung ensemble to end the performance.

The Instruments of a gandang ahung ensemble

As described in Chapter 4, the *gandang ahung* ensemble normally consists of a pair of long single-headed drums (*gandang*), a set of three small hanging gongs (*upui*), a set of two small hanging gongs (*tokeng*) and a set of kettle gongs in a frame (*kakanung*).

The *gandang* player bases his playing on the particular root pattern of motifs and patterns for a piece. His improvising ability depends on his capacity to extend the motifs and patterns of a piece, which are based on only two onomatopoeic sounds: *duk* and *tak*, which are heard as "low" and "high" frequencies. The drum player can play whatever rhythms he likes as long as the successive *duk* and *tak* sounds are played in the correct tempo and "fill the emptiness between spaces in the piece," a practice called *hatimai*⁶⁷, literally meaning, "to go back and forth".

The *upui*, *tokeng* and *kakanung* players together play a continuous interlocking pattern throughout a piece. Like the *gandang* player, the *tokeng* and the *upui* players can improvise a little. The *upui* player keeps beating on the gong that hangs in the centre of the gong stand – it is tuned approximately to Ab two octaves below middle C (see below for a discussion of tunings and the notation system I am using). Then he beats the gong on his left, tuned to Eb below middle C, for one or two bars, before returning to the root pattern for the piece. The *tokeng* player not only beats the gong on his left (tuned D below middle C) but also strikes the gong on his right (F below middle C) at a very fast tempo then goes back to the gong on his left. Musicians explain that these improvisations make the piece less tedious to play and listen to, rather than just sticking to the standard pattern.

The *kakanung* player uses his right hand sometimes to play a double stroke, but he improvises less than the other three instrumentalists. As the *kakanung* is the only instrument

⁶⁷ This technical term – *hatimai* - is in current use in discussions about music, whether in a *manganian* or a *sasana kayau*, in the Katingan Awa area.

playing in the high register its sound is clearly distinguishable from the other instruments tuned in the middle and/or lower registers.

In my experience there is usually only one *kakanung* in a *gandang ahung* in the Katingan Awa area, however the one I researched is not in excellent condition and is described as *pusit* (broken). Since it is quite hard to replace the instrument, however, broken *kakanung* are usually still played, thereby producing a buzzing sound. People I met seemed not to be concerned about this. They also exhibited a high degree of tolerance of pitch variability. More important than exact tuning is that the *kakanung* in a *gandang ahung* gong ensemble contains two kettle gongs tuned approximately to Eb and C# in the octave above middle C, a pair of *upui* gongs are tuned approximately to E flat, A flat and B flat two octaves below middle C, and the *tokeng* tuned approximately to D and F in the octave below middle C (see further below).

The Sections of a Manganjan Performance

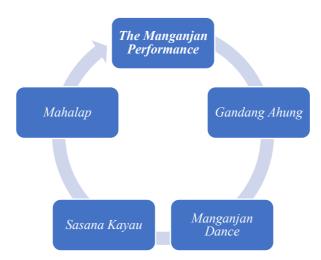


Figure 5. 1 The cycle of a manganjan and sasana kayau performance.

The *manganjan* piece may be divided into three sections: the opening section, the middle section, and the concluding section (as in a somewhat similar T'boli ritual described by Mora, 2005:55). However, the people do not name these three sections as such, either in the Awa or Acu dialect. The sections are distinguishable by rhythmic cues given by particular performers. In Tewang Rangas village a *manganjan* performance may last more than twenty minutes, depending on how long the family members want to dance.

I shall now break down the structure of a *manganjan* performance into the three sections and explain the musical details.

The Opening Section

There is no right or wrong way of playing the opening section, as long as the ensemble plays loudly and powerfully enough to enable the long drum (gandang) player to cue in the rest of the gandang ahung players with his rhythm on duk and tak, at the correct slow tempo for the dancing. The gandang player leads all tempo changes throughout. In each section the tempo normally increases a little from the middle until the end. It is important to note too that each manganjan piece features a distinctive musical motif and pattern, especially on the upui and the tokeng, and that these motifs and patterns distinguish each piece from the others.

Once the *gandang* player has established the tempo and given the opening cue, the rest of the ensemble enter and maintain that tempo. Then the *tokeng* player strikes the *tokeng* on the right three times. The *gandang* player then plays a sequence lasting up to three or four bars based on the motif in quavers: $\parallel 4/4$ *duk duk tak duk tak duk tak duk tak*. \parallel , after which the *upui* player enters with a beat (*manewah*) on the rim of the *upui* on his right, a beat on the *upui* in the centre, and a beat on the *upui* on his left. The *gandang* player then plays a cue,

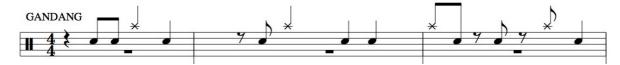


Figure 5. 2 An excerpt of the *gandang* part based on the low *duk* and high *tak* sounds, showing the transition from the opening section to the middle section.

which leads the ensemble into the start of the middle section. The *gandang* player has to take care to set the correct tempo otherwise the next section will start at too fast a tempo for a *manganjan* piece in a *tiwah* ceremony.

The Middle Section

In this section, the ensemble members keep playing their parts with repeats for as long as the *manganjan* dance continues. The musicians must also be able to "fill in the emptiness between the spaces or sections of a piece" (*hatimai*).

The Ending

As has been mentioned, once the *manganjan* dance has ended and the *pisur* and the family members and audience have shouted the *malahap* three times, the *gandang* player must cue the rest of the ensemble to finish the piece. Rather as in the opening section, the rhythmic cue given by the *gandang* player is



Figure 5. 3 The final rhythmic cue of the gandang to end a manganjan piece.

The *pisur* then instructs all the family members to carry out the last few rituals required for the day.

Sometimes unexpected things occur in the middle of a *tiwah* ceremony, as I observed in Tewang Tampang village. For example, a *gandang ahung* performance may have to stop suddenly without instruction from the *pisur* due to such factors as fatigue, change of performer to another performer, or wooden sticks falling and needing to be picked up. However, Pak Napin said that these matters are regarded as normal and acceptable and do not affect the *tiwah* ceremony at all.

Additional Information about the Manganjan Rituals

As Pak Napin told me, the *manganjan* rituals must first be carried out inside the house: the *huma eka tiwah* and then cosmic field where the *tiwah* ceremony is being celebrated, i.e. the place where the *pasar sawawulu* is erected:

Rayhan: Why was the *manganian* performed in the house? Why not in the field?

Pak Napin: It should be performed in both places, one after the other.

Rayhan: So, after it is performed in the *huma eka tiwah*, it is the *pasar sawawulu's* turn, right? After the ritual is performed in the field, the ritual has to be performed in the house, right?

Pak Napin: Yes, that is true

Rayhan: Why is that so? What's its purpose?

Pak Napin: Its purpose is to mampahata liau⁶⁸

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⁶⁸ Rayhan: "Embat dia melai lapangan tuh tapi melai huma?" / Pak Napin: "Harus diselang-seling" / Rayhan: "Berarti amun limbah je kurik, pasar sawawulu hai lah? Hong hai beres, je kurik?" / Pak Napin: "Iyoh" / Rayhan: "Narai tuh bue, embat maksud?" / Pak Napin: "Awi uras mampahata liau uras ih". Pak Napin, 29 February 2019, personal communication

The term *mampahata liau* means to "prepare meals" for a deceased soul, which I think really means to pay respect to the deceased's soul/*liau* so that it can journey smoothly to heaven (*lewu tatau*).

Pak Napin confirmed that there are many similarities between the *manganjan* and the *ngarerek* rituals when he and I listened to several *gandang ahung* recordings from the *tiwah* ceremony in Tewang Tampang in 2018. In one recording I thought their performance was incorrect. To my surprise, however, Pak Napin explained as follows:

Rayhan: How about this, isn't this a *ngarerek*?

Pak Napin: Hm, the people performed it in the *laluhan*

Rayhan: Then it was wrong, wasn't it?

Pak Napin: No, it was not wrong. It [at least] fulfilled the requirement to perform the

garantung⁶⁹ gong ensemble (gandang ahung), and it was quite accurate

Rayhan: I see, it succeeded in fulfilling a *tiwah* ceremonial requirement?

Pak Napin: Yes, but not precisely. It was not a mistake, not at all. It sounded like the

[gandang ahung] in the laluhan, since the performers were still quite young

Rayhan: I see, so this one was not quite precise?

Pak Napin: Yes, it was, it sounded like a *manasai*. ⁷⁰

See Figure 5.4 below for a notated excerpt of the *manganjan* piece played at Pak Senty's home in Tumbang Panggu village on 27 February 2019. The *gandang* enters first, then the *upui*, then the *tokeng*, and then the *kakanung*. I shall discuss the pitches played on the instruments in the next section.

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⁶⁹ Since I was still learning the Katingan dialects, I used the Ngaju language here instead of the Katingan dialect, which is the reason why Pak Napin responded in the Ngaju language. In Ngaju the gong ensemble is known as *garantung*.

⁷⁰ Rayhan: "Amun jituh narai, ngarerek lah?" / Pak Napin: "Tuh, uluh ji manewah, kilau laluhan" / Rayhan: "Berarti sala tuh?" / Pak Napin: "Dia kia, dia sala, dia en. Tapi memenuhi syarat newah garantung ih. Tapi dia tepat" / Rayhan: "Oh, tapi amun syarat newah, newah lah?" / Pak Napin: "Iyoh, awi tuh kurang pas ih. Dia kia ji menyalahi, dia kia" / Pak Napin: "Gawi, kawan are bara laluhan, muda-muda" / Rayhan: "Jadi ji jituh dia pas lah?" / Pak Napin: "Iyuh, kilau manasai". Pak Napin, personal communication, 9 February 2019



Figure 5. 4 A transcribed excerpt from the opening of the *manganjan* piece in Tumbang Panggu village on 27 February 2019. The *gandang* enters first, followed by the *upui*, then the *tokeng*, and finally the *kakanung*.

The Instrumental and the Vocal Tone Systems

The musicians in the *tiwah* ceremony that I observed in Tewang Tampang (my main research focus) played two *gandang ahung* ensembles, as is required. One ensemble was from Tewang Tampang itself and the other from Tumbang Panggu. My informants confirmed that the same two ensembles were played at the *tiwah* ceremony in Tewang Rangas led by Pak Senty in 2015. The *gandang ahung* recording that I made in Tewang Rangas is the only known recording of the instrumental music of the *gandang ahung* and the vocal music of the *sasana kayau* together.

Almost all of the performers I met were multi-instrumentalists, capable of playing any instruments. Most were also able to switch from one instrument to another within a piece, or between the two tonally different ensembles in the *tiwah* ceremony.

It is important to note that in fact all the Katingan Awa people I met in the villages were tolerant of the pitch diversity of the tuning system of their ensembles. When I asked them about discrepancies between tunings of instruments in different ensembles, some answered that as long as the *ahung* ensemble sounds loud (*muhing*), the ensemble is suitable for ritual use.

They said there is no right or wrong tuning system of gongs in an *ahung*, as long as the system may be described as $pajak^{71}$, meaning "it sounds right", or "it is perceived to sound beautiful". The term pajak can also mean that all the necessary gong pitches are present, and that the ensemble is tonally complete. Their system of five pitches across three octaves of gong or kettle sounds in a *gandang ahung* ensemble does not have a specific name; it is a totally different concept from, say, the concept of Javanese pentatonic *slendro* and *pelog* tone systems. All the people in the villages use the word *pajak* to describe their music, and sometimes with different meanings. Some say, for example, that *pajak* is a term given to the order of the notes in *ahung* music.

The tunings of the instruments in the *gandang ahung* in the three villages I know (Tewang Tampang, Tumbang Panggu and Tewang Rangas) were mostly similar in approximate pitch, as shown in the chart below (Figure 5.5).

As will also become apparent, my research into the *sasana kayau* vocal music in Katingan Awa villages showed that the singers use only five pitches, but they are quite different pitches from the five pitches in the *gandang ahung* instrumental ensembles.

Unlike the state of research on some other ensembles and vocal music genres in Indonesia⁷², my study of *gandang ahung* music in the Katingan Awa area and around the Katingan waterways has not been able to access documentation by others, for I am apparently the first ethnomusicologist to work in this particular field. So my findings apply only to my work in the Katingan Awa area, and need to be corroborated by other research projects in the same and neighbouring sectors.

I was fortunate enough to be able to interview Pak Napin, who led the *tiwah* ceremony in Tewang Rangas 2015, and was able to get him to provide answers to my questions about tunings and other aspects of the *tiwah* ceremony. He substantiated my findings about tunings in the three Katingan Awa villages.

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⁷¹ There is no suitable translation in English or Bahasa Indonesia of this term *pajak*.

⁷² For example, the Javanese or Sundanese gamelan and *macapat* singing.

Clearly musicians do not expect to find a standard tuning or set of pitches in the instruments of the *ahung*. They play any *ahung* they can obtain, whatever its tuning, and experiment with it to find the "right" sound, which they call *pajak*.

To understand the *pajak* concept, I measured the frequency of each instrument of the three *gandang ahung* ensembles and tabled them for comparison. By measuring their frequencies, I could draw conclusions about the tunings of each *gandang ahung*. Clearly the tunings were not tempered; they did not follow the equal temperament system of western music. Each *ahung* had its own tunings, though they had slightly similar frequencies, as I shall explain below.

The Tunings of Gandang Ahung instruments in Tewang Rangas Village

Because there is no local way of referring to the pitches played on the instruments, I have written them in western notation or as capital letters with the appropriate octave—e.g. G1 means the pitch G two octaves below middle C, and C#5 means C# in the second octave above middle C. I have also given equivalent measurements in Hertz, based on A4= 440 Hz.

The tunings of the *gandang ahung* instruments in Tewang Rangas village were as follows. The two onomatopoeic sounds on the long drum - *gandang* – measured as a pitch 99 Hz for the *duk* sound, and 210 Hz for the *tak* sound. The set of three hanging gongs called *upui* were tuned to 187 Hz for the gong on the player's right, 205 Hz for the gong in the centre, and 246 Hz for the gong on his left. Of the pair of hanging gongs called *tokeng*, the one on the left was tuned to 328 Hz, but the gong on the right was missing so I have no measurement. The set of four kettle gongs called *kakanung* were tuned to 838 Hz for the kettle on the extreme right, 568 Hz for the kettle in the middle, 486 Hz for the kettle on the left, and the gong on the extreme left was missing.

Because this *gandang ahung* ensemble had only one *tokeng*, hanging from the frame on the left, I figured out later that another *tokeng* was placed on a traditional mattress made of bamboo skin (*amak*) on which the *pisur* sat (see figure 1.12 in Chapter One) during the *manawur* ritual. Unfortunately, I did not measure its pitch. The musicians changed instruments between the *tiwah* rituals, resulting in performer-based variations between *manganjan* performances.

The Tuning of the Gandang Ahung instruments in Tewang Tampang Village

The tunings of the *gandang ahung* instruments in Tewang Tampang were as follows. *Duk* on the *gandang* measured 65 Hz, while *tak* on the *gandang* sounded 344 Hz. The *upui* gong on the right sounded 97 Hz, while the *upui* gong in the centre sounded 269 Hz, and the *upui* gong on the left measured 279 Hz. The *tokeng* gong on the right was missing, and the *tokeng* gong on the left measured 307 Hz. The *kakanung* gong on the extreme right measured 1038 Hz, the *kakanung* gong on the right measured 969 Hz, the *kakanung* gong on the left measured 1421 Hz, and the *kakanung* on the very left measured 883 Hz.

The *gandang ahung* used in the *tiwah* ceremony in Tewang Tampang in 2018 belongs to Pak Mumus, but he was not quite sure whether it was located in the *huma eka tiwah* or in the *balai raung*.

The Tuning of the Gandang Ahung Instruments in Tumbang Panggu Village

The tuning of the *duk* sound produced on the *gandang ahung* in Tumbang Panggu was 48 Hz, and the *tak* sound was 210 Hz. The *upui* gong on the right measured 81 Hz, the *upui* gong in the centre measured 108 Hz, the *upui* on the left measured 248 Hz; the *tokeng* gong on the right measured 145 Hz, the *tokeng* gong on the left measured 361 Hz; the *kakanung* kettle on the very right measured 598 Hz, the *kakanung* kettle on the next right measured 504 Hz, the *kakanung* kettle on the left measured 543 Hz, and the *kakanung* kettle on the very left measured 480 Hz.

In the 2018 *tiwah* in Tewang Tampang, Pak Senty's *gandang ahung* was used in the *laluhan* ritual. Some musicians from Tumbang Panggu joined the local musicians to play some of the pieces. The *gandang ahung* that was used in the *laluhan* (a ritual that is undertaken by the neighbouring village, to bring the offerings for the village where a *tiwah* ceremony was held) was set up in a medium-sized shed that was rebuilt to accommodate the offerings and people.

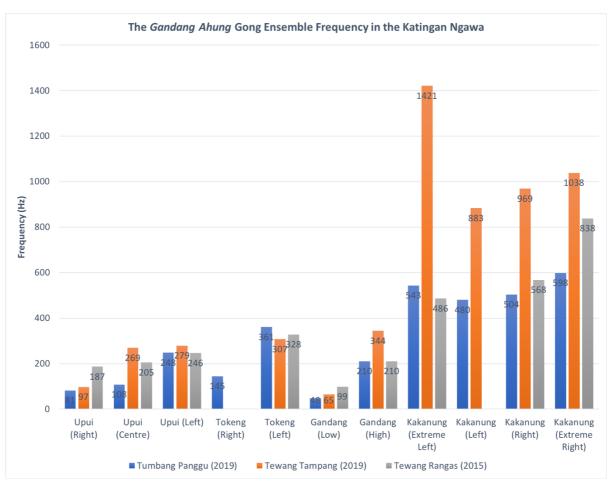


Figure 5. 5 The tunings of the *ahung* instruments in the three villages. The only *tokeng* played in Tumbang Panggu was the one on the right. Each measurement in Hz is in relation to A4 = 440 Hz.

Additional information about the Ahung

Each *ahung* instrument in each village studied possessed relatively short sustaining power compared to their opposite numbers in a Javanese or Sundanese gamelan.

Some of the performers further muted an instrument's sound, especially when it buzzed because it was cracked, by holding the instrument with their left hand whilst beating it with their right hand, which shortened the tonal sustainability by around two seconds. This muting technique was also used by the players of the melodic instruments – the *tokeng* gong hanging on the left and the *upui* gong hanging in the centre.

Another traditional technique to overcome the cracked (*pusit*) gong problem was to put pins in the cracks to cover them and prevent more damage. However, villagers said that the pins were not used by their elders (*uluh bakas helu*). For example, see the pins in the red square in Figure 5.6, Pak Awim's *upui* in Tumbang Panggu.



Figure 5. 6 An *upui* belonging to Pak Awim in Tumbang Panggu village, showing pins to minimise the effects of the crack (see the red box).

The Creator of the Gandang Ahung in the Panaturan Holy Book

In the Panaturan epic, there is mention of a Raja (king) who is attributed with being the creator of the *ahung*, Raja Kaling Babilem Pamungkal Garantung. The *pisurs* Babak and Silo know this story. Raja Kaling Babilem Pamungkal Garantung is regarded as part of the hierarchy of kings. Indeed, he is one of the supreme rulers who reside in the Lewu Bukit Tambak Raja (a village upon the hill Tambak Raja), and is a descendant of Raja Bunu (Widya Dharma 2005:103). However, I have not found any other information about him in the Panaturan.

The Learning Process

I had the chance to learn to play the *gandang ahung* in Tewang Tampang village, and found that the *upui* was the least complicated instrument of all. Anyone is allowed to try and play the *gandang ahung*, but in rituals it may only be played by experienced performers. The usual learning method is autodidactic. Prospective players learn by listening to the elders playing the *gandang ahung*, usually in a ceremonial or ritual context, and they deepen their

knowledge by practice. There is no written or notational evidence to show how these skills are transmitted. I audio-recorded and videoed a performance of the *manganjan* piece, listened to it several times, and tried to understand how to play by listening to the audio recording and watching the video for a couple of days.

Most potential performers learn to play at an early age. They learn the fast *ngarerek* piece first, as it is regarded as being more straightforward than the *manganjan* piece. I found this to be true when I tried to learn to play it on the *upui*. Eventually I attended a women's ensemble rehearsal in Pak Mumus's house in Tewang Tampang village, and asked whether I might play the *upui* with the other performers. I was surprised and pleased when Pak Mumus said yes.



Figure 5. 7 Recording the *gandang ahung* ensemble in Pak Mumus's house, 23 February 2019, at my request. From left to right: Indu Semuleng (playing *tokeng*), author (playing *upui*), Indu Yeyet playing *gandang*), and Indu Cumut (playing *kakanung*).

After practising several times in Pak Mumus's house, I began to get a sense of how to play the *ahung* in the *gandang ahung* ensemble. At first, I concentrated on how to play it with the right timing and tempo of the piece. I found that it was crucial to listen to the other instruments, especially the *gandang*, which acts as the metronome for the piece. I also began to understand that every instrument can "fill the spaces in the piece", and that the *tokeng* has to be played more percussively and faster than the *upui*. I learned that the *tokeng* sets and

leads the fast tempo and changes in tempo, and is played more loudly than the *upui* which produces low-pitched sounds at constant dynamics and acts like the bass of the ensemble.

On other occasions, I was also allowed to play the *upui* in Pak Senty's house, including when he hosted the *mambayar hajat malabuh balai samburup* ritual in Tumbang Panggu village. Most members of this *gandang ahung* ensemble were experienced, senior performers. Their playing demonstrated a complex rhythmic percussion on the *gandang*, and every instrument has complicated elements of playing compared to the ensemble in the Tewang Tampang village. As the recording showed, the *gandang* and the *tokeng* really locked the pulse in for the ensemble and blended with the *kakanung* and *upui* parts. In the middle of the piece Pak Ayu suddenly shouted *kiew!* ("exciting")⁷³ to express his appreciation and excitement engendered by the musicians' skilful playing.



Figure 5. 8 Recording the *gandang ahung* ensemble as part of the *mambayar hajat malabuh balai samburup* ritual in Pak Senty's house, 27 February 2019. From left to right: Bang Silo (playing *tokeng*), author (playing *upui*), Pak Ayu (playing *gandang*), and Pak Mura and Pak Senty (playing *kakanung*). In this photo, only Pak Mura accompanied Pak Senty on the *kakanung*.

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⁷³ *Kiew*, also known as *hanjak* in the Katingan and Ngaju languages, represents the expression of happiness when something musically exciting occurs in a *gandang ahung* performance. The term is also often used in a vocal/sasana kayau performance when the words sung and the melodic setting touch the hearts of the listeners. When listeners feel *kiew*, they express their happiness by performing the *manukiew* dance. *Kiew* also expresses excitement during a *malahap*.

A Sasana Kayau Performance in Tewang Rangas

At the *tiwah* ceremony that I recorded in Tewang Rangas village in 2015, Pak Napin served as the primary *pisur* and Babak as his helper (*pisur pangapit*). Each wore a traditional hat (*salutup*). After the ensemble had finished playing, Pak Napin performed the *sasana kayau* for fourteen minutes with Babak by his side and Kiris performed the rest. Then Babak accompanied by Pak Napin performed the *ngawus* ritual. Both held wireless microphones⁷⁴ to amplify their voices for the audience's sake. However, their performance was interrupted several times because the range of the microphone was insufficient to project the sound. After Pak Napin had finished singing, Kiris started to sing his *sasana kayau*, and then Pak Napin and Babak joined him to perform the *ngawus*.



Figure 5. 9 The primary *pisur*, Pak Napin (left), and the *pisur pangapit*, Babak (on the right), sang the *sasana kayau* in the *manganjan* ritual in Tewang Rangas village in 2015. Photo from a video by Adhitya Isnandya.

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⁷⁴ I discussed this matter with Pak Napin when I met him in 2019 in his house in Handiwung. He said a microphone was acceptable, as it was needed to amplify the sound, but only if its use did not change the essential quality of the event, e.g. play a pre-recorded version of the *gandang ahung/sasana kayau* through a sound system. Some of my informants mentioned that some family members play recordings of a *sasana kayau*, but Pak Napin argued that that contradicted the essence and meaning of the *sasana kayau* in the *tiwah* ceremony.

Analysis of the Sasana Kayau

Having already explained the types and details of the *sasana kayau* in Chapter 4, I will now draw attention to the connection between the *sasana kayau* and the *gandang ahung* in the *tiwah* ceremony in Tewang Rangas village by examining the meaning of the words sung in the *sasana kayau* and its melodic setting. Babak explained the functional reason why the *sasana kayau* needs to be performed as follows:

Babak: Actually, the reason why the *sasana kayau* [has to be performed] is to provide the *liau* with "a meal" [i.e, pay respects to the spirits]; it is not meant for the living. Rayhan: I see, then [the actual *sasana kayau* that is performed on other occasions] is not suitable?

Babak: No, it is suitable. But it is slightly misleading.⁷⁵



Figure 5. 10 Babak performing the *sasana kayau manimang* in Tewang Tampang village on 24 February 2019, followed by an interview with Pak Millo (on the right) and Bu Erma (on the extreme left) who performed the *ngawus*. Photo by Gerno Susanto

In my experience, almost every performer prefers to perform a song of advice giving (manimang) rather than to pay respects to a dead soul (mampahata liau). Babak said that the correct way to perform the sasana kayau is by facing the spirit of the deceased (liau) and to

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⁷⁵ Babak: "Je sebujur akan tujuan sasana kayau tuh akan mampahata liau, dia akan uluh je belum" / Rayhan: "Oh, dia sesuai lah berarti?" / Babak: "Beken dia sesuai, menyimpang isut lah." Babak, personal communication, 24 February 2019

imagine that the *liau* is present there and now. Thus, the *sasana kayau* is seen as a powerful medium in which to "talk" to the soul of the deceased.

The truth of Babak's statement was shown in the *sasana kayau* performed by Pak Napin in the *tiwah* ceremony held in Tewang Rangas village in 2015. Pak Napin performed his *sasana kayau* spontaneously without any preparation and conducted the whole *tiwah* ceremony. The following is a translation of the opening words of his *sasana kayau*:

Ooo, all the *liau parara* who are present here today [in this *tiwah* ceremony] excuse me, also excuse all the people who have gathered today, the old and young, male and female. Today we will perform the *manganjan* ritual, circling around the water buffaloes, cows, and pigs in order to initiate the people of Tewang Rangas as they cleanse the bones of the *liau* in order to deliver them to Lewu Rami [heaven].

Ooo, I also wish to show respect to Rika Wulau Hatuen Atang Atang Suli Pang Salungan Atang Raja Bagalang Bulau, who is blessing the ritual through our bodies (our fingers) in this *manganjan* ritual, as we circle around the buffaloes, cows, and pigs who will deliver the *liau* to heaven (Lewu Rami Dia Kasene Beti Lewu Tatau Je Habaras Bulau Rundung Janah dia kamalesu uhat), who has gathered together all the females and males and the young and old from the villages, because they have heard about the *tiwah* ceremony in Tewang Rangas to cleanse the bones that will later be put in the Pambak Patang Tawelian Bahandang je Hatangep Tingang (coffin)⁷⁶

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⁷⁶ "Ooo yaku paramisi helu, parimisi jua liau parara ambun andau jituh, hayak jua paramisi umba ita ulu are bakas tawela bawi je hatue, basa je jari ambun andau jituh sapai ita je manganjan lawas penang tuh manganjan ngumbang sapi ucang batandak purang harangan laut urak bawui samben paramuan penda bendang, gawi sapai je huang uluh lewu Tewang Rangas tuh, batatang Tiwah Tingang, mangatang uhat tulang liau buang, mahalian liau buli lewu rami dia kasene beti, ngguang lewu tatau je habaras bulau rundung janah lewu dia kamalesu uhat".

[&]quot;Ooo jua yaku balaku umba Rika Wulau Hatuen Atang, Atang Suli Pang Salungan Atang Raja Bagalang Bulau mamambai patin jarin tingang samandiai, je jari manganjan ngumbang ngacang lawas penang manganjan ngumbang sapi ucang je batanduk purang, urak bawui samben paramuan penda bendang, hapan mahalalian liau buli lewu rami dia kasene beti, Lewu Tatau je Habaras Bulau Rundung Janah dia kamalesu uhat ie je amun andau jituh uras je kumpul tehe bakas tawela bawi tu hatue bara lewu rundung manasila gawin mangguang riwut nyahun tarung panjang lewu Tewang Rangas je manggatang uhat tulang liau buang je akan namean

At the very beginning of his sasana kayau performance, Pak Napin begged the liau for permission to present the tiwah ceremony. After paying his respects to the liau, he greeted the family members and other participants of the tiwah ceremony. His sasana kayau was well structured and contained the expected words of the sasana kayau in the appropriate language. Then he stated that the family members and participants of the tiwah ceremony would carry out the manganjan by circling around the animals representing the centre of the cosmos.

During his sasana kayau performance, Pak Napin also mentioned a powerful animal spirit. It was the spirit of a mystical hawk (atang) called Rikau Wulau Hatuen Atang, Atang Suli Pang Salungan Atang Raja Bagalang Bulau⁷⁷ who accompanies (maagah) the liau on the journey to the upper world (Iewu Tatau). According to Pak Napin, there are two atang/ hawks: the atang ngambu and the atang hunjun, both of which help the liau go to the upper world. Accordingly, he begged for blessings from the mystical atang of Teluk Embak in Tumbang Panggu village to sanctify the *tiwah* ceremony in the Tewang Rangas village.

The Melodies and Verbal Content of the Sasana Kayau

The melodic line of the sasana kayau that I recorded is set to a range of eight semitones (from Eb to B, i.e. approximately tones Eb E F F# G Ab A Bb B). The vocals and verbal content of the sasana kayau varies between performers because of their different linguistic accents (*leut*). Almost all opening and closing sections that I heard were similar. The vocalist starts with a deep breath and utters the *nanai* (a vocalisation used by the accompanist). Figure 5.11 is a transcription of the entire opening of the sasana kayau that I recorded in Tewang Rangas village. The singer produces a series of unmetered vocal phrases on the syllables *ooooo*, *eeee*, *na*, *i* and *e*, broken by short rests, taking longer rests between the long phrases.

pambak patang tawalian bahandang je hatangep tingang". Sasana Kayau from Pak Napin, transcripted with the help of Bang Nondoi. Recorded in 15 August 2015.

⁷⁷ Schärer (1963) mentioned the same mystical hawk, however, by the name: "Rika Bulau Hatuen Antang Ganan Tajahan", who helps the people in the village if there are any difficulties, especially when accompanying headhunters and warriors in battle. Furthermore, Bang Silo, the pisur in Tumbang Panggu, said that there may be differences between the Atang in the Katingan Awa. Silo: "amun Rika Bulau Hatuen Antang jie memang timang akan seluruh tajahan, tapi amun Antang Suli Pang Salungan Antang Raja Bagalau Bulau jie memang khusus ngarai melai tajahan Teluk Embak ih, jadi lebih mengacu pada timang ngaran Antang te. Memang sama ih sebenar / Rayhan: "Oo harati. Berarti amun Pang Salungan khusus melai Tumbang Panggu te lah? Tapi amun Rika Bula ute umum se Katingan?" / Silo: "Iyoh". Personal communication 22 May 2019.



Figure 5. 11 The opening of the Sasana Kayau performed by Pak Napin in Tewang Rangas village.

Frequencies of Tones in a Sasana Kayau and a Gandang Ahung performance

To analyse the melodic lines and vocal range of the *sasana kayau* performance, I measured the frequencies of tones employed by Pak Napin, which were: 172 Hz, 193 Hz, 210 Hz, 220 Hz, 237 Hz, 242 Hz, 258 Hz, 430 Hz, 473 Hz, and 538 Hz. I then inserted the vocal frequencies on a graph and joined the dots in yellow and added the instrumental frequencies of the *gandang ahung* instruments: see Figure 5.12.

The sasana kayau and the gandang ahung shared very few tonal similarities, though the frequencies of the three upui gongs were close to the three lowest tones of the sasana kayau singer. Thus, the upui frequencies measured from left to right: 187 Hz, 205 Hz and 246 Hz, compared with the frequencies of the sasana kayau, which were 172 Hz, 193 Hz and 210 Hz. As figure 5.12 shows, they are all below 300 Hz. The other slight similarity was the higher frequency of the kakanung i.e. 568 Hz to 486 Hz, compared to the highest sasana kayau tones, which gradually increased from 473 Hz to 538 Hz. These measurements indicate that the sasana kayau and the gandang ahung share a somewhat similar overall contour.

However, according to my interviews with senior informants, it is not necessary or even possible for the *sasana kayau* vocalists to follow or adapt to the tunings of the *gandang ahung* musicians' instruments. Ordinary villagers, when asked, were not really aware of the tonal differences between *sasana kayau* and *gandang ahung* performances. I have in fact witnessed a performance of a *sasana kayau* by a singer who adapted to the tones played on a *kecapi* (two-stringed lute), but it was not part of a *tiwah* ceremony.

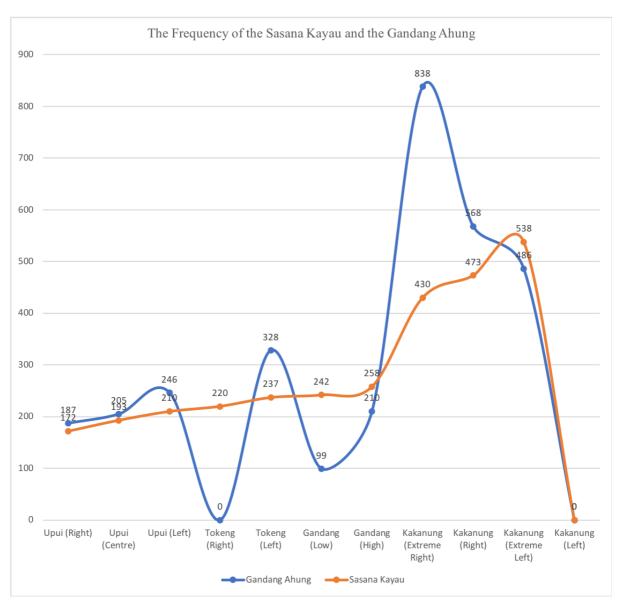


Figure 5. 12 A comparison of the frequencies employed by the *sasana kayau* and the *gandang ahung* performers in the *tiwah* ceremony in Tewang Rangas village, 2015. Note that the tones (designated by dots) used by the *sasana kayau* vocalist are not related to the tones played by the *ahung* ensemble instruments named on the bottom line.

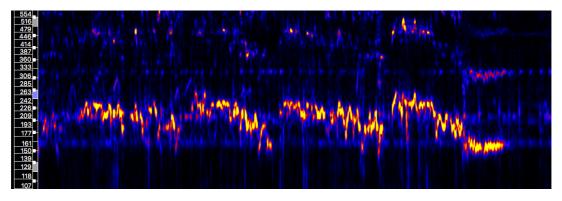


Figure 5. 13 An excerpt of a spectrogram showing frequencies of vocal tones performed in a *sasana kayau* ritual by Pak Napin in Tewang Rangas village 2015.

Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the practical aspects of playing instruments of a gandang ahung ensemble and of performing a vocal sasana kayau in a tiwah ceremony, based on data gathered on my field trip in Tewang Tampang village and other useful sources in the Katingan Awa area. Both the gandang ahung and the sasana kayau were performed in the main tiwah ceremony area to accompany the sacred manganjan dance on the second day of a tiwah ceremony. The transcribed excerpt of the ahung ensemble music shows the instruments' wide overall tonal range and the musicians' normal entry routine led by the gandang player, and it also presents a taste of each instrument's playing techniques and stylistic characteristics. The transcription of the sasana kayau vocal music shows the very different frequencies employed and the somewhat similar overall melodic contour, as well as the typical unmetred vocal style which features short rests between short melodic motifs and long rests between main musical phrases sung to one intake of breath. I have also presented the frequencies of pitches employed by the gandang ahung ensemble musicians and those employed by the sasana kayau vocalists in the ceremonies I witnessed.

The mystical connections between the two forms of musical expression in a *tiwah* ceremony are close because they are perceived as being part of the whole cosmos and their sounds are addressed to the spirits of the lower world, the middle world, and the upper world. In short, the *gandang ahung* and the *sasana kayau* are the media used by the participants in a *tiwah* as musical bridges between the three worlds.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

This thesis has investigated the musical and ritual symbolic function of the *gandang* ahung gong ensemble, and its companion vocal music *sasana kayau*, in the *tiwah* ceremony amongst the Katingan Awa community in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia. This investigation proceeded from two principle lines of inquiry: namely what and how does the *gandang* ahung contribute to the ritual realisation of the *tiwah* ceremony; and in what ways, and through what means, does the *tiwah* ceremony express, affirm or align with the conceptual aspects of beliefs, symbols and myths spiritual and or religious of the Hindu-Kaharingan? The common elements to both these research questions are the conceptions and practices of ritual in the *tiwah* ceremony. In order to address and examine the nature and significance of this connection, it is necessary to draw upon broader theoretical insights.

A critical examination of the connection between ritual and belief structures relevant to this research is the study undertaken by Bell (1992). She states that "ritual validates, performs, or objectifies religious beliefs", and by combining the conceptual and the dispositional aspects of religious symbols, ritual merges thought and action into one (1992:27). Quoting Shils, Bell argues that ritual and belief are interwoven but divisible since other people might accept beliefs but not the ritual activities associated with them. Therefore, it is argued that "belief could exist without rituals; however, rituals could not exist without beliefs" (Shils 1968:736).

The issue here then is what belief system is central to the rituals performed in the *tiwah* ceremony? On the one hand, there is the *agama helu* of the Katingan Awa people, the vernacular set of beliefs that adheres to an ongoing engagement with the ancestors and the spirit worlds. This engagement is encoded in the Katingan Awa creation myth and formulations of cosmology. The belief system is inherent, inherited and passed on orally from generation to generation and shares correspondences with similar animist systems of rainforest communities such as those documented by Mora, Seeger and Roseman.

On the other hand, there is also the pan-national religious, administrative framework of the Hindu-Kaharingan. Through this framework, the Katingan Awa are administratively clustered along with geographically and culturally divergent communities and formalised Hindu religious practices in Bali and Lombok. As noted by McDaniel, Bali island has the largest concentrated population of Hindu adherents in Indonesia. McDaniel also states that, "...generally [the Balinese Hindu] dot not consider Krishna to be a god...the 'real' of Hinduism has come up often between foreign visitors and native Balinese people and irritated

many inhabitants of Bali" (McDaniel 2017:10). Amongst these much larger communities, it is the centrality of Vishnu, Shiva, and Brahma, formal ceremonies such as the *ekadasi rudra*, distinct social hierarchies based on caste, and formal recognition of an endogamous priestly class (Brahmins), that clearly distinguish the beliefs and practices of "Hinduism" from that of the Katingan Awa. Turner describes ritual as "the affirmation of communal unity in contrast to the frictions, constraints, and competitiveness of social life and organisation" (Turner 1969). Rite affords a creative "antistructure" that is distinguished from the rigid maintenance of social orders, hierarchies, and traditional forms. Ritual is first differentiated as a discrete object of analysis by mean of various dichotomies that are loosely analogous to thought and action. Ritual is subsequently elaborated as the very means by which these dichotomous categories, neither of which could exist without the other, are reintegrated.

The *tiwah* ceremony and its rituals have little to do with the prescription of an imposed, constructed and external administrative structure of the Hindu-Kaharingan. There is obviously a tension between traditional vernacular practices of the Katingan Awa and formalised Hindu-Kaharingan, administrative frameworks. This extends to the idea of Hinduism assigned in Kalimantan and in other parts of Indonesia (Bali/Lombok). Identity amongst Katingan Awa is implicit in the local vernacular context and the social orders and hierarchies within the community, but explicit in the national administrative configuration, constructed and imposed by the state in recent times.

The *tiwah* ceremony is not isolated from these tensions and traverses them. The ritual engages not just with the day to day lived realities of the locality but also with national administrative imperatives that determine 'official' belief systems – so it is engaging with three layers; the musical, ritual, and political. Amongst the Katingan Awa, ritual can, therefore, be provisionally distinguished as the synchronic, continuous, traditional, or ontological – in opposition to the diachronic, changing, historical or social. "The ritual becomes the arena in which such pairs of forces interact. It is the mediating process by which the synchronic comes to be reexpressed in terms of the diachronic and vice versa" (Bell 1992). "Both of these structural patterns, the differentiation of ritual as action from thought and the portrayal of ritual as a mechanism for integration thought and action, can be demonstrated in several representative approaches to ritual" (Bell 1992).

The *tiwah* ceremony is grounded in, and engaged with, the vernacular *agama helu* practices. *Tiwah*, therefore, reinforces the relevance of the vernacular *agama helu* belief system and its disconnectedness with the imperatives and configurations of the administrative category. The Katingan Awa need to negotiate both an asynchronous inherited live system

with a constructed administrative identity of Hinduism. The Katingan Awa community is therefore positioned differently from the Kaluli, Temiar and T'boli communities documented respectively by Feld (1982), Roseman (1993) and Mora (2005). Those communities, while facing their own challenges, are not compelled to negotiate the challenge of negotiating both a lived and administered belief system, and it is on this particular point that this study most notably differs from their essential work.

This research suggests that three layers of meaning and function that can be discerned in the gandang ahung gong ensemble: the musical, ritual, and political. In the musical context any ahung, whatever its tuning, can be used but that the "right" sound, pajak must be achieved. And the tuning of the ahung differs from that of sasana kayau. It suggests a hierarchy in which a greater musical meaning is located more in achieving a particular type of sound pajak than in concern for specifically tuned melodic material. In the ritual context, the ahung is an essential element required to invoke the spirits of the ancestors to come and bless the tiwah ceremony and later open the gate of heaven, so that the sangiang (angel) could also come and participate in the ceremony. Lastly, in the political context, the ahung symbolically carries the local heritage, belief systems and identity of the Katingan Awa within the contemporary national religious fabric. This can be seen firstly by the provincial government of the Katingan region was the primary sponsor of the tiwah ceremony in the Tewang Tampang village in 2018, which was arguably one of the largest tiwah ceremonies ever held in the Katingan river area. Secondly, by the fact there are no formal restrictions on participants, belonging to other religions in the tiwah ceremony under the jurisdiction of the pisur, although access to particular rituals in the ceremony may be limited. Similarly, the learning and playing of the gandang ahung is not restricted to adherents of Hindu-Kaharingan only. While tension might exist between the minority (Hindu-Kaharingan) and majority religions (Christian & Islam in the region), through participatory inclusiveness, the tiwah ceremony provides a meeting point crafted from an old tradition, otherwise not be available in modern contemporary spaces.

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Appendices

Appendix One: Transcription of the *Gandang Ahung* Ensemble in Tumbang Panggu village

Title of genre : Gandang Ahung (Manganjan) Ensemble music Performers : Gandang (frame drum) played by Pak Ayu, upui

played by Pak Mura, tokeng played by Bang Silo,

kakanung played by Pak Senty

Place and date of performance: Tumbang Panggu village, Kecamatan Tewang

Sangalang Garing, Kabupaten Katingan, Central

Kalimantan. 27 February 2019

Recorded and transcribed by : Muhammad Rayhan Sudrajat

Listen to link at Google Drive : https://bit.ly/MRS_GA















Appendix Two: Transcription of the *Sasana Kayau* vocal music lyrics (and translations) sung in the Katingan Awa Dialect in Tewang Rangas village, 2015

My transcription of the vocal *sasana* music (Transcription Two) and the transcription of the lyrics sung in Transcription Three are presented separately so that the reader can examine the music thoroughly and then focus on understanding the lyrics and their translations. In any case the word-music relationships in the *pisur's* performance were often unclear due to the fact that his enunciation was not always clear, which forced me to record the lyrics separately in spoken form.

Title of genre : Sasana Kayau (Manganjan Metu)

Singer : Pak Napin Dalin (Yapang Yetno), the *pisur* from Handiwung village

Ngawus : Babak, the pisur pangapit from Tewang Rangkang village
Place and date : Tewang Rangas village, Kecamatan Tewang Sangalang Garing,

Kabupaten Katingan, Central Kalimantan. 8 August 2015

Recorded by : Muhammad Rayhan Sudrajat

Link at Google Drive: https://bit.ly/MRS SK

-Ngawus-

(filling in music between main sections of the performance by an expert musician)

Time indicator: (00:18)

Ooo helu yaku paramisi helu, parimisi umba liau parara ambun andau jituh parang, hayak jua paramisi umba ita ulu are bakas tawela bawi je hatue, basa je jari ambun andau jituh sapai ita je manganjan lawas penang tuh manganjan ngumbang sapi ucang batandak purang harangan laut urak bawui samben paramuan penda bendang, gawi sapai je huang uluh lewu Tewang Rangas tuh, je batatang Tiwah Tingang, mangatang uhat tulang liau buang, mahalian liau buli lewu rami dia kasene beti, ngguang Lewu Tatau je Habaras Bulau Rundung Janah dia kamalesu uhat.

Please excuse me, especially the *liau parara* spirits, today, also please excuse me all you people here – old and young, and male and female, because today we will perform the *manganjan* ceremony, circling around the buffaloes, cows and pigs, because the people of Tewang Rangas village will lift the bones and deliver the souls back to the upper world (heaven)/Lewu Tatau je Baharas Bulau Rundung Janah Lewu dia kamalesu Uhat.

-Ngawus-

Time indicator: (01:41)

Ooo jua yaku balaku umba Rika Wulau Hatuen Atang, Atang Suli Pang Salungan, Atang Raja Bagalang Bulau mamambai patin jarin tingang samandiai, je jari manganjan ngumbang ngacang lawas penang manganjan ngumbang sapi ucang je batanduk purang harangan laut, urak bawui samben paramuan penda bendang, hapan mahalalian liau buli lewu rami dia kasene beti, Lewu Tatau je Habaras Bulau Rundung Janah dia kamalesu uhat, ie je ambun andau jituh uras je kumpul sinde bakas tawela bawi je hatue bara lewu rundung manasila gawin mangguang riwut nyahun tarung panjang lewu Tewang Rangas Hapalam batatang tiwah tingang manggatang uhat tulang liau buang je akan namean nangguh Pambak Patang Tawalien Bahandang je Hatangep Tingang.

I (the pisur) also request/beg Rika Wulau Hatuen Atang, Atang Suli Pang Salungan Atang Raja Bagalang Bulau to bless the ritual through our bodies/fingers, as we carry the *manganjan* in the ritual of circling the buffaloes, cows and pigs that are used to deliver the souls of the deceased back to Lewu Rami dia Kasene Beti, Lewu Tatau je Baharas Bulau Rundung Janah Lewu dia Kamalesu Uhat (heaven). Today we - old and young, males and females - have gathered together from the villages around here because we heard the news that the (deceased's) bones will be lifted and deposited in the grave – the Pambak Patang Tawelian Bahandang je Hatangep Tingang.

-Ngawus-

Time indicator: (03:17)

Ooo balaku kia umba liau parara, mapelai sapunggut belum sapanaling tahaseng panjang tuah rajaki panatau pasihan belum, akan kare kaluarga je ngecen batang danum injam tingang tuh, mangat ie limbah batatang tiwah tingang mahalalian liau buli lewu rami, mangat sanang baduit bauang genep andau nukang andau parang, jakai madu kare gawi raga basatiar bausaha tau bahasil baguna, mundahan luse tau belum panju-panjung kilau Pisang Tanggan Tarung belum tatau sanang, nenga akan luse kapintar kaharati samandiai natilang bara peres lunuk hatinggang akan kakare seluruh anggota kare panatia, kalie kia akan panitia Kabupaten Katingan je manarang atei huang lamus sipan tapayah gitan sapai tege kamajuan akan ita agama Kaharingan kilau parintis jalan sapai jari manyumbang sapi ucang batanduk purang harangan laut urak bawui samben paramuan penda bendang.

I also beg the *liau parara* spirits to leave the *Sapungut Belum Sapalekik Tahaseng Panjang* and all the members of the family who still live in the world some wealth, and after the *tiwah* ceremony to deliver the souls to Lewu Rami (heaven), so that they will receive good fortune and wealth/money for the rest of their lives. [I beg] also that they will be able successfully to manage their work, to be a success, hopefully, that they may live like Pisang Tanggang Tarung, live happy and gifted, avoiding any illnesses among the family members and the committee of the *tiwah* ceremony. The same prayer is extended to members of the government of the Katingan Regency who came and sincerely helped us Kaharingan believers by giving us buffaloes, cows and pigs.

-Ngawus-

Time indicator: (05:14)

Ie sapai jari manginjam patin jarin tingang ikei epat je akan batata-tatang hatawuran behas bungen manyang, manaturun tingang pangawian ambun andau bara andau malem palus kahapus andau jewu, mangat arak jalanan liau parara je buli lewu rami dia kasene beti Lewu Tatau Habaras Bulau Rundung Janah dia bakalesu uhat bujur kabajuran manumun kahawang kare kaluarga rundung pangasila.

The people of Tewang Rangas have asked/borrowed four of us (the *pisur* and his assistant) to carry out the *batatang-tatang* ritual of scattering the rice (*bungen manyang manaturun tingang*). The rituals yesterday and today will finish tomorrow, and finally the souls will journey back to Lewu Rami dia Kasene Beti Lewu Tatau Habaras Bulau Rundung Janah dia Bakalesu Uhat Bujur Kabajuran (heaven), in alignment with the family's wishes.

-Ngawus-

Time indicator: (06:11)

Ie je ambun andau jituh ita je nganjan ngumbang manaharep sapi ucang batanduk purang harangan laut urak bawui samben paramuan penda bendang, hapa ta mampahata liau parara buli nanggu lewu rami dia kasene beti, hapa ta mampahata liau parara buang mangat niat panjalanai bujur kabajuran ambun andau jewu ie manjalan Lasang Banama Bulau bahalap hendai balapik timpung balunas Nyalung Kaharingan Belum bara ambun andau jituh, natap sadia kare puat bahata nanggu randung banama, ilah sapai lihi-lihia kare puat bahata, ooooiii

jakai kare rakan panginan je lamus sipan jituh je nenga gawin kare kaluarga liau parara buang je akan tame Pambak Patang Tawalien Bahandang je hatangep tingang je buli lewu rami je dia kasene beti Lewu Tatau Habaras Bulau Rundung Janah dia bakalesu uhat.

Today we are circling around the buffaloes, cows and pigs. We respect the *liau parara* who will go back to Lewu Rami dia Kasene Beti (heaven). We will prepare meals for the *liau parara* spirits, so that the journey (back to heaven) will proceed smoothly on the mystical boat (Lasang Banama Bulau Bahalap Hendai Balapik Tipung) that is used for the souls to "sail" from this world to heaven, with holy water (Nyalung Kaharingan Belum) on the "deck". We shall prepare everything today in Randung Banama, making sure nothing is left behind, using every means we have [including] the excellent refreshments which will be given to the families of the deceased who will go to the grave (Pambak Patang Tawalien Bahandang ke Hatangep Tingang), and then the soul of the deceased will finally go to Lewu Rami je dia Kasene Beti Lewu Tatau Habaras Bulau Rundung Janah dia bakalesu uhat (heaven).

-Ngawus-

Time indicator: (07:46)

Jakai tau esu ku Babak je nutung pelek mahapengan tingang atang napa rawei sasana, sarai ita nganjan ngumbang sapi ucang batanduk purang harangan laut metu je basewut urak bawui samben paramuan penda bendang, balaku manyambung akangkuh rawei sasanan jang kuh burung pangesu jituh je mander mara akan liau parara buang ku mander mara je tapetik kalie kia akan kare kaluarga je batatang tiwah tingang tuh, mudahan luse sama ninggang umur panjang belum lapang mangat sanang baduit je bauang.

Oooi please, if you will, my grandson Babak will continue this *sasana* whilst we are circling (*manganjan*) the cows, buffaloes, and pigs. Please continue the *sasana*, my grandson, and please tell the *liau parara* through the *tapetik* ritual ... that I hope the family members of the *tiwah* ceremony will live long lives, be respected, and will be wealthy.

-Ngawus-

Time indicator: (08:57)

Basa jituh je bagare batatang tiwah tingang tuh, are mampalua duit uang hatatinggang gawin kapehen nanyam atei tah umba huang mamikir mangganang, jakai je kare indang yapang pahari tundah kula, je jeham hagatang je nanggu Pambak Patang Tawalien Bahandang je Hatangep Tingang, je luse lewu Tewang Rangas-Hapalam usang, sama nyandang pakat panjang bara usang helu dia tau hayang ganggu pakat bara satu sapai arak tingang pangawian tau manjari sapai ambun andau jituh talaksana je nyusun gawin panatia hajamban kia kare anggota kalie kia kare ketua uras tau manenga je saran-saran nyata panatia kabupaten Katingan nyandang huang je lamus sipan je akan tah agama Kaharingan mundah-mundahan sama kilau manetei jalan dia tau hayang nganan bara usang huran akan contoh taladan tapayah gitan.

It is true that the *tiwah* ceremony has cost a lot of money, but that is fine because if we do not pay our respects to our parents in this way, if we do not hold this (*tiwah* ceremony), then it will tear our hearts apart. We need to remember the parents of the family who are not yet placed inside the *pambak* (coffin). The people in Tewang Rangas and Hapalam have long planned to work together till today to arrange this *tiwah* ceremony with help from the committee and from the government of Kabupaten Katingan, who assisted and brought happiness to us, we believers in the Hindu-Kaharingan religion. Hopefully we can follow the right path and not lose it, so that we can be a good example to others.

-Ngawus-

Time indicator: (10:41)

Ie je ngatang rawei sasana, bara hamalem endau bilak nguca-ngucan nak ngatang rawei sasanan jang je bagare batatang tiwah tingang je mangakat uhat tulang liau buang nanggu Pambak Patang Tawalien Bahandang je hatangep tingang akui kuan ulu Lewu Tatau Habaras Bulau Rundung Janah dia bakalesu uhat, dia be tapas kurang puat sandang liau nak rawei sasanan jang ulun Batang Danum Injam Tingang umba ikam bakas tawela bawi je hatue atun tehe, jari ambun andau jituh ekei sama-sama kilau manyambung tapa kacang hamalem jituh rawei sasanan jang keh, sambil kei mangumbang ngacang nak lawas penang nganjan ngumbang sapi ucang je batanduk purang je harangan urak bawui samben manuk darung

tingang hapa mapahata liau parara mangat tingang panjalanai bujur kabajuran lamus sipan manumun kahawang ita samandiai kare garing tundah kulai.

Moreover, we, who carried out the *sasana kayau* since last night produced the sound of the *sasana kayau*, which is like the sound of rain. (Then) the next part of the *tiwah* ceremony is to lift the bones into the *pambak* (coffin). The people in the village Lewu Tatau Habaras Bulau Rundung Janah dia Bakalesu Uhat, there were enough "meals" for them all. Then we all shall do the *manganjan*, circling around the cows, buffaloes, pigs and chickens, and we shall do the *mampahata liau parara* so that the spirits' journey [*liau parara*] will be as smooth as we could wish.

-Ngawus-

Time indicator: (12:15)

Jari auh riwut nyahun tarung panjang tuh sapai masapai nanggu Ranying Hatalla Tuhan, akui kuan Ranying Hatalla Tuhan, arak lagui luse lewu Tewang Rangas-Hapalam batatang Tiwah Tingang jakai ita mapamuhun hatamunan lawung balanga panatau panuhan akan luse ambun andau jituh tuh parang, nyandang jua ku ie kuan luse jari amun jari muhun panatau panuhan akan lewu Tewang Rangas tuh usang – Hapalam kare kaluarga batatang Tiwah Tingang kerei pisur mangatur tekap manikap karuhei tatau sapaunggut belum sapanaling aseng panjang, mangat ita je ngecen Batang Danum Injam Tingang saluruh anggota batatang Tiwah Tingang, belum lapang mangat sanang baduit je bauang sapanja-panjang.

[I believe] the news about this *tiwah* ceremony has been passed on to Ranying Hatalla Tuhan. Then God said, "It looks like the people in Tewang Rangas and Hapalam villages are performing a *tiwah* ceremony. How about we bestow wealth on them (the family members of the *tiwah* ceremony). The *pisur* will take care of them. Then they will receive wealth (*karuhei tatau*), be settled in life, and will be eternally fulfilled".

-Ngawus-

Time indicator: (13:38)

Mikeh teghe kawan garing tundah kulang nyambung akang rawei sasana, jakai ulun bawi bulan bintang hawang ngatang rawei sasanang jang basa taluh je gare ngatang rawei sasana je akan hagaga bakas lu tawela, ita je manyapai auh tekat huang doa umba liau parara, jari

ambun andau jituh yaku je manggatang auh rawei sasana jang padahal taluh nyandang rawei jang marak auh taluh je tapas kurang gawi taghal huang ku duha je mambatang mahi amun yaku mamikir mangganang sanger ku Yapang Hano taluh bakas panjang belum usa-usang dia ku beci...

If anyone, male or female, would like to continue my *sasana*, they can express their feelings and pray to the *liau parara*. Today, I have delivered my *sasana* with thoroughness. Yet it was still unsatisfactory, I have paid my respects, and have done honour to my in-laws... [inaudible words followed].

-Ngawus-

Appendix Three: Transcription of an excerpt of the *Sasana Kayau* (sung in the Katingan Awa Dialect) in Tewang Rangas village, 2015

Title of genre : Sasana Kayau (Manganjan Metu)

Performer : Pak Napin Dalin (Yapang Yetno), the *pisur* from Handiwung village

Ngawus : Babak, the pisur pangapit Tewang Rangkang village

Place and date : Tewang Rangas village, Kecamatan Tewang Sangalang Garing,

Kabupaten Katingan, Central Kalimantan, Indonesia, 8 August 2015







9. # 10. 10. 10. 10. 10. 10. 10. 10. 10. 10. 10. 10. 10. 10. 10. 10. 10 & y ... y ..

















