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## GONGS AMONG THE KENYAH UMA' JALAN: PAST AND PRESENT POSITION OF AN INSTRUMENTAL TRADITION

by V.K. Gorlinski

How does the enmeshment of a performance tradition within a broader matrix of societal concerns operate in an era of rapid change? What are the implications of this enmeshment for the viability of a tradition? This essay offers a few thoughts on these questions and on the subject of change in general, using the gong tradition of the Uma' Jalan subgroup of the Kenyah people of East Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo) as a case in point. As cogently stated in the introductory comments to Judith Becker's 1988 article, "Earth, Fire, *Sakti*, and the Javanese Gamelan": "Outside of ritual, instruments nearly always have associations of class, of hierarchy, thus reinforcing the rankings of men and women within a society. Everywhere, musical instruments are embedded within the systems of thought that organize and give coherence to a particular world view" (Becker 1988: 385). Becker subsequently illustrated this phenomenon through an analysis of the making and the maker of the Javanese *gamelan*. The analysis I present here is in the same vein as Becker's in that it also concerns Indonesia, gongs, and the significance of sound instruments and instrumental expression beyond the performance event itself. However, in contrast to Becker's piece, I examine a gong tradition that has been cultivated by a different people in quite a different environment, and I use this tradition specifically to address the issue of musical change.

The information for this study was provided primarily by the residents of Long Ampung and Long Segar, the two Kenyah Uma' Jalan villages that hosted me from 1986-1988.<sup>1</sup> Long Ampung lies in the mountainous highlands of East Kalimantan near the border with Sarawak, Malaysia. Long Segar, located in the lowlands to the southeast, is one of a number of migrant settlements that began to branch from Long Ampung nearly two generations ago. Although most subgroups of the Kenyah people share a common language, livelihood, and social and religious history, the details of practice vary considerably from group to group and, with the exception of dialect differences, this variation is more readily acknowledged by the Kenyah than by those who have written about them. From the use of Uma' Jalan terminology<sup>2</sup> to the citation of villagers' opinions, my discussion is founded on the specific. It should be understood, then, that my comments and conclusions may not wholly apply to other Kenyah societies. I have, however, integrated comparative material from other Kenyah subgroups and neighboring Borneo peoples whenever possible to better contextualize my topic and to better support my points.

The discussion commences with an introduction to several prominent elements of Uma' Jalan history and society, including migration, spiritual beliefs, and social stratification. Following a brief description of Uma' Jalan gong taxonomy, all this information is then used as a foundation for the

next section, which examines the historical uses, functions, and symbolism of gongs and gong playing in the Uma' Jalan community. The spiritual and social connotations of the instruments and their performance revealed in this section are linked in the final discussion and analysis to the repositioning of the gong tradition to a level of minimal maintenance in Uma' Jalan society of the late 1980s.

#### *Historical and Social Considerations*

The Uma' Jalan are one of approximately forty named subgroups of the central Borneo people known as "Kenyah" (P. Whittier 1981: 9; Rousseau 1990: 16-17n.). Like most central Borneo peoples, the Uma' Jalan trace their origins to the mountainous highlands now bisected by the boundary between East Kalimantan, Indonesia and Sarawak, Malaysia (Rousseau 1990: 1-5). Swidden riziculture is the primary occupation of most villagers, although hunting, fishing, and gathering a variety of fruits and vegetables (both cultivated and wild) are equally important activities. Forest products such as rattan, honey, aromatic woods, gold, and snakeskins are collected for sale or personal use, and pepper, coconuts, bananas, rubber, cocoa, and other products are grown as cash crops.

Until the middle of this century, most Uma' Jalan dwelt in the large, multi-longhouse village of Long Ampung in the upper reaches of the Kayan River, an area known as the Apau Kayan ("Kayan Plateau"). From the mid-1950s to the early 1970s, many Uma' Jalan and neighboring peoples from other Kenyah subgroups migrated out of the mountains to settle primarily in the lower stretches of the Kayan and Mahakam basins. The principal incentives in moving included increased accessibility of market, educational, and medical facilities, as well as a significant subsidy offered by the Indonesian government for relocation to an approved area (Whittier and Whittier 1974: 11; Guerreiro and Sellato 1984: 21). Some scholars have cited the oil and timber booms of the 1960s and 1970s as influential factors (Jessup and Mackie 1984: 82), and several Uma' Jalan emphasized religious factionalism as a further motivation. Indeed, Whittier (1978a: 108) reported that virtually every village in the Apau Kayan was at one time split on account of religious differences (c.f. Conley 1974: 323). By the time of my research in the 1980s, the exodus from the Apau Kayan had diminished to a trickle.<sup>3</sup> Long Ampung, a once bustling community of several thousand (Tillema 1989[1938]: 96) had been reduced to a relatively quiet settlement of 436 individuals<sup>4</sup> occupying five small longhouses and scattered single-family homes.

The Kenyah Uma' Jalan generally recognize three phases in their religious history which, particularly in earlier times, have overlapped as one belief system gradually gave way to the next. The first phase, descriptively labelled *adet keret* ("impossibly contrary *adat*") by one villager,<sup>5</sup> extended purportedly from Kenyah pre-history to about 1937. *Adet keret* was characterized by the continual propitiation of several prominent spirit types, whose will was revealed through dreams, possession, and especially through omen animals. Either visual or aural perception of an omen animal constituted a portentous incident, and such a sign could not be disregarded without potential danger not only to the individual, but also to his or her family and the entire com-

munity. To heed the omens, however, frequently necessitated the postponement or complete abortion of an endeavor.<sup>6</sup>

The second religion, *adet Bungan*, was said to have originated from a prophetic dream. About 1937,<sup>7</sup> a Long Ampung villager by the name of Juk Apui claimed that a spirit had visited him in his sleep. This spirit advised Juk and the Uma' Jalan as a whole no longer to propitiate the multifarious spirits or heed the omen animals. Rather, they should place their faith solely in Bungan Malan, one of the female entities from the *adet keret* pantheon, and she would provide for them. The spirit further reported that the ritual offerings could be reduced from the frequently numerous pigs and chickens to a single chicken egg in all circumstances. The major innovations of the *adet Bungan* era, then, were 1) the directing of prayers to a single, supreme deity, 2) the invalidation of omen animals, and 3) the reduction of ritual offering to a chicken egg. The rituals from the *adet keret* period were ostensibly preserved under *adet Bungan*, albeit with some adjustment in accordance with the demands of the new belief system.<sup>8</sup>

*Adet Bungan* spread rapidly through other villages in the Apau Kayan and across the watershed into Sarawak, where it has continued to command a small following. The religion was relatively short-lived among the Uma' Jalan, however. By the early 1970s, *adet Bungan* had virtually vanished from the Apau Kayan, having been supplanted by various sects of Protestant Christianity, as well as Roman Catholicism (Whittier and Whittier 1974: 14). The Uma' Jalan converted primarily to the Gospel Tabernacle Church of Indonesia (GKII: *Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia*), an American-based mission which had been operating in the Apau Kayan since the late 1920s (Conley 1974: 312). A significant minority embraced the Roman Catholic faith, and the Protestant Church of Western Indonesia (GPIB: *Gereja Protestan Indonesia Barat*) also gained a small group of adherents.<sup>9</sup> Uma' Jalan villagers usually date the completion of their conversion to Christianity in the mid- to late-1960s. Since that time, they have ceased to practice the shamanistic and *adet* rituals of the former religious systems, and very few ritual-related activities have been recontextualized or otherwise incorporated into a Christian framework (Gorlinski 1989: 287-88). Child naming, healing, funerary and other rituals were largely replaced by Christian gatherings for group prayer.

Uma' Jalan society (and Kenyah society as a whole) was formerly stratified into four major classes: the high nobility (*paren*), low nobility (*paren asa* or *paren mano*), commoners (*panyen*), and slaves (*salut* or *ula*).<sup>10</sup> Members of the two upper strata were sometimes designated collectively *kelunan lata* ("big people") or *ida ta'u* ("those on the right"), as opposed to the bulk of the population, known as *kelunan ja'at* ("bad people") or *ida kabing* ("those on the left"). The *paren* and *paren asa* were the political and ritual leaders of the community and, as such, enjoyed numerous rights and privileges. These included priority in rice planting, the use of gongs as seats or stools, exclusive possession of tigers' teeth and certain rare beads, and the use of particular motifs in tattoos, beadwork, painting, and carving (H.L. Whittier 1973). Although a continued awareness of class distinctions is evident in some activities, class boundaries have become increasingly blurred in the twentieth century, however, due primarily to the influences of Dutch and Indonesian

administrative ideals, Christian theology, and status acquired through education and white collar work (see Galvin 1970; Whittier and Whittier 1974: 15; Conley 1974: 314; Conley [1975]: 247; P. Whittier 1981: 27-34; Jessup and Mackie 1984: 83).<sup>11</sup> By the time of my visit, many of the former symbols of noble status no longer carried class associations and, perhaps more significantly, one village had planned the inauguration of a new village head who was not of aristocratic descent.

*Uma' Jalan Gongs: Origins and Taxonomy*

The Uma' Jalan are not gong makers. Nevertheless, numerous instruments have passed through their hands and at one time accumulated in their storage sheds. The instruments were acquired (and later also dispersed) as individual pieces, foremost through purchase, compensation resulting from a serious offense and, in the case of aristocrats, through wedding negotiations. These exchanges involved not only neighboring Kenyah peoples, but also other ethnic groups of the highland interior and lowland coastal regions, such as the Kayan and the Iban. Most villagers I questioned did not know who had made the instruments. One man even suggested that the gongs might have come from Russia, having observed that "the Chinese do not use these." According to Shelford (1904: 47), the large, deep-rimmed gongs used by "Dyaks and other natives" emanated from Java, although some may have been produced by the Maloh, a people inhabiting the interior lowlands of West Kalimantan.<sup>12</sup> The smaller instruments, if not also of Javanese origin, were made by Malays either in Kuching, Sarawak, or in Brunei. Large flat gongs were indeed of Chinese make (Shelford 1904: 47; see also Roth 1896, ii: 263, Samson 1980: 564, and Frame 1982: 250).

The Uma' Jalan used the label *tawek* to refer generically to all types of gong. This term was synecdochic, functioning also on a lower level to specify the largest member of the gong family. To avoid confusion, I will employ the term *tawek* only in its specific sense for the remainder of this essay. When referring to gongs in general, I will use the English word.

Knowledgeable individuals<sup>13</sup> with whom I spoke in Long Ampung and Long Segar usually identified five varieties of gong: *tawek*, *angkung*, *tabo*, *mebang*, and *gilen*. Distinctions were made based primarily on diameter, depth, and the presence or absence of a boss. Occasionally the metal from which the instrument was made as well as the contour of the gong face were also taken into consideration. (The various gongs are depicted in Figures 1 to 5.) The *tawek* were broad, deep gongs with a prominent boss and a low pitch. The larger instruments were sometimes called *tawek pikun* ("pikul *tawek*")<sup>14</sup> and the smaller ones, *tawek i'ut* ("small *tawek*"). Lighter in weight and higher in pitch than the *tawek* were the *angkung*. These were broad but shallow gongs of bronze with a relatively flat boss. The *tabo*, on the other hand, was described as a small, deep-rimmed instrument of iron with a high pitch, similar to a kettle from the Javanese *bonang*.<sup>15</sup> At the time of my research, I was unable to locate any specimen of this instrument in either Long Ampung or Long Segar, but it is likely that the *tabo* closely resembled (or was) a kettle from the gong row of an Iban *engkromong*, Brunei *gulintangan*, or similar ensemble. Similarly, no *mebang* or *gilen* was available for examination in either of the two settlements. In a Kayan village, however, I did

KENYAH UMA' JALAN GONG PROFILES

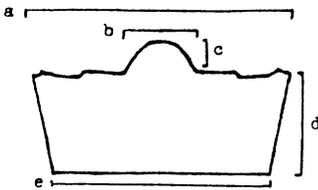


Figure 1a  
*tawek pikun*

Measurements from  
Long Ampung:

- a: 58.0cm    b: 14.5cm  
c: 8.0cm    d: 22.0cm  
e: 45.3cm



Figure 1b  
*tawek i'ut*

Measurements from  
Long Ampung:

- a: 46.0cm    b: 10.5cm  
c: 5.0cm    d: 19.2cm  
e: 38.0cm

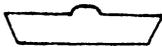


Figure 2  
*angkung*

Measurements from  
Long Ampung:

- a: 35.0cm    b: 5.7cm  
c: 1.5cm    d: 6.0cm  
e: 29.5cm



Figure 3  
*tabo (?)*

Reconstructed from  
descriptions and  
measurements of similar  
instruments in Shelford  
(1904: 49, Plate IV, Fig. 12)

- a: 19.6cm    d: 6.0cm

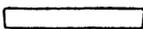


Figure 4  
*mebang*

Reconstructed from  
descriptions and instrument  
seen in a Kayan village



Figure 5  
*gilen (?)*

Reconstructed from  
descriptions only

encounter a specimen of a *mebang*, which was immediately recognizable from Uma' Jalan descriptions of it as a narrow-rimmed flat gong. The *gilen* was depicted as a broad, shallow, bossed gong. One elderly man said the instrument had an extraordinary diameter, thus corroborating in one sense the glosses of "a big gong" provided by Galvin (1967: 16) and Harrisson and Wan Ullok (1961: 199) for similar non-Uma' Jalan Kenyah terms. Another villager emphasized not the size of the *gilen*, but the singular conformation of its face: a somewhat concave surface with an indentation rising to a lip on the outer edge of the instrument.

*Gongs in Uma' Jalan History: Uses, Functions, and Symbolism*

In his 1904 catalogue of musical instruments in the Sarawak Museum, Shelford (1904: 46) remarked:

From a native point of view . . . gongs are the most important of all musical instruments . . . . The wealth of a chief consists chiefly of gongs and jars, and his collection of the former, if he is in prosperous circumstances, is always increasing. They are played at ceremonies and festivals of every description and the noise produced by the beating of twenty or thirty gongs all at the same time can be better imagined than described.

Shelford's evocative commentary was, at least in the past, certainly applicable to the Uma' Jalan.<sup>16</sup> However, in its generality, it does not scratch the surface of the religious and social significance gongs have held for these people. Even into the late 1980s, Uma' Jalan gongs and gong playing not only continued to be closely associated with the former *adet keret* and *adet Bungan* belief systems, but also remained enmeshed in the matrix of status symbols that supported a once strongly stratified society.

Of the five gong types described earlier, only two — the *tawek* and the *angkung* — were consistently reported to have been regularly used as sound instruments or ritual paraphernalia. Some claimed that the *mebang* was also struck as part of certain *adet* rituals, but others averred that this gong, along with the *tabo* and *gilen*, possessed an inferior sound quality, and served no specific purpose other than to be stored as family property. Being the most historically prominent of the gongs, the *tawek* and *angkung* consequently form the foci of this description and analysis.

During his travels in the upper Mahakam basin in the early 1900s, A.W. Nieuwenhuis (1907, ii: 142) observed that the deep-rimmed gongs were valued for a purity of sound that rendered them particularly suitable for signalling over long distances. The Uma' Jalan also considered the deep-rimmed *tawek* to be the most valuable of gongs and, like the peoples of the upper Mahakam, employed them as signals and alarms. A series of even, sparse pulses on the *tawek*, slowly accelerating to a moderate speed, announced the commencement of a public event. A similar pattern accelerating into sustained beating at a rapid tempo carried news of death or emergency to individuals both within and well beyond the village compound.<sup>17</sup>

The *tawek* has been important historically not only as an alarm, but also as an indispensable sound component of certain major rituals and ceremonies of the former *adet keret* and *adet Bungan* eras. According to one villager, these rituals could not be conducted in the absence of the *tawek* because the sound

of the gongs alerted the spirits that a prayer was being offered. In a later conversation, the same individual added that gong beating was necessary to obscure the sounds of omen animals, as these could impede the progress of the ritual. This explanation, which was reiterated by other Uma' Jalan, is reminiscent of that offered by Elshout (1926: 85n.) in his account of Apau Kayan Kenyah funerary rites of the 1910s: "Making noise during the burial has the same meaning as beating on the gong . . . . People do not want to hear the cry of omen birds (*dahu pelaki nuyau*). Also, the magic of the sound has to neutralize the dangerous magic of the corpse."

This rationale for gong playing in ritual circumstances is not unique to the Uma' Jalan or to the Kenyah as a whole. Haddon (1901: 352) presented a similar report for the Sebop, a Kenyah-related people who struck the gong to keep from "hearing the hawk" at their ceremonies for moving old heads to a new longhouse. More recently, Sandin (1980b: 67) reported that at child naming, the Iban fired a shotgun "to deafen them from hearing any omen and at the same time musicians beat their gongs and drums."<sup>18</sup>

The ritual-ceremonial *tawek* ensemble of the Uma' Jalan did not constitute a set of instruments in the sense of a Javanese or Balinese *gamelan*, or even a Mindanaoan *kulintang*.<sup>19</sup> Having been acquired by various individuals as single instruments, the *tawek* that formed an ensemble were typically garnered from several households within the village. Family relations and purity of tone were said to have been of primary concern in combining the gongs, although pitch contrast within the ensemble may also have been a consideration. The specific pitches of the *tawek*, I was told, were not important.<sup>20</sup>

*Tekaha tawek* was said to denote the act of playing *tawek* in ensemble, as opposed to simply beating a gong, which was designated "*pegan tawek*" or "*petuba tawek*."<sup>21</sup> In ensemble performance, the *tawek* were described as entering in succession from the highest- to the lowest-pitched instrument, each sounding its own rhythm. The parts interlocked to form a single pattern in typical Southeast Asian fashion. One man stressed that the breadth of repertoire for the ensemble was not comparable to that of the recreational instruments. There were a number of different "tunes" (Indonesian: *lagu*) for the ensemble, he said, but they were not named. Conley ([1975]: 82) reported that, among the Lepo' Tau subgroup of Kenyah, the gongs sounded "in a certain rhythm" to attract spirits into the village, thus implying the existence of specific functions for various parts of the repertoire. It is likely that this was also the case with the Uma' Jalan gong repertoire, but at this time I am unable to offer any details on this matter.

The Uma' Jalan emphasized several rituals that, in the past, required striking the gongs either singly or in ensemble. In general, an ensemble of *tawek* was required for large-scale rituals, and the size of the ensemble increased with the importance of the event. Foremost of the large-scale rituals, at least in the memory of villagers of the late 1980s, was the *mamat*. This was a community-wide "victory ritual," formerly conducted in conjunction with a successful headhunting expedition, and consisting largely of a graded rites ceremony for men. Following the cessation of headhunting, however, the *mamat* apparently became an annual event, no longer directly linked with warfare. The *mamat* was said to have been performed for the last time in Long Ampung around 1968. Villagers said that a second com-

munity ritual that employed *tawek* was the *uyan udip* (literally, “to make life”). This ritual they described as a purificatory measure, intended to cleanse the village of disease and other misfortune.<sup>22</sup>

Both the *mamat* and *uyan udip* were said to have required the beating of multiple *tawek*. Accounts of the number of *tawek* sounded at the *mamat* were inconsistent, from two, five, and ten to as many instruments as were available. Although I discussed the *uyan udip* with a number of villagers, only one person offered a definite count of instruments in the ensemble: four. This ritual, however, was generally depicted as a smaller-scale event than the *mamat*. In absence of any stated determinants of the number of gongs employed in these ritual ensembles, the contradictory and undetailed reports might be attributed to a fundamental flexibility in performance practice, a difference in the ensemble before and after the adoption of *adet Bungan*, or a combination of these factors. Moreover, the disparate accounts suggest that, in the case of the community rituals of *mamat* and *uyan udip*, the exact count of instruments was not an issue, as long as there was an ensemble.

In contrast to the community rituals of *mamat* and *uyan udip*, the number of instruments struck at personal rituals was highly significant. Despite further inconsistency in accounts, villagers continually emphasized the link between high social status and a large ensemble. Four major personal rituals demanded the playing of gongs. These included a type of healing ritual for critically ill men (*miwah*), funerals, weddings, and child naming (*takau anak*, “release of the child”).

All of these four ritual occasions required *tawek* except the child naming, which I will discuss separately. Several villagers commented that eight *tawek* distinguished the *miwah* of an aristocrat from that of a commoner, the latter using only four instruments. Another individual recalled an ensemble of six *tawek* for the nobility, as opposed to four or five instruments for those of lower status. The highest aristocrat in Long Ampung asserted that the point was to beat as many *tawek* as possible at the *miwah* for a *paren* (aristocrat). Similarly, the funeral procession of a deceased *paren* was said formerly to have been accompanied by the sound of many *tawek*. Non-nobility, on the other hand, could expect no gongs to accompany the carrying of their coffins to the cemetery. One person did claim, however, that a single *tawek* was always struck if the deceased was a commoner.<sup>23</sup> Gong playing at marriages followed the same pattern, and reports ranged from an accompaniment of zero *tawek* for a common marriage to an ensemble for four instruments for an aristocratic ritual.

In the times of *adet keret* and *adet Bungan*, the *takau anak* (child naming) ritual was performed when a newborn child was brought from the longhouse apartment and carried for the first time along the longhouse veranda and down to the ground. On the ground, a ceremony was conducted whereby the baby was symbolically socialized into the appropriate gender role and given a name. The descriptions of the gong requirements for the *takau anak* are among the most diverse in my fieldnotes. Nevertheless, most concurred that just a single gong was used, and then only in the case of an aristocratic childnaming.<sup>24</sup> Throughout the event, the gong iterated variations on a rhythm described onomatopoeically by one woman as *tung tung punga’ sungkung* (“leaf leaf [type of beetle]”), or  $\times \times \times \times \times \times$ .<sup>25</sup> The contradictions

in reports centered primarily on the type of gong used. Several villagers remembered the gong to have been an *angkung*, but one man said it was a *mebang*, and another claimed that it depended on whether the child was a boy or girl. An *angkung*, he clarified, was struck for a girl, a *tawek* for a boy. In contrast to most accounts, one villager stated adamantly that the gong was sounded for all children regardless of social class. This dissenting opinion notwithstanding, the *takau anak* ritual undeniably evoked images of aristocratic status for many villagers.

In the preceding paragraphs I have discussed gongs as sound instruments, highlighting some of the relationships between gong playing, pre-Christian conversion spiritual beliefs, and social stratification. I now wish to examine the significance of gongs from another angle — as symbolic objects, rather than as sound instruments. In the following pages I will illustrate how the relationships between the spiritual and social worlds of the Uma' Jalan were not only audibly manifest in the striking of gongs in ritual contexts, but also silently evident in the use of the instruments as paraphernalia in both ritual and everyday circumstances.

The Uma' Jalan system of social stratification imposed no restrictions on the ownership of gongs. On several occasions, villagers commented that anyone could rightfully own any type of gong, and that most households did indeed store some instruments. Possession of a larger quantity of gongs was identified as an indicator of wealth but not necessarily high social status. Status was revealed not in the quantity of instruments, but rather in particular usages of gongs that were prerogatives of the upper class.

Among the most frequently mentioned of such aristocratic privileges was the use of gongs as seats or stools. A typical example was the noble wedding ceremony of the *adet keret* and *adet Bungan eras*, where a *tawek* constituted the matrimonial seat for the bride and groom. As explained by two Uma' Jalan — one an elderly aristocrat from Long Ampung, the other a common-born civil servant from Long Segar — the *tawek* symbolized in this context both a solid foundation for the nuptial union and a strong and cohesive community held intact by the nobility. Ray Rudes' remarkably similar statement (1962 in Conley [1975]: 93), published a quarter century prior to my research, suggests that the interpretation of these two villagers was a common one. Rudes wrote: "The large gong, made of strong metal, represents a strong foundation for the marriage. This will provide a defense against behavior of people that might threaten the integrity of the new family" (Rudes 1962: 75). In contrast to the Uma' Jalan explanations, neither Conley ([1975]: 92) nor Rudes identified the *tawek* marriage seat as a distinctive feature of the aristocratic ceremony. This disparity is perhaps attributable to a variation in practice, or to an omission of this detail in Rudes' and Conley's accounts.

For the Uma' Jalan aristocracy, the use of gongs specifically as status symbols was by no means limited to the wedding ceremony. In everyday affairs, the *paren* reserved the right to sit on gongs, while either addressing the community or chopping vegetables in the kitchen. At recreational dance events, the *kancet tawek* ("tawek dance"), a solo dance executed on the face of a *tawek* placed on the ground, was formerly performed only by the aristocracy. One man also recalled that at death, *tawek* were hung on the

tombs of noblemen.<sup>26</sup> If, in these various circumstances, the instruments embodied a symbolic significance similar to that of the *tawek* as matrimonial seat, the gongs of the Uma' Jalan begin to take shape historically as a powerful, albeit silent reinforcement of the social hierarchy that continually operated in all phases of daily life.

Although sitting on gongs was normally a symbol of aristocratic status, there was one important context in which this was not necessarily the case: the healing ritual of the shaman (*dayung*). This ritual was said to have employed two silent *angkung*, one of which was used as a seat for the *dayung*. Membership in the aristocratic class was not, however, a prerequisite for becoming a shaman. An Uma' Jalan *dayung* could be a man or woman, an aristocrat or commoner, as long as he or she maintained a relationship with a spirit of the type that aided in the diagnosis and healing of the ill (*Bali Dayung* "Shaman Spirit"). The second of the two *angkung* was inverted (boss down) on the ground to become part of a spinning indicator through which the *Bali Dayung* revealed the location of the sickness in the patient.<sup>27</sup>

The Uma' Jalan association of the *angkung* with shamanistic activities is quite pronounced, to the point that an elderly aristocrat in Long Ampung identified this gong specifically as "*angkung dayung*." I was unable to elicit any local interpretation of the symbolism of the *angkung* in the *dayung*'s ritual, and received no explanation of why the normal aristocratic right to sit on a gong was waived in this instance. It is possible that the *angkung* served as a seat for the spirit (*bali*), not the shaman in this case, considering the shaman was indeed possessed by the *bali*. Rudes (1962: 75 in Conley [1975]: 93) and Conley ([1975]: 93) have offered an account of the symbolism of the *angkung* in Kenyah (probably Lepo' Tau) wedding ceremonies that may shed additional light on the problem, however. In these ceremonies, the small gong, which was waved over the heads of the bride and groom (Conley [1975]: 93), "establishes an umbrella to shade and protect the couple from various testing times that will come in the future" (Rudes 1962: 75 in Conley [1975]: 93). Although the Uma' Jalan did not list the *angkung* as an accessory to their weddings, Rudes' and Conley's observations, when coupled with the role of the *angkung* in the shamanistic rituals of the Uma' Jalan, suggests that this gong acted as a symbolic repellent of both physical and spiritual adversity. It is possible that it was the need for protection from such adversity during the *dayung*'s interaction with the capricious spiritual world that justified the use of an *angkung* as a seat for a non-aristocratic Uma' Jalan. It is also conceivable that the protective element figured in the choice of the *angkung* as the physical indicator of illness in this ritual.

#### *Gongs and Gong-Playing in Uma' Jalan Society in the Late 1980s*

Eighty-two years after Shelford published the catalogue noted earlier (1904), a resident of the lowland migrant village of Long Segar contemplated the role of gongs in Uma' Jalan society, and expressed the following thoughts over the course of two separate conversations (separated by the ellipses):

Gongs are hard to find, and are highly valuable objects for the Kenyah. If there is a threat to the village, gongs are struck. In the past, gongs were tightly bound to the belief system of the Kenyah, and were used to accompany prayer . . . . Because the gongs were

too heavy, hardly anyone brought them from the Apau Kayan. Many gongs were sold, because they are no longer used except as alarms. Now it is impossible to hear the beating of gongs in ensemble, because there are not enough instruments (Enggong Anyé', personal communication, 19 October and 29 December 1986).

While reminiscent in some respects of Shelford's account quoted earlier, this commentary reveals the reduced importance of gongs in the spiritual and social milieu of 1980s Uma' Jalan society. Indeed, the villager's description aptly summarizes the situation as I found it during the course of my stay. In Long Segar, the *tawek* regularly summoned various segments of the public to community events and sounded the death knell. In the mother village of Long Ampung, the *tawek* continued to announce death, but it had been superseded in its role as a call to meetings by the wooden slit gong. Funerary processions were accompanied in both villages by a single *tawek*. On only one occasion did I witness the striking of gongs in ensemble; two *tawek* were played in the wedding procession for three couples married simultaneously in Long Segar. Significantly, one of these couples was of aristocratic descent. I never heard an *angkung* played, and never saw a *mebang, gilen, or tabo* in either Long Segar or Long Ampung. No one sat on gongs in public, although I once observed an older aristocrat in Long Ampung pull an *angkung* from beneath a dish rack to use as a seat while we chatted in his own home. And while I attended numerous dance events in the two villages, not once did anyone step onto a gong to perform the *kancet tawek*.

The deemphasis of gongs to a point of minimal maintenance as both a performance activity and a symbolic system has, I believe, precipitated from the tradition's interactive relationship with the changing religious and social values described in the initial part of this paper. Alterations in gong use and performance practice have effected or facilitated adjustments in the conventions of spiritual belief and social relations. On the other hand, the degree to which gongs continue to play a role in Uma' Jalan society is directly linked to lingering associations with formerly prominent religious and social traditions. I will now examine in closer detail some of the issues involved with both the deemphasis and maintenance of the Uma' Jalan gong traditions.

The lack of instruments was reported as a major factor in the discontinuation of the gong traditions in both Long Ampung and the emigre village of Long Segar. Residents of the latter community purportedly left their instruments in the Apau Kayan when they moved to the lowlands. Interestingly, Long Ampung families claimed to have sold most of their gongs decades ago — according to one villager, even before the onset of the out-migration.

The Uma' Jalan decision to dispose of most of their gongs indeed predates the exodus from the Apau Kayan, I feel, but the factors influential in their decision continued to operate into the 1980s, despite the migrations of the intervening years. The decade preceding the first wave of migration from Long Ampung — the 1940s — was depicted by several villagers as an era of economic hardship. The village head of Long Ampung cited this adversity as his (and other villagers') motivation to sell the gongs. It is difficult to

believe, however, that economic hardship was the sole impetus to dispense with large quantities of those instruments that had figured so prominently in Uma' Jalan social and spiritual history. The sale of the gongs, in my opinion, was part and parcel of the adoption and indigenous interpretation of a new religion and the incipient dissolution of class divisions.

It might at first seem ironic that, about the time the Uma' Jalan were purportedly selling most of their gongs, the greater portion of the population was embracing *adet Bungan*, a religion in which, like the earlier *adet keret*, gong playing figured quite prominently in ritual circumstances. While the Uma' Jalan might have divested themselves of the bulk of their store of instruments during this period, some gongs were clearly retained, and were struck in ensemble for the rituals of *adet Bungan*. Evidence suggests, however, that ritual gong playing during the *adet Bungan* years did undergo a change. The number of gongs used in ensemble appears to have been significantly reduced (see Note 24). *Adet Bungan*, then, might be interpreted as releasing the gongs for sale, in that maintenance of instruments for larger ritual ensembles became unnecessary under the new religious system.

Although the adoption of *adet Bungan* coincided with, and was certainly related to, the sale of gongs, to view the new religion as the sole or primary motivating agent in disposal of the instruments would constitute an oversimplification of a complex situation. Indeed, it is likely that the selling of the gongs, the spread of *adet Bungan*, and the loosening of the class system were mutually influential forces. For example, while *adet Bungan* may have obviated the need for large ritual ensembles, the sale of gongs may have catalyzed the adoption of the new religion, as villagers found they could no longer meet the ensemble demands of *adet keret*. Moreover, considering the historical link between ensemble size and aristocratic status, a reduction in the number of instruments in the ensemble would imply minimally a change in the conventions of demonstrating class affiliation. Selling of the gongs may have been fueled in part by the deemphasis of class differences and a concomitant effort to obscure visible symbols of status. Conversely, the sale of *tawek* in difficult times could have contributed to the blurring of class boundaries, as fewer and fewer instruments were available to demarcate clearly the personal rituals of aristocrats from those of lower status. Viewed from these angles, the large-scale sale of gongs among the Uma' Jalan appears not to be a consequence of a single economic, religious or social factor, but a single node in a matrix of continually interacting elements.

Despite the alleged depletion of the Uma' Jalan gong supply through sale or abandonment in the Apau Kayan, some instruments continued to be maintained not only through the *adet Bungan* years, but into the Christian era as well. Again, religious and social considerations have simultaneously propelled and braked the ritual gong tradition through these decades of change. As display of class divisions became less pronounced in the *adet Bungan* period, the spiritual aspect of gong performance appears to have been at the forefront of maintaining the tradition. After conversion to Christianity, however, the spiritual element worked against the tradition, and social concerns appear to have kept gong playing from disappearing completely. To illustrate this point, it is first necessary to reconsider the purported rationale for ritual gong beating discussed in the previous section.

The striking of gongs in ensemble (or in some cases, singly) was typically associated with certain ritual practices common to both the *adet keret* and *adet Bungan* periods. The commonly stated purpose of these performances was to frighten omen animals and mask their voices. Recalling that the omen animals were theoretically no longer influential under *adet Bungan*, however, the question arises: why, if it was no longer necessary to frighten omen animals, did the gong performance tradition continue to be practiced during that era? Moreover, if the tradition persisted throughout the *adet Bungan* period when it was ostensibly unneeded, why was it not also so viable in a Christian setting?

My efforts to elicit elaborations on this apparent incongruity between purpose and practice were generally unsuccessful. One man claimed that the striking of gongs notified Bungan Malan (the supreme deity under *adet Bungan*) of the dispatch of prayers, while several others asserted without further clarification that the gongs were no longer needed in a Christian environment. These comments seem to belie a deeper significance to gong playing than merely that of a sonorous scarecrow. Indeed, they suggest a spiritual element of gong beating that was conceptually incompatible with Christianity as practiced by the Uma' Jalan. My research of other ritual-related instrumental expressions indeed revealed that the rhythmic repertoire of certain Uma' Jalan genres — if not the sound of the instruments themselves — constituted a type of prayer (Gorlinski 1989). I think it highly possible that a similar prayer element was present in gong performance, and that this worked to perpetuate the tradition through the *adet Bungan* years, when it was supposedly unnecessary to frighten omen animals. Moreover, if prayer directed toward a non-Christian deity was inherent in the performance itself, this could account, at least in part, for the marked aversion the Uma' Jalan have held toward recontextualization of gong beating and other ritual instrumental genres into a Christian framework, despite the replacement of many *adet* rituals and ceremonies with Christian functional equivalents.<sup>28</sup>

Another somewhat less common explanation of the continuation of gong playing through the *adet Bungan* period was that it enhanced the ritual and made for a vibrant atmosphere. This aesthetic aspect should not be ignored or trivialized, as it has also been influential in maintaining the tradition. Metcalf (1982: 134) observed among the Berawan of Sarawak that “noise, confusion, and hilarity are viewed as essential elements in any major public ritual. Not to have them would indicate that the event had been a failure.” Uma' Jalan society, I think shared a similar aesthetic sentiment. However, the notion of a “public ritual” needs to be clarified here. For the Uma' Jalan, noise in the form of gong playing appeared to be most strongly associated with those rituals directly relating to the health and well-being of the person. These events were conducted on both community and individual levels, and included the graded rites and purificatory, healing, and child naming ceremonies noted earlier. I feel it is significant that gongs were not remembered as a notable feature of the seasonal agricultural rituals of the past. Nor were they a prominent element in the large-scale seasonal celebrations of Christmas and the New Year in the 1980s Christian milieu. The heightened energy created by the sound of gongs, I suggest, not only

validated a ritual as a major event, as Metcalf and the Uma' Jalan implied, but also validated the existence of an immediate Uma' Jalan community. Furthermore, gong playing reinforced the membership within that community of the individual on whose behalf the ritual was being conducted.

The ritual striking of gongs, then, might be viewed basically as an intra-village affair.<sup>29</sup> If this assessment is accurate, it would further explain why the Christmas celebrations of 1986 and 1987 did not feature ritual gong playing as I have described in the preceding pages. Conducted on a large scale, Christmas festivities have typically been inter-village events, with the duties of playing host to the main festivities rotating between proximate villages on a single stretch of the river. It is possible that gongs were not a major feature of these grand celebrations precisely because of their broadly public (inter-village) nature of these activities. By the same token, it is not surprising that the widely varied program prepared by the Uma' Jalan of Long Segar to greet a team of ethnomusicologists in 1977 also did not include ritual gong beating either singly or in ensemble (see Maceda 1978: 93).<sup>30</sup> The team of ethnomusicologists was not immediate community.

In the foregoing analysis I have shown that, unlike the gong playing in the *adet Bungan* era, which was apparently supported by a spiritual element, the tradition as it stood in the 1980s was rooted more in social factors. As long as there remains a consciousness of the non-Christian spiritual association of gong playing, I believe it would be difficult for the tradition to regain prominence comparable to that of the *adet Bungan* and *adet keret* years. Equally difficult, however, would be the complete abandonment of the gong tradition as long as it continues to be associated with community and class. This is perhaps best illustrated by the comments of a Long Segar villager regarding funerary gong beating. While a gong was played at all contemporary funerals, he explained, the village would beat as many gongs as possible in the event of an aristocrat's death. "We would not have the heart not to do so," he confessed. Fortunately, I did not have the opportunity during my stay to witness such an occasion. Nevertheless, the villager's remark betrayed not only a continued, though tacit, cognizance of class distinctions within the community, but also a moral obligation to acknowledge them. One of the ways of doing this — and concurrently perpetuating these social differences — was through the striking of gongs.

### *Summary and Conclusions*

What has been presented in this study is not intended to be an exhaustive account of the Kenyah Uma' Jalan gong tradition. Rather, the discussion has focussed on the extra-sonar significance inherent both in the striking of gongs and in the instruments themselves. Over the course of Uma' Jalan history, gongs have been struck to frighten omen animals, to deliver or announce prayers, and to mark social status and membership within the community. As silently symbolic objects, they have again underscored aristocratic standing, as well as offered spiritual protection both to the nobility and to the shaman during healing rituals.

My major point in writing this paper, however, has not been merely to identify relationships between the Uma' Jalan gong tradition and broader social and spiritual concerns; it has been to reveal the role of these relation-

ships in changing and sustaining the tradition. The history of the Uma' Jalan gong tradition has demonstrated that the nature of the enmeshment of an instrumental expression "within the system of thought" of a given people not only has a direct impact on the maintenance of the tradition, but is also an integral part of the tradition itself. This raises a problem, then, for ethnomusicologists, anthropologists, and especially for institutions such as ministries of culture, whose goal is often to preserve, perpetuate, and cultivate indigenous art forms. To what extent is it feasible to preserve such traditions within a changing society? The results of this study suggest that efforts in this direction might in some cases be limited solely to documentation, or to the preservation of a shell with altered content. Therefore, this essay on gongs among the Uma' Jalan emphasizes once more the necessity, when researching an artistic tradition, of thorough inquiry into that tradition's associations with other cultural phenomena. Such inquiry will not only provide a clearer perspective on change and stability within a tradition, but will also aid in determining the most effective directions for individual scholars and larger organizations to take in their future endeavors.

## NOTES

1. It goes without saying that were it not for the patience and generosity of the villagers of Long Ampung and Long Segar in East Kalimantan, I would never have been able to write this paper. I cannot thank these people sufficiently. My thanks are also extended to the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI) for granting me permission to undertake research in East Kalimantan, and to the Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia (ASTI) in Bandung for agreeing to sponsor my project. I would also like to express my gratitude to a number of individuals for their valuable input on earlier drafts of this paper. Above all, these include Dr. Lois Ann Anderson and my advisor, Dr. R. Anderson Sutton, both at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, as well as Dr. James T. Collins at the University of Hawaii, and Encik Tuton Kaboy at the Muzium Sarawak. Equally valuable was the encouragement and commentary I received from friends and colleagues, especially Terry Cesta, Bien Chiang, Tom Jack, and Heather Zeppel.
2. I have based my orthography of Kenyah Uma' Jalan on that used in the Kenyah Lepo' Tau translation of the New Testament published by The Bible Society in Singapore (The Bible Society 1978). I provide here just a few notes on pronunciation to ease reading this essay. An apostrophe indicates a glottal stop. Word-final *-k* is unreleased. An *-h* separating two vowels in the middle of a word is usually silent. The two vowels it separates, however, are both pronounced, with stress falling on the latter. For the most part, stress falls on the final syllable in two-syllable words. Shown below is a guide to vowel pronunciation in Kenyah Uma' Jalan in general:
 

a	[a]	i	[i]	o	[ɔ]	u	[u]
e	[ə]	é	[ɛ]	au	[ə <sup>W</sup> ]	ai	[ə <sup>Y</sup> ]
3. According to local Uma' Jalan sources as well as Guerreiro and Sellato (1984: 24), the Indonesian government forbade further large-scale migration from the Apau Kayan in the mid-1970s out of concern that the area would become deserted and thus create a security risk in the Sarawak-Kalimantan border zone.
4. This figure was provided by the vice village head of Long Ampung.
5. *Adet keret* is just one of a variety of descriptive labels for this religious phase, in absence of a standard Uma' Jalan term. Other scholars (including H.L. Whittier 1978a: 95n. and 1978b:108, and Jacob Dungau Sagan 1989: 129) have used *adat po'on* ("original" or "ancient" *adat*) to refer to this belief system among other Kenyah subgroups.
6. This brief account of *adet keret* does not do justice to the complexity of the system. More detailed descriptions of this religion can be found in Hose and McDougall 1912, ii: 11-114 and Conley [1975]: 45-153. For discussions of the role of omen animals, see Galvin 1972 and Sandin 1980a: 34-36.

7. There is some disagreement in the literature with respect to the year of Juk Apui's dream. For example, the auspicious event occurred in the 1920s according to Prattis (1963), in 1942 according to H.L. Whittier (1973: 152), and in 1947 according to Conley ([1975]: 310). The date I have provided is the one offered by an Uma' Jalan man now residing in Long Segar.
8. Galvin (1970:29, 1973:38) also sensed changes in ritual activity following the acceptance of *adet Bungan* in other Kenyah villages. Unfortunately, he was unable to delineate these changes in detail. We may never fully comprehend the differences in ritual practice between the *adet keret* and *adet Bungan* systems due to a prevalent tendency to conflate the two systems conceptually. Indeed, in common usage, the Uma' Jalan term *adet* refers neither to *adet keret* nor *adet Bungan*. Typically, it translates as "all those activities associated with the Kenyah belief system prior to the adoption of Christianity."
9. Most Sarawak Kenyah are Roman Catholic, although some belong to the Evangelical Church of Borneo (SIB: *Sidang Injil Borneo*), a Protestant sect that developed from the earlier Borneo Evangelical Mission (BEM) (see Rousseau 1974: 24 and Metcalf 1974: 34, 40). For a thorough account of the Kenyah conversion in East Kalimantan, see Conley [1975].
10. The terminology commonly used to refer to the different social strata varies somewhat from dialect to dialect. H.L. Whittier (1978a: 109), for example, distinguishes five classes for the Kenyah Lepo' Tau: *deta' u bio'* ("big aristocrats"), *deta' u dumit* ("small aristocrats"), *panyin tiga* ("good commoners"), *panyin ja'at* ("bad commoners"), and *panyin lamin* ("household commoners"; i.e., slaves or their descendants).
11. Some authors, such as Guerrero and Sellato (1984:23), have relatively recently espoused the tenacity of the class system among some Kenyah.
12. During the nineteenth century, the Maloh were recognized as skilled metalworkers, frequently peddling their wares and services among the Iban of Sarawak (King 1976: 89, 97).
13. Most of the Uma' Jalan I consulted knew the terms for the various gong types but were uncertain to which instruments these terms applied. In such circumstances I was often referred to "knowledgeable" villagers, typically older aristocratic men.
14. The translation of *pikun* as *pikul* comes from Galvin's (1967: 81) Kenyah Lepo' Tau word list. A *pikul* is a measure of weight equivalent to about 62.5 kilograms (Poerwadarminta 1987: 753).
15. Alternate terms for the *angkung* included *angkung jangin* ("bronze *angkung*'") and *sanang*. The latter term has also been reported among the Iban (*chanang*; Scott 1956: 34), Bidayuh (*sanang*; Reijffert 1956: 19), and other lowlanders to refer to similar instruments. The *tabo* was occasionally called *angkung batu* ("stone *angkung*'").
16. At the time of my research, gongs were not usually viewed as "musical" instruments in the Western sense of the term. Most Uma' Jalan reserved the term "*musik*" (borrowed from Indonesian) for melodic, recreational genres with a substantial repertoire that were open to consumption by an extra-village public. Admittedly, the word *musik* may not have been in common usage by the Uma' Jalan when Shelford published his catalogue. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that today as, I believe, in the past, gongs fall into a unique category of sound expression which cannot be accommodated by use of the English term "music" (or its Indonesian counterpart) alone.  
It should also be mentioned that the Indonesian term "*musik*," for some speakers of the language, refers primarily to Western or Western-influenced styles (c.f. Poerwadarminta 1987:644). The Kenyah Uma' Jalan, however, certainly applied this term to their own instrumental repertoire when speaking Indonesian.
17. An accelerating gong pattern is also used to announce death among the Berawan of Sarawak (Metcalf 1982: 35). Similar patterns have been reported in Java and elsewhere in Southeast and East Asia, a phenomenon that led Kunst (1973: 194) to speculate that this might be an "ancient Indonesian rhythm."
18. Conley ([1975]:82), on the other hand, presented quite the opposite explanation of ritual gong playing among the Kenyah. He was told that the "gongs sound out in a certain rhythm which is intended to draw the omen . . . spirits into the village." No Uma' Jalan offered a similar interpretation.
19. The Uma' Jalan *tawek* ensemble, unlike most of the better-known court or court-oriented gong orchestras of Southeast Asia, belongs to the widespread Southeast Asian tradition

- of gong ensembles “without melody” (see Maceda 1980: 644). In Borneo, non-tuned gongs have been documented among the Bidayuh (Samson 1980: 564), the Kajang groups (Matusky 1986: 195), and other peoples.
20. Other Kenyah subgroups — particularly those from areas other than the Apau Kayan — may use a tuned ensemble. A Kenyah woman from the Pujungan River basin once described to me the Uma' Lisan gong ensemble as consisting of six instruments, which sounded the pitch series LA-DO-RE-MI-SOL-LA. It is possible that the Pujungan Kenyah have developed a different tradition through interaction with neighboring Kerayan peoples.
  21. The verb *ti* (“to do,” “to strike”) may also be used to refer to the playing of the *tawek*, as well as most other sound instruments. To my understanding, the verbs “*pegan*” and “*petuba*” are specific to gong-playing.
  22. Elshout (1926:117-120) documented an *uyan udip* in the context of Kenyah Lepo' Tau funerary activities, but no Uma' Jalan specifically mentioned death as an occasion to perform the ritual.
  23. Conley ([1975]: 101) implied that gong playing “in a slow measured rhythm” was part of any funerary activity among the Kenyah Lepo' Tau. He also emphasized, however, that the number of gongs may amount to “several dozen if the deceased was of high status.”
  24. Galvin (1973: 34, c.f. 38) implied that the nature of gong beating at *takau anak* ceremonies among the Kenyah Lepo' Tau of Long Moh, Sarawak, had undergone a change since the adoption of *adet Bungan*. In the more distant past, many gongs were employed at the ritual. Galvin's description of the newer version of the Lepo' Tau *takau anak*, however, essentially matched those offered by the Uma' Jalan of Long Ampung and Long Segar.
  25. Another villager described a similar rhythm:  $\overset{1}{x} \overset{1}{x} \overset{1}{x} | \overset{1}{x} \overset{1}{x}$ . Considering the emphasis on variation, it is possible that these two rhythms are conceptually alike.
  26. Elshout (1926:61) reported that the corpse of an aristocrat was seated on a *tawek* at death, although no Uma' Jalan mentioned this custom. Elshout (1926:60) also wrote that, at least for the Kenyah Lepo' Tau, funerary rites involved placing of the feet of the deceased on a *tawek*. This procedure was not identified as exclusively aristocratic, although the corpse in the photograph (1926: 60 f.) is that of a nobleman (c.f. 1926: 187, 190). As noted by Metcalf (1982: 39n.) and others, similar practices are evident historically among a number of central Borneo peoples. It may indeed be significant that the Berawan (a Kenyah-related people) claim to be an entirely upper-class group (Rousseau 1990:213n.) and, as Metcalf implied (1982:36-37), regularly placed the feet of the deceased in an inverted gong.
  27. An indicator of this type is shown in a painting by a Kenyah Lepo' Tau, which is reproduced in Galvin 1974: 100 (Figure 7).
  28. As I have explained elsewhere (Gorlinski 1989), the Uma' Jalan essentially reconciled themselves with the pre-Christian beliefs through invalidation of the deities of the earlier religions, rather than through reinterpretation of those deities in terms of Christian counterparts. Villagers generally considered the Christian God to be thoroughly distinct from the spirits of *adet keret* and *adet Bungan*. It is important to recognize, however, that the spiritual entities of the earlier religions were still understood to exist in a Christian era, but by choice of the Uma' Jalan community, they were no longer involved in village life. Consequently, if gong playing indeed served to announce and deliver prayer to non-Christian deities in the past, it would not be feasible to use gongs in the same context in a Christian setting, lest the wrong spirits be summoned.
  29. Ritual gong playing should not be confused with the use of a gong as a signal or alarm. In the latter context, the instrument is struck in a distinct rhythm, and it is intended for the sound to be heard in surrounding areas and settlements, as mentioned earlier.
  30. The only gong listed in the Long Segar program was a single *tawek*, struck in ensemble with a drum and xylophone to accompany a recreational dance. This performance, which was not included in the sound recording that resulted from the ethnomusicologists' visit (Maceda and Bandem 1979), appears to have been an innovative composition, perhaps specially prepared for Maceda and his colleagues. Heterogeneous combination of instruments in an ensemble is a relatively recent practice among the Uma' Jalan, stemming from the late 1950s and 1960s. The subject matter of the dance was also new, concerning the migration of these Uma' Jalan from the Apau Kayan to Long Segar, an arduous move that had been completed just five years prior to the research team's arrival.

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