

Transmission of Kêlêntangan Music among the Dayak Bênuaq of East Kalimantan of Indonesia

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Abstract

Musical transmission is integral to the sustainability of musical traditions. Most literature on musical transmission focuses how songs are memorised rather than how instrumental pieces are transmitted. This study explores the transmission processes of the *kêlêntangan*, the instrumental pieces that accompany the Dayak Bênuaq rituals. The transmission processes comprise the conveyor, content and mechanism. There are three figures involved in this conveyor processes—the *pênu'ung* (musician), the *pêngampir* (observer) and *pêmêliatn* (shaman). I argue that transmission of *kêlêntangan* involves a triangular interaction among these three figures. In addition, the transmission of *kêlêntangan* generates two kinds of content—musical and non-musical, which requires different mechanisms. These mechanisms include *bêkajiq* (listening), *kintau* (imitating), to *tameh* (improvisation). The interaction between the *pênu'ung* transmits musical and non-musical contents; while the interaction between the *pêngampir* and *pênu'ung*; *pêmêliatn* and *pênu'ung*; and *pêmêliatn* and *pêngampir*; each transmits non-musical content.

Keywords: content, conveyor, interaction, *kêlêntangan*, mechanism

Background

The transmission of music is an important aspect of the continuity of a musical practice, especially in today's global world, where an exchange of cultural elements were common and, among other things, results in the uniformity of cultural practices across the world. Comprehensive studies on the oral transmission of music, so far, have paid more attention to music that uses lyrics, or often called songs, and there is a lack of detailed discussions on the oral transmission of instrumental pieces (Berger, 2005; Lord, 1971, 1991; Maloy, 2010; Rubin, 1995). It is assumed that the way to learn songs is different from learning instrumental music.

Kêlêntangan is a genre of instrumental music performed by the Dayak Bênuaq used in a wide variety of contexts compared to other types of music. This genre still exists to this day, so it is assumed that it is still has an important social function in the life of its people. This study aims to examine the transmission of *kêlêntangan*, the process of transmission among the Bênuaq Dayak people is related to bodily behaviour, and the transmission is related to the continuity of the *kêlêntangan*. It is important to obtain a more extensive insight of the transmission of music among the Bênuaq people. Due to its close relation to other activities, primarily ritual ceremonies, it is useful to look at the *pêmêliatn* (shaman), who leads the ritual, and this person's

connection to the *kêlêngangan* performed in the context. *Pênu'ung* (musician) has to observe the *pêmêliatn* carefully, primarily at his gestures or physical behaviour, in order to perform it in accordance to the custom. The teaching and learning process of *kêlêngangan* does not occur in a specific setting that is deliberately intended for its transmission from one person to another, from masters to the novices. It's teaching and learning process takes place when *kêlêngangan* is performed. Thus, studying the transmission of *kêlêngangan* means examining its presence in rituals.

Theoretical Framework

Ethnomusicologist Shelemay (2008) defines the transmission of music as “communication of musical materials from one person to another, whether in oral, aural, or written forms, without regard to the time depth of the materials transmitted” (p. 154). In brief, transmission can be defined as a transfer of knowledge or skills from one individual or group to another. In ethnomusicology, the process of teaching and learning of music is commonly referred to as transmission and acquisition (Campbell & Higgins, 2015, p. 651). This concept of transmission among others shows that there are three components in this process, namely the conveyor, content, and mechanism (Schönplflug, 2009, pp. 4-6). The mechanism becomes the most prominent element here, as it covers how the conveyor transmits the content.

With regards to the mechanism of transmission, Lord (1971) points out that there are three stages in the acquisition of knowledge or learning in oral tradition. The first is when a novice listens, they become familiar with the traditions he/she studies. The second stage is the process of imitation and assimilation (e.g. reciting). The third stage is what Lord (1991) calls ‘singing for a critical observers.’ Each of these stages certainly includes specific techniques: how a novice memorises the sound material he or she listens to, and then imitates, to be able to develop his/her performance (p. 21).

In the oral tradition, whereby there is no musical notation, a mnemonic device known as ‘formula’ is used. The function of the formula proposed by Lord (1971) is not to help remember, but as a frame of reference for spontaneously presenting matter. Nevertheless, the different composition is not spontaneously arranged during the performance, but there is already a repertoire (p. 35). So, what is needed is a frame of reference for remembering, not composing. The mnemonic device for remembering the commonly used music material is ‘chunking’, which is in view of the composition in smaller or shorter units, such as motifs. The material that has been possessed is continuously trained, that is, following the performances, so that a *pênu'ung* becomes proficient and can create differences in various contexts, ranging from profane to sacred. The ability of this *pênu'ung* will later be transmitted to other *pênu'ung* in the future. This cycle, among others, sustains the continuity of *kelentangan* music. However, the role of society is also important, because those who provide the context for the practice of contradiction, and society's expectations are the aesthetic frameworks for the music presentation.

In summary, the theoretical framework constructed to examine the problem in this study is as follows: The transmission element consists of three elements, namely the conveyor, the content, and the mechanism. Different musicians transmit different contents, in a certain way. Thus, it is necessary to examine what kinds of conveyors are involved in the transmission of opposition, so that the content and the mechanism can be understood.

Literature Review

Hand (2017) discusses five approaches to learning and transferring knowledge practiced by traditional performing arts artists in Central Java, namely gamelan musicians, *dalang* (master puppeteer), and dancers including learning by ear, simulating simultaneously, practicing and doing, exposure and absorption, and learning in groups/associations. She states that the traditional way of learning in the performing arts directly enables one to gain knowledge of various kinds of art at once in a learning process (p. 29).

Chan and Ross (2015) conducted a non-interventive ethnographic observation of the transmission of music by the Semai musicians of Malaysia. Local musicians, who are key players in the community, are placed in the role of a teacher. Findings show that teacher-student mobility, freedom of choice, intuitive responses,

integration of cultural concepts, flexibility and adaptability are the approaches used by the Semai musician in responding to the children's learning culture. This paper further states that teachers need to consider cultural nuances and differences in music experience when designing their music curriculum and assessment approaches to music education. Furthermore, it emphasises on the flexibility and adaptability of teachers to actively build and reconstruct their teaching approaches by accessing children's musical understanding, talents and competencies from various cultural backgrounds (p. 691).

Brinner (1999) describes how "a Javanese musician must listen interpretively and respond appropriately to particular cues" (p. 24). Brinner (1995) defines listening interpretively as a process of deductive imitation, which "involves idiomatic translation or transformation of an essence abstracted from perceptual input" (p. 138). In other words, the musicians follow instruments that may be played different than their own, using the heterophonic structure of the music to play together. He describes how the gamelan ensemble forms an interactive safety net, allowing musicians to follow along without creating problems for the overall music of the ensemble (pp. 179-180).

Utomo and Febri (2017) state that the oral tradition plays a role in becoming a medium of social science education in the Gunungpati Semarang community in Central Java. Important findings in this study are that oral traditions have benefit to social science education in society but because humans may be educated and should get education early, wherever they are. The Gunungpati people still feel the benefits of oral traditions in the process of transmitting social values which function for entertainment, education, remembering the past (learning history), solidarity and togetherness, social control, the function of protest and social criticism, and finally religious function (p. 169).

The difference between this research and the above literature is that music transmission occurs in the context of rituals. It explains the factors that support the transmission processes, as well as the relationship between transmission and continuity of interest. This study examines the relationship between three interrelated elements, namely the conveyor, content and mechanism in the ritual context. The author views the performers not only as *pênu'ung* (musician), but also as *pêngampir* (observer) and *pêmêliatn* (shaman). Analysis of the interaction between these different actors shows that two types of content are transmitted, namely musical content and non-musical content. The next consequence is that two different types of content give rise to different mechanisms or stages of transmission.

Methodology

Instead of including only the *pênu'ung* (musician) as transmission conveyor, I added the *pêngampir* (observer) and *pêmêliatn* (shaman) as well to this category. According to Lono Simatupang (personal communication, 5 June 2016), *pêngampir* can be regarded also as actors in a performance for their acknowledgement and involvement play a role in determining the success or failure of performances. Secondly, Nawan (personal communication, 1 June 2016) said that all *pêngampir*, or those who attend a ritual, have the potential to become *pênu'ung*. Third, the *pêngampir* are an inseparable aspect of a ritual. The organisers of the ritual, and anyone involved in it, are also at the same time *pêngampir* who can participate.

Analysis of the interaction among these three roles shows the presence of two types of contents, i.e. musical and non-musical contents. These two different types of contents are then explored so that they can be understood in terms of how they are transmitted.

The methodology for this research included literature review, interviews, participant observer, documentation and analysis. This research also used the ethnographic approach whereby I experienced the how cultural practices in society influence the learning, transmission and importance of *kêlèntangan* music to society.

Transmission Processes

The transmission of music involves at least three components, namely the conveyor, content (what is taught or studied) and the mechanism (Schönpflug, 2009, pp. 4-6). In the following section, I describe these three roles in detail.

Conveyor

Kêlèntangan can be performed among others due to its conveyors or actors. In this study, I include the *pênu'ung* (musician), *pêngampir* (observer), and *pêmêliatn* (shaman) in the category of conveyor or actor. There are no special requirements or conditions to become a *pênu'ung*. Although most of *pênu'ung* acquire their skill to play *kêlèntangan* from the elders who are family-related (e.g. grandparents and father), this is not a condition to becoming a *pênu'ung*. The fact that the *pênu'ung* comes from a family of musicians demonstrates the family's importance in the transmission processes of *kêlèntangan* practices. The title of *pênu'ung* is not ascribed, but is achieved. Thus, this status is more cultural than genetic. Much effort is required to obtain this status,

The conveyor refers to the person or actor that becomes the source of the information being transmitted (Schönpflug, 2009, pp. 4-5). Nevertheless, the presence of the public, the community that supports the performance—the *pêngampir* cannot be separated from the existence of *kêlèntangan*. The public, in this case, does not really act as 'observers' in the sense of enjoying a performance for merely aesthetic purposes as the *kêlèntangan* is not a performance for entertainment but it is performed as an accompaniment to a ritual or non-ritual activity (e.g. *gantar*, a social dance).

The third transmission conveyor leads the procession of the *bêlian* ritual. During *bêlian sêntiu* (shamanism ceremony) or *bêlian bawo* (healing ceremony), the *pêmêliatn* becomes the reference for the *pênu'ung*. What, how, and when the *kêlèntangan* pieces are performed depends on the *pêmêliatn*. Therefore, those who play *kêlèntangan* in rituals not only have to master the skill of playing instruments, but also to have knowledge about the ritual. That is why the chief of the *kêlèntangan* ensemble, who usually plays the *kêlèntangan* instrument and *sulikng dewa*, the most senior *pênu'ung*, knows the rituals that they accompany very well.

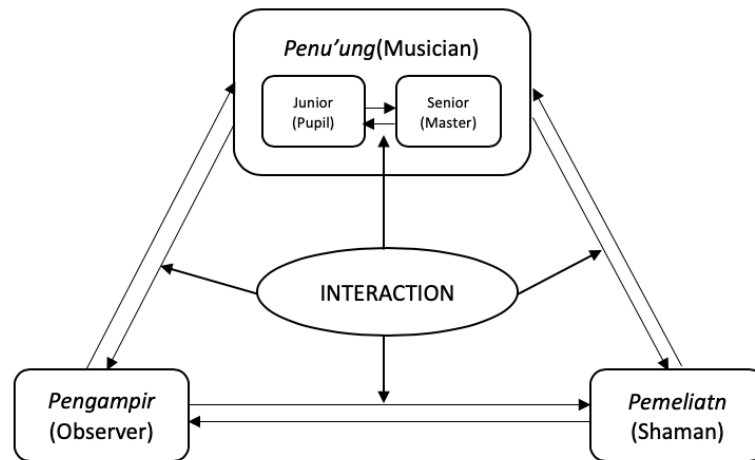


Figure 1. The conveyors of the transmission of *kêlèntangan* and their interaction (Source: Irawati, 2016).

The three conveyors of transmission described above are inter-related to each other. First, the interaction between *pênu'ung* pupil and *pênu'ung* master shows how novice musicians learn musical skills from their masters. They watch and listen to the music. In other words, its content is mostly musical. The second interaction is between *pênu'ung* and *pêngampir*, which potentially generates a new *pênu'ung*. *Pêngampir* attending a ritual involving *kêlèntangan* performance get exposure to the music. *Bênuaq* children who attend rituals unwittingly memorise what they see, hear, and feel. Finally, for various reasons, they begin to internalise how *kêlèntangan* is performed. In turn, the *pêngampir* become an evaluator for *kêlèntangan* performance. The evaluator constructs an image of what is *kêlèntangan* and how it should be. A regeneration of *pênu'ung* occurs, as well as the *pêngampir*.

Third, the interaction between the *pêngampir* and *pêméliatn* does not consciously occur but it still exists. Just as *pêngampir* becomes parties who establish the standard of how *kêlêntangan* should be, the *pêngampir* constructs the standard of how rituals, which include a procession led by *pêméliatn*, should be performed. On the one hand, *pêméliatn* leads the rituals, which, among others, means actualising the customs of Dayak Bênuaq that have been passed down for generations so that the community, i.e. *pêngampir*, can perceive it in this case. On the other hand, the *pêngampir* becomes a kind of evaluator to the *pêméliatn*: what he performs and presents of the *kêlêntangan*. *Pêméliatn* leads the procession, performs movements and gestures, and chants, and is in turn observed by the *pêngampir* who memorises it from their experience, which becomes the standard to the ‘proper ritual, proper action, proper performance.’ In future, this experience will become the benchmark for the community when they watch a *pêméliatn* perform in a similar ritual. Of course, the same benchmark applies for the same case. For example, one cannot assess the action of *pêméliatn* in the *bélian sêntiu* based on, or in reference, to the action of the *pêméliatn* in *kwangkay*. In addition, the relationship between *pêméliatn* and the *pêngampir* is that the *pêngampir* provide the contexts for the ritual. Thus, indirectly, the existence of *pêméliatn* is also supported and valued by the *pêngampir*.

The fourth is the interaction between *pênu’ung* and *pêméliatn*. *Pêméliatn* is an important figure related to *pênu’ung* in the ritual ceremonies such as *bélian bawo* (healing ceremony), *bélian sêntiu* (shamanism ceremony), and *kwangkay* (funeral music). Performing *kêlêntangan* in a ritual is not merely about how to beat the instruments and produce good sounds but also how the pieces performed by *pênu’ungs* correspond to the passages of the ritual and the *pêméliatn*’s will who leads it. If novice or junior *pênu’ungs* acquire their knowledge and skills primarily from their master or senior *pênu’ung*, then they acquire their knowledge about the rituals especially from *pêméliatn*. Since *kêlêntangan* performance is closely tied to the context, it is very important for *pênu’ung* to have knowledge about it. Therefore, it is not a surprise that *pênu’ung* who learns to play *kêlêntangan* also learns about rituals.

Table 1

Interaction and Relationship between Pênu’ung, Pêngampir, and Pêméliatn

Transmission Conveyors	<i>Pênu’ung</i> (Musician)	<i>Pêngampir</i> (Observer)	<i>Pêméliatn</i> (Shaman)
<i>Pênu’ung</i>	Knowledge and skill to play the instrument for various occasions.	<i>Pênu’ung</i> transmits <i>kêlêntangan</i> musical pieces to the <i>pêngampir</i> .	<i>Pênu’ung</i> plays <i>kêlêntangan</i> according to <i>pêméliatn</i> in a ritual. This is then recorded by <i>pênu’ung</i> and becomes a reference to a similar ritual in the future.
<i>Pêngampir</i>	The <i>pêngampir</i> evaluate the <i>kêlêntangan</i> and also provide the context for <i>kêlêntangan</i> performance as well as <i>pênu’ung</i> .	(not focused on in this study)	<i>Pêngampir</i> provide context for the rituals that involved <i>pêméliatn</i> that involved including customs, processions and various rules.
<i>Pêméliatn</i>	<i>Pêméliatn</i> transmits the rules of a ritual to the <i>pênu’ung</i> .	<i>Pêméliatn</i> transmits knowledge by actualising customs, so that it can be seen and experienced by the <i>pêngampir</i> .	(not focused on in this study)

Based on the examination of the conveyors in the transmission of *kêlêntangan*, it appears that there are two types of material or content to be transmitted, i.e. the musical material and non-musical.

Transmission Content

There are two types of content or material in the transmission of *kêlêntangan*, musical and non-musical. Musical content is mainly transmitted from *pênu'ung* senior to the junior, or a master to a novice, as well as from *pênu'ung* to the *pêngampir*, while the non-musical content is transmitted mainly from *pêmêliatn* to the *pêngampir* and *pêmêliatn* to the *pênu'ung*.

The major musical content to be transmitted is the composition or the musical piece is the sound produced by the instruments in the ensemble. There is no song title used specifically to refer to *kêlêntangan* pieces. The pieces are usually named according to its accompanying activity, for example *kêlêntangan gantar*, a piece played to accompany the *gantar* dance; *kêlêntangan bêlian senti*, the accompaniment of *bêlian senti*, etc. The pieces or compositions of *kêlêntangan* also contain certain rules or convention acknowledged—but implicitly—among the *pênu'ung* and Dayak Bênuaq people as a theory of music.

Kêlêntangan piece in *bêlian bawo*, *bêlian senti*, and *kwangkay* is not played continuously from the beginning of the ritual to the end. Instead, it is played to follow the stages of ritual and instruction of the *pêmêliatn*. Besides the composition or piece, another musical content to be transmitted from the master *pênu'ung* to the novice is the technique of playing instruments. Such techniques, in turn, will actualise the piece of *kêlêntangan*.

In addition to musical content, there are also non-musical contents in the transmission of *kêlêntangan*. The most important non-musical content is the sequences of ritual, mainly transmitted between the *pêmêliatn* and the *pênu'ung*. Performing *kêlêntangan* in ritual contexts or for ritual purposes cannot be done without considering the sequences of its ritual, including the *pêmêliatn's* instructions. The following example illustrates the point.

Table 2 shows that a *pênu'ung* does not only deal with the skills of playing the instruments in the *kêlêntangan* ensemble, but must have sufficient knowledge in the ritual custom Bênuaq in general. Based on the description of the transmission conveyors, it seems that there are two types of transmission content, i.e. musical and non-musical. Consequently, there are different mechanisms or ways to transmit different contents by different conveyors. The following examines the transmission mechanism to transmit different kinds of content.

Table 2

Ritual sequences and kêlêntangan in bêlian bawo and bêlian senti

Rituals	Stage	<i>Kêlêntangan</i> and other accompaniment
<i>Bêlian Bawo</i>	<i>Ngawat</i>	<p>The <i>narere</i> begins with the <i>sepui</i> blown three times by the <i>pêmêliatn</i>. The <i>Pêmêliatn</i> sings the <i>bêmemang bejajuruq la mo</i> The <i>kêlêntangan</i> is played monotonously. Before reaching <i>puncutn jaa jatus</i>, the <i>pêmêliatn</i> must go through several places, namely <i>Pantiq PapaLongan</i>, <i>Nawang Langit</i>, and <i>Bawo Langit</i>. Each time arriving at one of these places, the <i>pêmêliatn</i> pauses to request for permission. Each arrival is marked by the pausing of the <i>kêlêntangan</i> in seconds, then the <i>pêmêliatn</i> reads incantation.</p>
<i>Bêlian Senti</i>	<i>Ngawat</i>	<p>The <i>Pêmêliatn</i> sings <i>bêmemang</i> as the basis of the other parts. The <i>kêlêntangan</i> is not yet sounded, while the players are preparing themselves. Each <i>pêmêliatn</i> alternately blows <i>sepui</i> three times, starting from the leader of <i>bêlians</i> or <i>guruq</i>, and then is alternately followed by his <i>prajiq</i> or pupil. Next, the leader of <i>pêmêliatns</i> sings <i>bêmemang</i>, followed by the entire <i>pêmêliatn</i>, men and women, with melody, rhythm and words that exactly match to those of the leader's. After the <i>bêmemang</i> is completed, the <i>pêmêliatn</i> stands and moves his feet instructions to the <i>pênu'ung</i> to immediately play the instruments. At first, the <i>kêlêntangan</i> instrument players, as leaders, play a melody requested by the <i>pêmêliatn</i> which is shortly thereafter followed by the <i>gimar</i> and <i>genikng</i> players.</p>

After the music is played in less than half an hour with monotonous melodic patterns, tempo, and rhythm, by instruction of the *pêméliatn*, the *kêlêntangan* pauses. The *Guruq bêlian* sings *bêmemang* which is not followed by the *prajiq*. A moment later, the *kêlêntangan* plays the same melody and tempo as previously. The *pêméliatn* concentrates while holding *awir batu raja*, accompanied by the *kêlêntangan*. The *pêméliatn* sings the *bêmemang* to drive away evil spirits. The *pêméliatn* slowly starts to move his body to spin, and the *kêlêntangan* is played continuously according to the *pêméliatn*'s body movements. In the next sequence, *bejajaruq la mo*, the *pêméliatn* stands under *awir batu raja* while holding a hanging cloth and singing the *bêmemang*, preparing to fly with the smoke of the incense. At this time, the accompaniment sounds monotonous in a relatively moderate tempo. At this stage, the *kêlêntangan* is played in a relatively long duration but with monotonous melody and patterns. Having considered enough, the *pêméliatn* asked the *pênu'ung* to stop playing *kêlêntangan* for a moment, replaced by *sulikng dewa* and *gimar*. In each checkpoint on the way to *jaa puncutn jatus*, the *kêlêntangan* also stops. When *kêlêntangan* stops playing, the *pêméliatn* sings *bêmemang*. Once completed, the *kêlêntangan* is played again. Having reached *puncutn jaa jatus*, the *pêméliatn* sings the *bêmemang* again. The *pêméliatn* goes back down from *puncutn, jaa jatus* together with the spirits of the ancestors. The *kêlêntangan* is played with a constant tempo. After the ghosts and the spirits of the ancestors are believed to arrive at the human world and to eat the offering that has been served, they are treated to a dance attended by all the *pêméliatn*, both men and women, moving around the *awir batu raja*. Usually, the dancers are holding the ancestor's skull on their back. To accompany the dance, the *kêlêntangan* is played loudly and excitedly, but still adjusted to the movements of the *pêméliatn*. At the *bakawat* stage, the *kêlêntangan* is played with a bit of improvisation on its melodic pattern spontaneously. Its tempo is the medium, which is increasingly faster according to the *pêméliatn*'s movement. At the *nyenteyau* stage, the *pêméliatn*, accompanied by the *kêlêntangan*, also sings the *bêmemang*. At the stage of *ngasi ngado*, the *kêlêntangan* is played with a bit slow and softly but dynamic tempo compared to that played in the *bakawat*. After a while, the *guruq bêlian* asked the *pênu'ung* to stop, because the *bêmemang* will be sung again. After the *bêmemang* is sung, the *kêlêntangan* is sounded again. At the *tangai* stage, the *pêméliatn* sings the last *bêmemang*, and according to the *pêméliatn*'s instruction, *kêlêntangan* is played in a moderate tempo as the accompaniment. The last *bêmemang* is sung as a sign that the *bêlian sêntiu* has been completed. After the last *bêmemang* is sung, the *kêlêntangan* is played as at the *narere* stage, with a fast and dynamic tempo, according to the *pêméliatn*'s movement.

Transmission Mechanism

The knowledge, beliefs, norms, arts of this culture of the Dayak Bênuaq are transmitted orally. There are no institutions set up intentionally for learning purposes. Their tradition is passed down from one generation to the next, from one member of society to another implicitly in various daily occasions, including in the case of *kêlêntangan* practice. The transmission content includes both musical and non-musical contents. How is the content transmitted and received by the conveyors in the transmission of *kêlêntangan*? According to Lord (1971), there are three stages in the acquisition of knowledge or learning in oral tradition. The stages proposed are parallel to the learning process proposed by Ki Hadjar Dewantara, namely *niteni* (means listening, watching), *nirokake* (imitating), and *nambahi* (improvising/replicating) (Suroso, 2011, p. 51). Among the Dayak Bênuaq people, this process is respectively called *bêkajiq*, *kintau*, and *tameh*. The following section examines each stage in the transmission process of *kêlêntangan* in relation to both musical and non-musical contents.



Figure 2. A *pêmêliatn* performs the *bêlian bawo* ritual, and the *gimar* players appear in the right side background (Source: photo by Irawati, 2015)



Figure 3. An informal setting of learning music in the Dayak Bênuaq people of East Kalimantan (Source: photo by Irawati, 2015)

The first stage is *bêkajiq*, a term in Bênuaq language, which means listening, or watching carefully. The term has similar meaning to the word in Indonesian, ‘kaji’, means investigating and studying that involve the mind (Research Team, 2008, p. 618). Listening or watching implies the existence of certain impetus to focus on a particular object so that there is certain information to memorise. The stage of listening in the transmission process occurs in various occasions, particularly in the performance of *kêlêngangan* in *lamin* for various ritual activities, in a series of activities such as *gantar* dance, feasts, etc. People who are interested to learn to play *kêlêngangan*, called pupils, come to the event and notice how *kêlêngangan* is performed by the *pênu’ung* who has already mastered the techniques. Interaction between teacher-pupil or externalisation-internalisation process occurs. There is no coercion from both sides—teacher and pupil—to carry out this externalisation or internalisation process.

Generally, the most attractive instrument to learn in the ensemble is the *kêlêntangan*, a horizontal small gong chime. This is not surprising due to the fact that the instrument is the most prominent in terms of musical function and plating techniques compared to other instruments in the ensemble. In certain occasions, such as when performing *kêlêntangan* to accompany *gantar* dance during a celebration, a student can directly participate and play the instruments. It could be the first instrument being played that is not complicated, such *gênikng*. However, the reality may not always be the case. At this stage, it does not only involve a listening action, but also imitating.

As mentioned above, a musical fact does not consist of the sonorous (auditory) aspect alone, but also visual and kinesthetic. That is, ways to learn *kêlêntangan* was not limited to just listening (capturing auditory phenomena), but also involves capturing the visual and kinesthetic phenomena.

Sound Aspect. So far, the sound may be the only aspect regarded as a musical fact. Nevertheless, it should be realised that the sound comes as a result of physical activity, such as plucking the strings with the hand, beating a xylophone key or even playing one's own limbs, blowing the air, and so on.

Bêkajiq, listening to the sonorous aspect of *kêlêntangan*, means capturing and memorising the sounds of music. Therefore, it requires a reproduction of recorded and remembered materials that have been listened to. As mentioned above, there are two types of content transmitted—and thus be remembered—by someone who wants to be a *pênu'ung*, that is the composition or piece of *kêlêntangan* as well the playing techniques that produce the sounds to the order and rules of *kêlêntangan* performed during an activity, especially a ritual.

In his study of the transmission of the *gusle* epic singer-player in Yugoslavia, Lord (1991) stated that the formula is an important element for the singer to compose while performing poetry. This is because his object of study was poetry that was composed and performed at the same time. The formula became a frame of reference that helps singers in composing the materials. This is in contrast to the performance of *kêlêntangan*. Although both live and are transmitted in oral culture, the two have quite different characteristics. First, the Yugoslav epic poetry composed by singer-performer is actually composed while being performed, but its frame and materials have already existed. One who wants to be an epic singer studies and internalises the 'frame' (formulas) and materials (words) that are used to compose the song-poems. Lord (1991), as cited in Badrun (2014), argued that the formula is very useful for performers, which becomes the guide in the process of composition

Someone who wants to be an epic singer must study and internalise the frames (i.e. formula) and materials (e.g. words) that are used to compose the song poems. Lord (1991), as quoted in Badrun (2014), argued that the formula is very useful for presenters, which becomes a guide in the process of composition and generating formula to the poet (p. 20). Meanwhile, the composition or piece of *kêlêntangan* already exists and it is not composed—borrowing Nettl's (2015) term—in the course of performance (p. 60). There is already a certain composition played for a particular activity. If there are variations in the composition of *kêlêntangan*, it is only the improvisation or development that would be allowed by Bênuaq people. Second, *kêlêntangan* is closely tied to the context, does not stand for its sake, and is an integral part of the activity being accompanied, while singing in the Yugoslavian epic is presented for the performance purposes only.

If formulas, in the oral transmission of the Yugoslavian epic, have a very important role as a reference for the presentation of a song, then the reference in the performance of *kêlêntangan* is the ritual sequences (Moder, personal communication, 27 July 2015) This is mainly because the composition to be played is already there to follow the sequences of the ritual. The *pênu'ung* must perform the *kêlêntangan* according to the ritual led by the *pêmêliatn*. In the transmission process of the Yugoslavian epic song, a prospective performer mainly listens and internalises the formulas and words as a reference and its materials. In the transmission of *kêlêntangan*, a pupil listens to and internalises the rules of rituals or other activities that provide the context of performance as well as the composition or piece of *kêlêntangan* itself. How does the pupil listen to and internalise the materials?

Based on the transcription of *kêlêntangan* pieces in *bêlian*, *bêlian sêntiu*, and *kwangkay*, it appears that the musical content that must be listened to and internalised by *pênu'ung* is not too long.



Figure 4. Motives played on *kèlèntangan* for *bêlian bawo* (healing ceremony of the Dayak Bênuaq)

Transcriptions above show that there are four basic patterns in the accompaniment of *belian bawo*. Two patterns are played only once, at the beginning, and two patterns are played throughout the piece. The variation arises due to the notes value.



Figure 5. Motives played on *kèlèntangan* for *bêlian sêntiu* (shamanism ceremony)

Based on the transcription of basic patterns above, it appears that there are two main patterns being played throughout the piece. Changes in tempo and dynamics occur by way of ritual led by the *pêméliatn*.



Figure 6. Motives played on *kèlèntangan* for *kwangkay*.

Based on the examination of the patterns of melody in the pieces of *kèlèntangan* played in *bêlian bawo*, *bêlian sêntiu*, and *kwangkay*, it can be said that all of them have relatively short patterns, phrases, sentences, which is not so difficult to memorise. *Kèlèntangan* was performed according to the ritual, not vice versa. Therefore, the sequence of a ritual, *bêlian bawo* for example, is a framework for *kèlèntangan* performed in it. For the musicians, probably the most complicated part of *bêkajiq* has not been about memorising melodies or

patterns on musical instruments, but rather how to keep their music in line with the instructions or movements of *pêmêliatn* who leads the ritual. To become a master, a *pênu'ung* must have immense exposure to it. Once the skills and knowledge required to be a *pênu'ung* has been mastered, one can begin to get involved actively in the performance of *kêlêntangan* (Irawati, 2016, p. 68).

Bêkajiq is the learning process of *kêlêntangan* including non-musical content, obtained by a *pênu'ung* when he attends the performance in various occasions rather than in a specific setting intended for teaching and learning, and without explicit communication process of teaching and learning. In addition to the prospective musician, transmission also occurs between the *pêngampir* and *pênu'ung*. *Pêngampir* are those who attend the events, and who consciously or unconsciously memorise and internalise the technical skill of the music, rules and sequences of the ritual, as well as the whole customs of their culture. However, not all of the *pêngampir* pay a particular attention to the *kêlêntangan*. Those who are interested will direct their attention to the ensemble.

Visual and Kinesthetic Aspects. Visual and kinesthetic aspects are two different things of the musical facts, but in the case of *kêlêntangan*, both are two inseparable aspects. Visual and kinesthetic aspects of the *kêlêntangan* performance could be divided into two, namely musical content and non-musical content. The following will be discussed one by one.

Watching Visual and Kinesthetic Aspects of Musical Content. As mentioned above, the sound produced by the *kêlêntangan* is the result of a physical activity. Thus, in order to learn the playing techniques of *kêlêntangan* and other instruments, it is not only necessary to listen to the sound, but one must also observe the bodily movements of the *pêmêliatn*.

In contrast to the learning process in the Balinese gamelan for example, which has at least two instruments of each type in an ensemble so that the instrument can be used by teachers while the students imitate, in the *kêlêntangan* ensemble there is only one instrument of each type. As a result, the visual and kinesthetic aspects that has been observed and cannot necessarily be imitated by the instrument, although sometimes the musician imitates them by beating his bare hands on his own limbs. A pupil who already has enough skill and knowledge can estimate the speed of the tempo by watching how fast the musician's first hand swings when hitting the instrument. This is because the speed of the swinging arm is closely related to the tempo of the piece to be played. Nevertheless, in the *kêlêntangan* performance in a ritual, the tempo depends on the ritual stages and the *pêmêliatn's* instructions.

The height at which the player raises his hand to beat the instruments must be considered to determine the dynamics of a piece. The higher the raised hand to hit the instrument, the louder the dynamics will be. Bodily gestures of the musicians are the materials that have to be listened by one who learns *kêlêntangan*. For *pênu'ung*, visual experience becomes no less important in the *bêkajiq* because it is able to provide ways to memorise the materials. The *pênu'ung*, however, does not so much have gestures used as the sign. Gestures as a cue are primarily acted by *pêmêliatn*, the leader of the ritual.

Watching Visual and Kinesthetic Aspects of Non-musical Content. Visual and kinesthetic aspects of non-musical content that is listened to by a *pênu'ung* are mainly *pêmêliatn's* bodily movements as the leader of the ritual. *Pêmêliatn's* gestures and actions are important aspects that must be considered by a *pênu'ung* as a cue for their playing—when to start playing the instrument, how loud or soft to play the dynamics, how fast or slow to beat the tempo, etc. *Pêmêliatn* does not give an instruction verbally while he is leading the ritual. The *pêmêliatn's* bodily behaviours are the signs that must be considered by the *pênu'ung*.

The next stage in the learning process is the *kintau*, which means imitation. Sometimes the stages of *bêkajiq* and *kintau* cannot be separated because both stages coincide with each other. A novice *pênu'ung* who is in a *bêkajiq* stage can directly participate in the ensemble, imitating the playing on the instruments he has seen before. Usually, the instrument played by a novice or pupil is the simple one such as *gênikng* or *gimar*. Imitating the musical patterns in certain rituals implies that the candidate *pênu'ung* practices how to perform *kêlêntangan* on a particular activity. This is because the moment when the pupil is in the *kintau* stage of learning is the actual performing context. Learning does not occur in a special setting, but in a real and natural one. Thus, the *kintau* stage in the transmission of *kêlêntangan* is mainly how a *pênu'ung* deals with musical material. *Pêngampir* and *pêmêliatn* can be said to be passive in this stage, because *kintau* emphasises more on the technical-practical aspects, i.e. imitating playing techniques. This is different from those of *bêkajiq*, which occurs both in the *pêngampir* and *pênu'ung*.

Table 3

Pêmêliatn's bodily movements and its relation to the këlèntangan

Bodily movements or gestures of <i>pêmêliatn</i>	<i>Këlèntangan</i>
Splashing water	Slowing down the tempo, splashing the water is believed to be an act of releasing evil spirits; sometimes he also sings the <i>bêmemang</i> .
Stomping his feet	Tempo tends to be irregular, following the movements of <i>pêmêliatn</i> ; or transition of <i>këlèntangan</i> to the <i>sulikng</i> dewa or to <i>bêmemang</i> ; or transition to the next stage.
Stomping his arms	The tempo of the piece is the same as the arms movement. This gesture among others describes the exorcism.
Spinning the body	<i>Këlèntangan</i> is played in a fast tempo
Turned his head	<i>Pênu'ung</i> makes a mistake in playing <i>këlèntangan</i> .

Once a pupil is able to imitate the playing techniques and ‘to feel’ the pieces, he usually adds a bit of improvisation on the patterns but not an extreme one. This is called *tamèh*. This results in a kind of variation patterns. An example is in the accompaniment of *bêlian bawo* and *bêlian sêntiu*. *Këlèntangan* played in this ritual shows that there are basic patterns, variations of the basic patterns.

Based on the transcription of the *këlèntangan* in *bêlian bawo*, *bêlian sêntiu*, and *kwangkay*, the variation patterns are formed by note values. It does not change significantly in the overall composition of *këlèntangan*. Meanwhile, the variations in dynamics and tempo depend on the *pêmêliatn's* instructions.

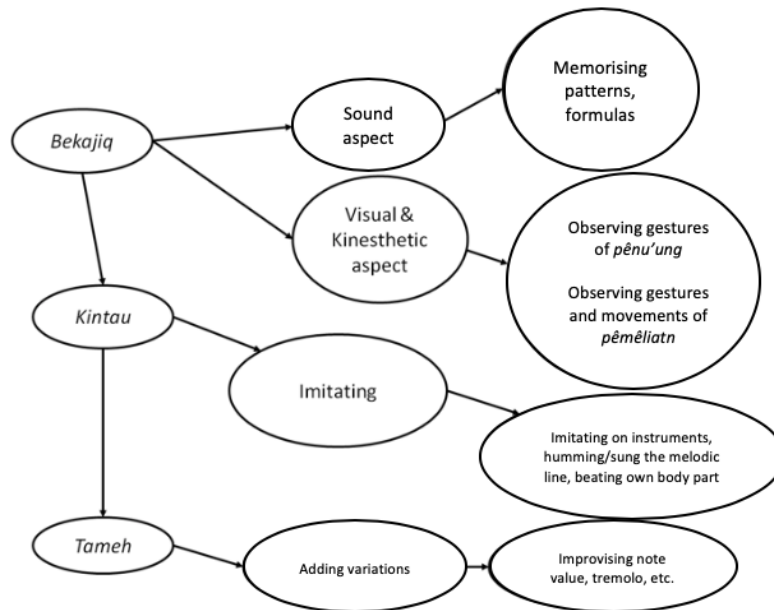


Figure 7. Three stages of learning process in the transmission of *këlèntangan* (Source: Irawati, 2016)

This study shows that the transmission of music is not limited to the transfer of knowledge and skills that lead to the emergence of a new musician only. The transmission is not about how a musician learns a certain material, then performing it, as shown by Lord (1991). This study shows the following:

First, if the transmission conveyor is not only limited to the musicians who perform, then the transmission is no longer only about the transference of knowledge and practical-musical skills. Second, if the transmission conveyor is not only limited to the musicians who perform, consequently, the relationship between these actors vary. Thus, the material or content transmitted are also different. In this study, the different

transmission conveyors result in different musical and non-musical contents. The non-musical material emerges because the transmission conveyors are not musicians only. Third, the implication that arises from different conveyors and contents is a somewhat different mechanism. The interaction between *pênu'ungs* transmits musical knowledge and skills in *bêkajiq*, *kintau*, and *tameh*. This is in contrast to the interaction between *pêmêliatn* and *pênu'ung*, *pênu'ung* and the *pêngampir*, as well as *pêmêliatn* and the *pêngampir*. Fourth, the context becomes an important part for the music that is closely tied with its context. *Bélian bawo* and *bélian sêntiu*, for example, are the reference or framework to perform *kêlêntangan*. As a result, *pênu'ung* has to get relevant knowledge and understanding of the ritual. This means that in the transmission, *pênu'ung* is required to acquire not only the musical knowledge and skills, but also knowledge about surrounding activities of the music.

Based on these facts, it can be summarised the process of music transmission does not only involve musicians, but also other non-musician actors. If the conveyor of transmission involves more than one type (for example, not only musician, but also the observer), then the relationship between the actors should be examined because the interaction between different types of conveyors will result in different types of content. In turn, the different types of content will lead to the emergence of different transmission mechanisms. Furthermore, we also have to consider the activities surrounding a musical practice, whether it is related to the performance. If so, the performer and musicians also need to acquire the skills and knowledge of those activities. In short, the performer should also acquire non-musical knowledge.

Conclusion

In conclusion, *kêlêntangan* is still transmitted among the Dayak Bênuaq people because the activities involving the *kêlêntangan* are still practiced by the people. *Kêlêntangan* is closely tied to its context, such as *bélian bawo* and *bélian sêntiu*. The Bênuaq people still conduct rituals in their lives as one way to meet their needs in the face of life. The preservation of these rituals, in turn, provides the opportunity for the transmission of *kêlêntangan*. Second, the transmission process of *kêlêntangan* can be seen by examining the interaction between the conveyor, the content and the transmission mechanism. Interactions between different conveyors result in transmitting different contents. Thus, to transmit different contents, a different mechanism is required. Transmitting music does not only deal with auditory aspects, but also visual and kinesthetic. Thus, teaching and learning, mainly in musical traditions of Indonesia as in this case, must consider various aspects of a musical occasion.

Last but not least, transmission is indeed an important part in the continuity of *kêlêntangan* practice. However, transmission cannot stand-alone. The contexts and the activities of the profane and the sacred rituals that are still held by the Bênuaq people must support it. Thus, the continuity of *kêlêntangan* does not solely rely on the transmission, but also on the cultural ecosystem. Maintaining the continuity of *kêlêntangan* means to keep the ecosystem of the Bênuaq culture.

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Biography

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