

Sinophone and Taiwan Studies 4

Yu-hsiu Lu  
Oskar Elschek *Editors*

# The Legacy of Indigenous Music

Asian and European Perspectives

 Springer

# **Sinophone and Taiwan Studies**

## **Volume 4**

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Yu-hsiu Lu · Oskar Elschek  
Editors

# The Legacy of Indigenous Music

Asian and European Perspectives

*Editors*

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# Preface

The purpose of oral tradition as well as music education is the perseverance of the musical legacy. The study of transmission methods has a long history, but one that is constantly discussed due to the ever-changing objectives and methods. The purpose of this book is to examine the means and forms of music transmission in modern society.

This book is a volume of the *Sinophone and Taiwan Studies* series that explores the inheritance of indigenous music culture. Taiwan, with an area of 36,000 km<sup>2</sup>, is home to approximately 2% of the indigenous population, which consists of 16 tribes with different tribal personalities and song genres. In the early times, the invaders put great constraints on the transmission of Taiwanese indigenous knowledge, culture, and music. These constraints were first implemented for the sake of economic interests and continued during the political hegemony under the invaders. It was not until 1987 that this situation improved when martial law was lifted in Taiwan.

The first three articles are about Taiwanese aboriginal music. Yu-hsiu Lu's "[Stage Performance and Music Inheritance of Taiwan's Indigenous People: A Case of Series Concerts "Sounds from Across Generations"](#)" contains a series of modern Taiwanese indigenous stage music performances. This work explores the possibilities and problems of the stage as a means of transmitting musical and cultural characteristics. Chun-yen Sun's "["Imagined" Indigenous Music as Materials in Music Education in Taiwan \(1950–2000\)](#)" focuses on how the indigenes in Taiwan were distorted when they had no voice in the mainstream hegemonic culture in the second half of the twentieth century. The questions of how they were presented in the compulsory education textbooks and were turned into a tool for cultural propaganda by the rulers are also investigated. Chun-bin Chen's "[Musicking as a Way of Connecting with the Ancestral Home: Preserving and Inventing Traditions in Papulu, Taiwan](#)" looks at the revitalization of traditional tribal cultures in modern society.

In addition to the three articles on the inheritance of indigenous music culture in Taiwan, some Asian and European perspectives have also provided examples and observations on the transmission of indigenous music around the world as a way of showing how the music culture of indigenous groups, which may be demographically disadvantaged, economically weak, or politically weak, has been passed on through different means and methods.

In Jürgen Elsner's "[Fate and Value of Musical Traditions in a Globalising World](#)," the impact of globalization on the transmission of indigenous music is elucidated from an economic perspective. In LaVerne David de la Peña and Alma Louise B. Bagano's "[Re-sonating Voices, Sounds, and Memories: The Repatriation of 60-Year-Old Field Recordings from Sagada, Mountain Province in Northern Philippines](#)," they suggest bringing early recordings back to the tribe for re-investigation. Additionally, Joseph Jordania's "[Study of Polyphonic Music of National Minorities Through the Historical Perspective](#)" describes the process of young tribal people becoming ethnomusicologists in which the development of local traditional music is a way of transmitting traditional indigenous music. Chong Pek Lin and Lim's "[The Indigenous Music of Sarawak and Its Transmission Over the Last 60 Years with a Special Focus on the Music of the Kenyah and the Lun Bawang](#)" uses the example of Kenyah and Lun Bawang in Sarawak, Malaysia, to examine the impact of the educational attitude of the rulers on the inheritance of indigenous music. Oskar Elschek's "[Minority Versus Majority—Phrase or Reality?](#)" concentrates on the theme of the Roma and Sinti in Slovakia, and how Slovakia preserved their music. As for Lubomír Tyllner's "[Indigenous People and Traditional Music in the Historical Context of the Czech Lands](#)," it shows that indigenous people, who are the majority of the population but politically disadvantaged at the border of two countries, have been able to pass on their traditional music from generation to generation through traditional songs.

This sharing of examples and experiences of indigenous music inheritance around the world should serve as a good reference for all indigenous people regardless of whether they are in the minority or in the majority within a certain country or are politically and economically disadvantaged, so that the world's diverse music cultures can be protected and passed on from generation to generation.

I would like to thank the contributors of this book, whose research enriched the inheritance theme, for their hard work and interesting contributions. In particular, I would like to thank Vice-President Dr. Yao-Ting Sung of National Taiwan Normal University, who always encourages and supports the process of writing this book. Also, warmest thanks to Annette Chen and Shura Taylor for their assistance.

Taipei, Taiwan

Yu-hsiu Lu

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## About the Editors

**Yu-hsiu Lu** is the chair and professor of the Institute of Ethnomusicology, National Taiwan Normal University. She completed her Ph.D. at the Institute of Musicology, University of Vienna. Her primary research area is on the indigenous music in Taiwan and Southeastern China. Her publications include *History of Taiwan Music* (2003), *Tao's Moonlight Concert* (2007), *The Melody in Light Shadows* (documentary film, 2003), *A Rolling Age: Falangaw Farming Songs* (2011), *Searching for Polyphony: Recollecting the Lost Old Songs of Taitung Amis* (2013) which won the Best Traditional Music Album in "25th Golden Melody Awards for Traditional Arts and Music" (2014).

**Oskar Elschek** is an ethnomusicologist, has done much to influence the course of ethnomusicological research in Eastern Europe, and in connection with the political and ideological transformations of 1989–1991, his efforts were of singular importance in the rapprochement between scholarly communities in the Western and Eastern Europe. His primary contributions have been to the study of folk music in Slovakia, the Carpathians, and the Pannonian Basin of East-Central Europe; to instrumental folk music; and to the emergence of systematic musicology as an international field of research. In addition to his extensive publications, he has produced numerous documentary films, ethnographic videos and audio recordings. He has focused considerable attention on the history of European folk music scholarship and ethnomusicology, and his monographs on the theories and methods of modern systematic scholarship have since become standard works. In 1997, he received the Herder Prize for his lifetime contributions to ethnomusicology.

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# The Indigenous Music of Sarawak and Its Transmission Over the Last 60 Years with a Special Focus on the Music of the Kenyah and the Lun Bawang



Chong Pek Lin and Connie Lim Keh Nie

**Abstract** The East Malaysian state of Sarawak lies on the island of Borneo, the center of maritime South-east Asia. Sarawak's ethnic profile of 27 different indigenous groups, differs considerably from the rest of Malaysia. This chapter describes Sarawak's indigenous music and its transmission through informal and formal means over the last 60 years. In the 1960s, while Sarawak was still under strong British influence, Western music was predominant in the public sphere, but indigenous music culture also received considerable support from educationists. Several years after becoming part of the Federation of Malaysia, it was largely ignored in the school curriculum. Music and dance were only transmitted through communal based activities after school hours. With the growing awareness of the value of local culture as a tourist attraction since the 1990s, the state's music heritage has been showcased during numerous festivals and public events. Over the last 20 years, research into the music of specific groups especially those of the Kenyah and the Lun Bawang has enhanced the role of indigenous music in formal education. This chapter is divided into several different sections. Following a literature survey on Dayak music, Sect. 3 presents an overview of music education in Sarawak, Sect. 4 discusses the music of the Kenyah and its integration into the music education while Sect. 5 focuses on the music of the Lun Bawang. Finally, Sect. 6 traces the changing role and repertoire of the *sape* (boat-lute indigenous to Borneo) which has gained international prominence.

**Keywords** Sarawak indigenous music · Borneo culture · Kenyah songs · Lun Bawang music · Malaysia music Education

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## 1 Introduction

Borneo, the center of maritime Southeast Asia, abounds with rich musical traditions. Yet, the glamour associated with mainstream Asian court music has bypassed the world's third largest island. None of its musical ensembles have found a place in international ethnomusicology departments. Influenced by a plethora of adventure novels, many conceive of Borneo only as the last bastion of twentieth-century headhunting. In world music publications such as Anderson and Campbell (1996), the section on Southeast Asia emphasizes Indonesian (Javanese and Balinese) gamelan and the music of mainland South-East Asia. The music of Borneo is not even mentioned. This results in an imbalanced perspective, as, in contrast to the cultures described in the book (Thai, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Javanese, and Balinese). Bornean ethnic groups display a performing arts tradition relatively free of the influence of Chinese, Indian and Islamic civilizations. In this chapter, we hope to rectify this disparity by describing selected indigenous music traditions of Sarawak (situated in North-western Borneo), their transmission within specific communities and educational institutions, and their dissemination to mainstream society.

Borneo island is made up of four political entities: the East Malaysian states of Sarawak and Sabah, the Sultanate of Brunei, and Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo, formerly colonised by the Dutch). Malaysia was formed in 1963 when Sarawak, Sabah, and Singapore, all former British protectorates, merged with the Federation of Malaya (now known as West Malaysia, or Peninsular Malaysia). Singapore subsequently left the new federation in 1965. After joining the federation, Sarawak gradually lost its autonomy in various spheres, including education and health services.

With the formation of the new country, the ethnic balance also changed. While the West Malaysian populace comprises three major racial groups (Malays, Chinese and Indians), Sarawak and Sabah have a much wider spectrum of ethnicities with Bornean indigenous groups making up a major proportion of their populations. In Malaysia 'indigenous' is synonymous with the official Malay term *bumiputra* (literally 'sons of the soil'), a category which includes the Malays and all the Bornean indigenous groups, but excludes 'immigrant groups' such as the Chinese and Indians. *Bumiputera* are accorded exclusive privileges such as preferential enrolment in institutions of higher learning and special access to business licences.

Sarawak, with a population of 2.6 million, is home to 27 different ethnic groups, many of which are also found in Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo). The major groups, in order of numerical dominance are: Iban, Chinese, Malay, Bidayuh, Melanau and 'Orang Ulu' (a collection of over 20 different groups living in the interior, among which are the Kayan, Kenyah, Lun Bawang, Kelabit, Penan and Bisaya). Apart from the Chinese, Malay and Melanau, the other mentioned groups are commonly referred to as 'Dayak' (a term used for centuries to refer to all non-Muslim indigenous groups in Borneo). Based on the 2010 census, the combined Dayak population constituted 43% of Sarawak's population. Each Dayak group has its own language, from among a hundred other Austronesian languages identified in Borneo (Smith, 2017). There

are some broad similarities in culture such as clothing and body-decoration (such as earrings and tattooing). Although most of their traditional religious practices involved numerous spirits and omen animals, the majority now identify as Christian. Except for the Penan, who still live nomadically as hunter-gatherers, Dayak communities traditionally dwell in longhouses (a longhouse consists of a set of adjoining private family apartments which open out into a common veranda) and practice swidden rice agriculture, supplemented by hunting and fishing. Over the last fifty years, they have also ventured into the cultivation of commercial crops such as rubber, pepper, and oil palm.

For brevity, this chapter focuses only on the music traditions of the Dayak groups within Sarawak. In-depth discussion will be devoted to the music traditions of two ethnic groups, the Kenyah and the Lun Bawang. Section 4 (Kenyah music from the longhouse to the urban classroom) draws on material from Chong's research on Kayan and Kenyah songs and dance in the Baram (1995–1997) and subsequent investigations (1998–2020) of Kenyah recreational songs and instruments, and their integration into the classroom (Chong, 1998, 2006, 2013, 2020; Chong & Anne Anthony Lajinga, 2011). Section 5 (The Lun Bawang and their music culture) discusses Lun Bawang culture and music style, with a special focus on the bamboo band, based on Lim's research in Lawas district (2005–2006). In Sect. 6 (*Sape* in the wider society) the changing role of the *sape*, an instrument of Kenyah origin which has gained practitioners among skilled exponents both within Borneo and around the world, is then reviewed in detail. This includes a discussion on the development of a contemporary style, drawing from Lim's research in this area (Lim & Mohd Fadzil Abdul Rahman, 2017; Lim et al. 2020).

## 2 Literature Survey of Research on Traditional Dayak Music in Sarawak

Gong and drum ensembles predominate among many Bornean groups such as the Iban, Bidayuh and Bisaya. Their main function is to accompany dance and specific festivals. As described in Matusky and Tan (2004), the Iban *engkerumong* ensemble consists of four main instruments, the *engkerumong* (gong-chime consisting of five to eight small, knobbed gongs, placed horizontally in a wooden box resonator), the *ketebung* (long, waisted drum) the *bebendai* (medium-sized gong) and the *tetawak* (large, bossed gong). Each instrument has its own characteristic rhythm patterns, generally duple, and these combine polyphonically in an interlocking style. Using ascending and descending contours, the *engkerumong* player improvises melodies built from several common rhythm patterns recognized by both dancers and musicians. Although the *engkerumong* is pitched, there is no standard tuning, and the number of gongs also varies from village to village. Ng (2002) describes Bidayuh “hanging gong” ensembles as consisting of two *ketawak* (large gongs), two *canang* (small gongs), two *indie gong* (medium-sized gongs) and a *gendang* (drum). The

Bisaya boast a nineteen-piece ensemble consisting of various sized gongs (*agung*, *tawak*, *bebandil*, *bandil*, *teretik*, *kelentangan*) and a drum (*dumbak*) (Davis, 1960; Sylvester Sarnagi Punchak, 1989). There are also non-gong ensembles such as the Bidayuh *perunchong* ensemble which consists of a set of bamboo idiophones of varying but indefinite pitch. (Chong, 2007; Ng, 2002). Music of all these ensembles is primarily rhythmic, characterized by the interplay of cross-rhythms among the instruments. Pitch is not emphasized, and melody is subservient to the rhythm.

Among the Iban, vocal music is exemplified by *timang* (a chant) sung by a *lemambang* (a bard) to invoke spirits during feasts (*gawai*) while striking a walking stick on the floor in steady rhythm. The texts of these chants have been studied extensively by James Jemut Masing (1997) who translated the complete text of the *timang gawai amat* into English. According to Matusky (2006), who studied their musical characteristics, *timang* are sung in a syllabic style using characteristic melodic motifs to begin a textual line, and then establishing two main chanting tones a perfect 4th apart in each verse.

Unlike the above-mentioned groups, the music of the Kayan and Kenyah is predominantly melodic, often with multipart textures, as in the repertoire of the *kedire*' (mouth organ, also known as *keluri* or *keledi*), *sape* (boat-lute) and *jatung utang* (wooden xylophone). Now almost obsolete, the *kedire*' was widely described and photographed as part of the Kayan-Kenyah tradition in the 19th and early twentieth centuries [Myres (1914: 302)]. It consists of 6–7 bamboo tubes bound together in a circle and enclosed in a gourd wind chest. In 1997, the late Imang Ajang (one the last few known exponents) demonstrated to Chong (2013: 114) how he would lead the *hivan joh* (Kayan group dance), while playing a pentatonic melody sounding simultaneously over a drone on the tonic. The *kedire*' has since faded from the scene, but the *sape* (boat-shaped lute) has seen a resurgence in popularity among both groups within the last twenty years. The Kayan and Kenyah are also well-known for their choral music, featuring communal *a capella* singing in two to four-part harmony. The unusually high quality of choral singing among both groups has amazed writers such as Morrison (1957: 266) who wrote:

... their music, songs and dances are all far more highly developed than those of the other Bornean peoples ... No one who has ever heard Kayans and Kenyhs singing will ever forget it ... the whole house, singing in harmony, comes in with a great full chested chorus ...

Although greatly impressed by these songs, earlier writers seldom described them in specific musical terms, except that they were melodious and multipart. Sets of lyrics were carefully translated by Galvin (1962: 501–510) and Rubenstein (1973: 1196–1250) but no transcriptions were included. Detailed descriptions and musical transcriptions of Kenyah songs only began to emerge in the 1990s based on research by Gorlinski (1995) and Chong (1997, 2006, 2013). Both Kayan and Kenyah possess different categories of songs, such as the *belian tekana* (*takna*' in Kayan) which relate the deeds of mythic heroes, and the *belian burak* (wine-songs, sung while offering wine to guests) led by gifted soloists, and joined in multipart choral response (*kerahang* in Kenyah, *habe* in Kayan) by the whole gathered community.

### 3 Music Education in Sarawak and Transmission of Indigenous Music

Prior to the formation of Malaysia in 1963, Sarawak was a separate political entity. From 1841 until 1941 it was administered by the ‘White Rajahs’, a dynastic monarchy of the British Brooke family to whom the Brunei sultanate had ceded the territory. During World War II, it was occupied by the Japanese, after which it became a British crown colony in 1946. During this century of British influence, Western music was introduced to the Sarawak populace. Western classical music thrived through individual instrumental instruction, activities of the Sarawak Music Society and public performances such as those of the Sarawak Constabulary Band.

Indigenous instrumental music repertoire such as that of the Iban and Kenyah ensembles were only transmitted at the village level. In urban areas, in tandem with traditional dance, they were promoted through the activities of cultural associations such as the Orang Ulu Association and *Rumah Dayak* in the Sarawak state capital of Kuching. In 1989, realizing the value of traditional music and dance in the tourist industry, the state-owned Sarawak Economic Development Corporation (SEDC) set up the Sarawak Cultural Village (situated 35 km from Kuching), which features realistic traditional dwellings representative of the major ethnic groups of Sarawak. Daily music and dance performances are conducted, while group dance and music classes can also be arranged on request. In 1992, the privately funded Dayak Cultural Foundation in Kuching began conducting classes in Iban, Bidayuh and Orang Ulu dance and music which continues until today. These classes, mainly for the benefit of youth of Dayak descent, focus on dance and the playing of instruments in ensemble such as *engkerumong*, *jatung utang*, *sape* and *perunchong*. Vocal music is not taught except for a few Kenyah songs.

#### 3.1 Sarawak Music Education in the 1960s and 1970s

Education officer Gloria Smith formulated a syllabus for the Sarawak lower secondary schools (Smith, 1964), incorporating references to local instruments. However, as music was an optional subject, and there were few qualified music teachers, it was never effectively implemented. Smith also published a set of song-books “Malaysia sings” (1965a, 1965b) which included several Sarawak folk songs. Chong, who attended secondary school in Kuching from 1967 to 1971, recalls that although her school was among the few which offered music lessons, the aforementioned syllabus and books were not used by her teacher. A series of six songbooks for primary schools compiled by Mullen (1961a, 1961b, 1961c, 1961d), a music lecturer at Batu Lintang Teacher’s College, now known as Institute of Teacher Education Batu Lintang (ITE Batu Lintang) was more widely utilized, mainly by graduates of Batu Lintang College. These consisted mainly of Western folksongs but incorporated lyrics with local context.

Unfortunately, initiatives to incorporate local culture such as those described above died out with the departure of influential expatriate officers. Sarawak gradually lost its autonomy over the school curriculum as education came under federal control. At first, Sarawak schools continued to follow the state-sanctioned curriculum and students sat for exams such as the 'Cambridge Overseas School Certificate' while West Malaysian schools followed the national curriculum and students sat for the 'Malaysian Certificate of Education'. By the late 1970s, however, all schools were nationalized, and Sarawak's education came fully under federal control, and music was not included in the national curriculum.

### ***3.2 Music Education in Malaysian Elementary Schools After the 1980s***

Music only became an official part of the Malaysian school curriculum in the 1980s. Although begun with the best of intentions, implementation has always been problematic. The Kurikulum Bersepadu Sekolah Rendah (Integrated Primary School Curriculum, KBSR) songbooks (Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia, 1982, 1991(1984) and 1992) were written by groups of captive music teachers in sporadic, rushed sessions. Lacking resources and time, they produced songs with sterile, moralistic lyrics and formulaic tunes which did not reflect the melodic or rhythmic characteristics of local cultures (Abdullah, 1993; Chan, 2002; Chong, 1997). Although the lyrics of the songs are in the national language (Malay), the tunes often reflected Western European tonalities and rhythms. At that time, Malaysian music educators were unaware of philosophies of music education based on the development of musical concepts in children. For instance, music pedagogues Zoltán Kodály and Carl Orff both emphasized sequenced solfege learning, beginning with the falling minor third, *so mi*, and progressing through a repertoire of folksongs in the anhemitonic pentatonic scale.

Instead of basing their choice of songs on a logical sequence of melodic patterns and focusing on folksongs, the Malaysian team composed numerous songs in major pentachords and major scales. There was a deluge of songs in the major scale (85.9%), a small percentage in the minor scale (a common scale in Malay music) and an almost negligible number in pentatonic modes (3.7%) (Chong, 1997). Other related phenomena commonly found in the folk song of many cultures, such as the presence of vocables (Chan, 2002), the use of alliteration, metaphors, and allusion to folk literature, are conspicuously absent. These common ingredients of folk song, which contribute greatly to their musical and poetic appeal are sadly lacking in the composed songs. Notably only one song from Sarawak, had been included, the Lun Bawang '*Busak pakui*'.

Since 1993, however, there has been a renewed interest in music education, leading to nationwide reforms in the primary school curriculum and a move to introduce music as a subject in secondary schools. Among the innovations introduced was the



implementation of international music education approaches, specifically those of Kodály, Orff and Emile Jaques-Dalcroze, and a new emphasis on the use of traditional music as teaching material. This was a challenge as there were few books with Malaysian folksongs and limited materials on traditional music.

### 3.3 *Music as a Subject in Malaysian Secondary Schools*

Music was eventually included as an optional subject in the secondary school curriculum (*Kurikulum Bersepadu Sekolah Menengah*, KBSM) in the late 1990s. It was initially implemented at only 20 pilot schools for several reasons, among them the high cost of purchase of *gamelan* (tuned gong-chime ensembles, originating in Java) and *caklempong* (gong-chime ensemble originating in Sumatra) sets. The Education ministry deemed it should be compulsory for music students to play the instruments in these two traditional ensembles (in addition to keyboard and recorder skills) as they were considered symbolic of ‘Malay culture’. It could be argued that the *gamelan* was actually adopted from Java (brought to the Terengganu and Pahang royal courts in the late nineteenth century) and the *caklempong* from Sumatra (from the Minangkabau, a Sumatran ethnic group with a sizeable community in Negeri Sembilan). The education officers in the KBSM panel upheld this policy, feeling the need to champion ‘Malay’ culture to justify the very existence of a ‘frivolous subject’ like music in the school program. In 1994, as part of a panel to develop the KBSM syllabus, Chong argued that rather than make compulsory the expensive *gamelan* and *caklempong* sets which would have to be imported from Indonesia or West Malaysia, it would be more economical and representative of ‘Malaysian culture’ to offer the *engkerumong* and *jatung utang/sape* ensembles from Sarawak as an alternative. This met with resistance from some West Malaysian panelists unacquainted with these genres, while others pointed out that there were few reference books and resources available. Admittedly, logistical problems would arise in acquiring instruments which would have to be commissioned from skilled instrument makers in Sarawak.

This East–West cultural divide needed time to bridge, but considerable progress has been made. After considerable lobbying by Chong and other colleagues, significant progress was achieved during an eye-opening week-long workshop on East Malaysian music in 2005. Organized by ITE Batu Lintang, the course participants were music lecturers from the 27 teacher’s institutes throughout Malaysia. Many West Malaysian lecturers purchased *sape* and *sompoton* (a mouth-organ from Sabah) as well as books on Kenyah songs. Subsequently, East Malaysian music topics have been incorporated into the music curriculum for all the Teacher Education Institutes in the country and the *jatung utang* ensemble was listed, among others, as an alternative to the *gamelan* or *caklempong* (Institut Pendidikan Guru, 2006: 23).

#### 4 Kenyah Music from the Longhouse to the Urban Classroom

According to their oral history, the ancestral home of the various Kenyah subgroups was in the highlands of Central Borneo, on the (now uninhabited) Usun Apau plateau in Sarawak or the Apo Kayan plateau in Kalimantan. Kenyah settlements are now mainly concentrated on the upper reaches of the Baram and Balui rivers of Sarawak, the Apo Kayan plateau and along the Mahakam and Kayan rivers of East Kalimantan. Significant numbers have also moved to urban areas such as Miri in Sarawak and Samarinda in Kalimantan. Sarawak's Kenyah population is 23,167 based on the 2010 census (Department of Statistics, Malaysia, Sarawak, 2015) compared to an estimated 44,000 in Kalimantan.

Since 1996, Chong has documented Kenyah music and dance culture in ten villages. Of these, she derived the richest repertoire from the Lepo' Tau village of Long Moh, Baram. The Lepo' Tau, one of 35 Kenyah subgroups, are acknowledged by many researchers as having developed the most refined versions of Kenyah music and dance (Harrison, 1966: 287; Whittier, 1973). Until today, there are close cultural ties between Long Moh residents and the Lepo' Tau of Long Nawang in the Apo Kayan.

*Musicking* usually takes place on the veranda of the longhouse, where villagers gather in the evenings. In the past, *belian tekana* (mostly free meter and in hemitonic pentatonic mode) sometimes lasting for several consecutive days, were frequently performed. These were led by gifted singers, while the whole gathered community joined in the *kerahang* (responsorial chorus). These songs are characterized by intricate formulaic verse (*ipet* in the Lepo' Tau dialect), for example, the subcategory *kerintuk* described in detail by Gorlinski (1995). With the advent of television, interest in these longer songs has waned, but shorter songs such as *belian kale* (humorous songs) and *belian tu'ut* (songs sung prior to solo dance) are still popular among the older residents. Until today, it is customary for visitors to be serenaded with *belian burak* (wine-songs) before being offered a glass of rice-wine, followed by an informal musical program lasting until the wee hours of the morning. An evening's program typically begins with *belian dado'* (long-dance songs, in which everyone present is encouraged to participate) followed by group and solo dances accompanied by instruments such as *sape*, *lutong* (zither) and *jatung utang*.

Unfortunately, this rich culture is being displaced by the influence of the mass media and the hegemony of Malay and Western popular music. The transmission of repertoire and skills is also hindered by several other factors. Firstly, there has been a drastic rural-urban drift for economic gain, leaving many villages half-deserted. Kenyah urban living conditions (often small, isolated houses) are not conducive to communal music-making. A second factor is the implementation of education in the interior. As travel to most Kenyah villages involves navigating boats through hazardous rapids, upriver children are sent to boarding schools from the age of seven. Thus, "village children" are away for most of the school year and have little exposure to Kenyah songs. When Chong tried to cajole Kenyah children to sing their favorite

songs, most of their repertoire consisted of Malay or English songs. A third factor is the government policy of building large hydro-electric dams to harness the power of Sarawak's rivers, necessitating the flooding of villages and the mass relocation of thousands of people. In 1998, the Bakun dam was built in the Balui, displacing 10,000 people, mainly Kenyahs and Kayans. Fortunately, the planned Baram dam (which would affect another 20,000 people) has been staved off for the time being, following protests and blockades by the affected groups.

Due to the remote location of Kenyah villages, most of their vocal repertoire is unknown to the public, and when Chong began her fieldwork, little had been documented. Chong has endeavored to preserve this repertoire through documentation (transcription of songs, publication of books) and dissemination efforts (teaching the songs through workshops, incorporating them into classroom lessons, and presenting them on stage). Financial aid came through two sponsored projects: *From Upriver Longhouses to the Modern Classroom*, funded by the United States Department of State (2004–2006) and *Introducing Traditional Musical Ensembles and Folk Songs of East Malaysia to Schoolchildren* (2007–2011) with funds from the ISME-Gibson award. She also commissioned Kenyah, Iban, and Bidayuh instruments for ITE Batu Lintang and brought students on field trips to Kenyah and Iban villages to witness the original music cultures first-hand.

Over the last twenty years Kenyah music has been introduced into teacher-training institutes and schools, particularly these genres:

- (i) *Belian dado'* (dance songs)
- (ii) Songs associated with instrumental melodies
- (iii) The instruments *jatung utang* and *sape*.

Older categories of songs characterized by free meter and a narrower pitch range were considered less applicable to music education.

#### 4.1 *Belian Dado'*

*Belian dado'*, also known as *badi*, *badek tiang*, or *kendau kancet*, are sung *a cappella* while performing a group dance the *tu'ut dado'* (literally 'long-dance') along the veranda of the longhouse. These consist of a basic step, shuffle and stamp sequence with additional movements associated with specific songs. There are different opinions on the origins of *belian dado'*, although it is generally believed to have originated on the Indonesian side of the border. Citing descriptions by Dutch explorer Nieuwenhuis, who spent two months in the Apo Kayan in 1900, Seeler (1975) suggests that there is evidence of *belian dado'* being performed there since the beginning of the twentieth century, while one of her Sarawak informants dates its first appearance in his village (Long Sobeng) in the 1930s. Grolinski (1995: 45) describes them as relatively recent songs for recreational group dancing, adopted from the Lepo' Tau of Indonesia in the 1940s (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1 *Belian dado'*, Long Semiyang, Upper Baram, 2004 (Chong, 2013)

Differing distinctly from 'Western-influenced' contemporary songs which are based mainly on diatonic scales, *belian dado'* are overwhelmingly pentatonic. *Belian dado'* are regular metrically, often in 4/4 time, unlike older categories of Kenyah songs which display free rhythm. They consist of a fixed number of phrases of irregular length and have a strophic structure. Analysis of over fifty *belian dado'* reveals that melodies built on the anhemitonic pentatonic scale predominate (75%), with a minority in the major scale (14.6%) and *la*-tetratonic, hemitonic pentatonic, *so*-hexatonic and *re*-hexatonic scales (combined value of 10.4%). Multipart choral singing is a common feature, observed in at least 44% of the songs. A unique characteristic is that the *kerahang* (chorus) of *belian dado'* is melodic, generally following the contour of the melody. The following table shows the tonal structures and meters of a selection of these songs (Table 1).

Apart from the tonal variety of the melodies, the lyrics of the songs colorfully depict Kenyah culture. Many songs focus on welcoming guests to the longhouse and emphasize the joy of being together. They also feature nostalgic sentiment, reminiscence, and longing for absent friends. Two examples of *belian dado'* are given below: the first, *Mudung Ina* ('That Mountain'), consists of a pentatonic melody sung in unison with lyrics and accompanying movements reflecting life in the interior of Borneo. while the second, *Lan-e* (Truly so) illustrates typical Kenyah multipart choral texture (Fig. 2).

**Table 1** Tonal structure of *Belian dado'*

	Title of song	Tone set	Mode
1	<i>Along</i>	M: <i>so, la do re mi so</i> H: <i>so la do'</i>	<i>Do-pentatonic</i>
2	<i>Are Ruti</i>	M: <i>la, do re mi so la do'</i> H: <i>do so la do'</i>	<i>Do-pentatonic</i>
3	<i>Bampa Lale</i>	<i>do re mi so la do' re'</i> <i>mi'</i>	<i>Do-pentatonic</i>
4	<i>Belabau Alih Silon</i>	M: <i>la, do re mi so la</i> H: <i>so la do'</i>	<i>Do-pentatonic</i>
5	<i>Iko Kenai</i>	<i>la, do re mi fa so la ti do'</i>	Major
6	<i>Ilun Kuai</i>	M: <i>mi, so la do re mi</i> H: <i>la do re</i>	<i>So-pentatonic</i>
7	<i>Kun Nelan-e</i>	<i>so, la, do re mi so la</i>	<i>Do-pentatonic</i>
8	<i>Lari-e version 1</i>	M: <i>so, la, do re mi so la</i> H: <i>re mi so la do' re'</i>	<i>Do-pentatonic</i>
9	<i>Mudung Ina</i>	<i>la do re mi so</i>	<i>Do-pentatonic</i>
10	<i>Ule Kun Along</i>	<i>la do re mi</i>	<i>La-tetratonic</i>



**Fig. 2** Transcription of *Mudung Ina* (Chong, 2006)

**MUDUNG INA**

Tone-set: *la do re mi so.*

<b>Kenyah Lyrics</b>	<b>Translation</b>
1 <i>Tiang mo' mudung ina</i> <i>Tiang nga linget mata</i> <i>Tiang mo' ta' at lesan</i>	Friends behold that mountain Though clouds block our view We can see through clearly
<b>Chorus:</b> <i>Oi monelan londe</i> <i>Tiang mo' mo—on tawai</i> <i>Uyan me</i>	<b>Chorus:</b> Truly dear friends, We long for times gone by
2 <i>Tiang mo' pabat piboi</i> <i>Tiang mo' adang toi</i> <i>Tiang mo' payun peman</i>	Friends let's chase and run Like hornbills we flock together With our arms around each other
3 <i>Tiang mo' piboi pabat</i> <i>Tiang mo' kulong kuyat</i> <i>Tiang mo' mecum da' an</i>	Friends let's run and chase We are like pet monkeys Treading on and rattling the branches
4 <i>Tiang mo' madong juong</i> <i>Tiang mo' kusun lesong</i> <i>Tiang mo' mecat siai</i>	Friends we squat down together With mortar and pestle We pound rice and smoke meat

### Actions

Verse 1: Point to a distant mountain (mountains are visible from the verandas of most Kenyah longhouses).

**Chorus:** Stretch hands and flick wrist up; cross wrists and place hands over heart.

Verse 2: Run in single file in a circle, flapping arms like a bird.

Turn to face inwards, place arms around each other's shoulders.

Verse 3: Run in single file in a circle; Stamp on the floor, while lifting shoulders in an 'ape-like' manner (imitate monkeys treading on branches to startle predators).

Verse 4: Squat down and 'pound padi' with mortar and pestle.

This song portrays life in a rural setting, featuring different scenes or activities in each verse, and is enacted by the singers in unison with simple movements. The lyrics and accompanying actions make this an attractive song for class-teaching. In addition, the melody, with its limited number of tones (*la dore mi so*) and slow tempo is especially amenable to solfège hand signs. Many will also appreciate the underlying wistfulness of the song as reflected in its sentimental melody.

The second example *Lan-e* (Truly so) illustrates a typical Kenyah multipart choral texture (Fig. 3).

**Lan-e (Baram version1)**

M : *s, l, drmsld'*  
 H : *drmsld'r'*

As sung in Long Selatong  
 Transcribed : Chong Pek Lin

The musical score is written in 4/4 time. It features a Chorus (Kerawang) and a Soloist. The lyrics are in Indonesian/Malay.

**Chorus (Kerawang):**

5 su - ngai li - mun lan

**Soloist:**

Men-chat ke - nai - ne lo' i - ko ti - ang me - tik Lan -

**Chorus:**

9 ka - nan Ne - lan ne - lan -

**Soloist:**

ka - nan ah - Ne - lan ne - lan -

**Chorus:**

14 e ne - lan e ne - lan e

**Soloist:**

e e - ne - lan ne - lan e ne - lan e

**Fig. 3** Transcription of *Lan-e* version 1 (Chong, 2020)

**LAN-E**

Tone set: Melody: *so, la, do re mi so la do*; Harmony: *re mi so la do' re'*.



**Lyrics***Mencat kena**Nelo' iko tiang metik**Lan sungai**Metik sungai limun kanan***Translation**

Seldom do you come

Friends you have travelled upriver

This river

Up this great river

**Chorus:***Ah nelan, nelan – e**Nelan – e***Chorus:**

Ah true, truly so,

Truly so

The leader sings the first phrase, after which everyone present joins in (transcribed as chorus/*kerahang*, in Fig. 3), singing in two to three-part homophonic harmony. The melody is anhemitonic pentatonic (*so, la, do re mi so la*) as is the upper voice (*re mi so la do' re'*). The contour of the accompanying part imitates that of the melody, resulting in a succession of parallel fourths and fifths, alternating with thirds, sixths and octaves. The result is a pleasing consonance, although based on conventions differing from the Western classical norm. The Kenyah aesthetic seeks to maintain melodic interest in the accompanying voice, a characteristic which makes the songs especially suitable as teaching materials, as the subsidiary voice is easily taught and remembered by rote. Chong found this characteristic to be extremely valuable in coaching singers with no previous experience in part-singing.

## 4.2 Songs Associated with Instrumental Music

Traditionally, Kenyah vocal and instrumental music are performed separately. However, when asked whether there were songs associated with the tunes they played, musicians have obliged with witty lyrics referencing local culture, set to the basic motifs of popular *sape* and *jatung utang* melodies. One such song is *Sai Ulai*, which means “paddling home” (Fig. 4).



**Fig. 4** Transcription of *Sai Ulai* (Chong & Anne Anthony Lajinga, 2011)



***SAI ULAI*****Tone-set:** *so, do re mi so.***Lyrics***Sai ulai alut laiee**Uyau Along nai ule kuli**Tai leto nyat sugi**Nyat pabet gosok gigi***Translation**

Paddling the boat home

Uyau Along returns from his coolie job

The woman asks for tobacco

She also wants a toothbrush

*Sape* player Bilong Lupah also demonstrated to me a set of accompanying actions, which Chong and her students have introduced during countless workshops and music classes to the delight of numerous adults and schoolchildren. The small tone-set and straightforward rhythm, accompanied by simple rhythmic actions, reminiscent of boat-rowing, makes this attractive material for the early stages of a Kodály program. The lyrics paint an interesting portrait of Kenyah economic activities and customs. In the past, many Kenyah men travelled far downriver to sell their labor, returning in boats laden with goods for their families (Fig. 5).



**Fig. 5** Kenyah instrumental ensemble, Uma Baka' 2004 (Chong, 2013)

### 4.3 *Appeal of the Songs to Different Age-Groups and Ethnicities*

Over the last 20 years, Chong has introduced Kenyah songs to different groups of people, of varying ethnicities and educational backgrounds. The wide appeal of the songs is supported by her research on the teaching and learning process of the songs (Chong, 2013: 233–280). With the help of ITE Batu Lintang students as facilitators, these songs were introduced to groups of teachers and secondary school students in dissemination workshops from 2006–2009 and taught to primary schoolchildren in actual school contexts from 2011–2012. Data in the form of personal experience, direct observation, oral feedback, and written responses to questionnaires confirmed that selected examples from the various categories of songs mentioned were viable materials for the music classroom. The hypothesis that the songs would be appealing to children as well as adults was borne out by the enthusiastic participation of schoolchildren aged from 8–11 years of age, and of adults during dissemination workshops. Written responses to questionnaires from schoolchildren and workshop participants clearly indicated that the songs had a strong melodic appeal, and that there was a genuine appreciation for specific musical characteristics of Kenyah songs. *Belian dado*’ songs such as *Lan-e* were described as having “attractive melodies with easy to learn harmonies”. Others, such as *Sai Ulai*, were popular for their “lively rhythms” and associated movements, while sentimental numbers such as *Mudung Ina* brought out affective responses reflected in descriptors such as: “melody arouses sadness”, “song is wistful” (Chong, 2013: 258–278). A class of 11-year-olds, taught by Chong, favored the song *Ilun Kuai* for its gentle tune and mysterious lyrics revolving around an endangered bird, the *argus pheasant*.

### 4.4 *Instrumental Music*

#### 4.4.1 *The Jatung Utang*

Is a wooden xylophone consisting of 9–13 keys made of bars of light wood, strung together with rope and suspended on top of a trough. The player uses a pair of wooden mallets to hit the keys which are tuned to the anhemitonic pentatonic scale. A common tone set for nine keys is *so, la, do re mi so la do’ re’*. There is no fixed standard pitch. At ITE Batu Lintang, the *jatung utang* are in C-*do*, and E-flat-*do*. It is an appealing instrument to students with no prior training in music. With its pentatonic tone-set, it is an ideal instrument for use in elementary music classrooms, presenting an effective alternative to Orff instruments. Played with two hands, students instinctively produce harmony from the pentatonic scale (*do* with *mi*, *re* with *so*, *la* with *do*), thus learning by ‘discovery’ and natural reinforcement rather than by prescription. By picking out simple pentatonic tunes with one mallet, later adding the other mallet at a fixed interval (or by playing a drone on *do*), consonance can be achieved. It



Fig. 6 Excerpt of Det Diet as played by *jatung utang* (Chong, 2013)

can also be employed to accompany pentatonic songs with *ostinato* or improvised countermelodies.

Although beginner students can play simple melodies with ease, it would take years of playing for them to achieve virtuoso skills. A partial transcription of *Det Diet* (a melody to accompany the group dance *Datun Julud*) as played on the *jatung utang* by Kasa Jok of Long Mekaba is given below. The innovative musician, finding himself without a partner (*jatung utang* is often played in duet), used a forked ‘double-stick’ in his left hand to play *ostinato* chords, and his right hand to play the melody, rendered at the impressive speed of = 160 (Fig. 6).

#### 4.4.2 The *Sape*

(*Sambe*’ or *sampe*’ in Lepo’ Tau) is a short-necked, plucked boat-lute with a hollow body carved from a single block of wood. *Sambe*’ means ‘to brush lightly with the fingers’ in Lepo’ Tau, which is an apt description of the technique often used by *sape* players to produce the highly ornamented melodies characteristic of the repertoire. The older form of the instrument is referred to as *sambe*’ *asal* (“original *sape*”). This instrument, now almost extinct, has only two strings, tuned a third apart with only three frets (*nden*). The repertoire consists of both secular and sacred categories. The sacred repertoire (related to the Kenyah traditional belief system and involving communication with spirits) is referred to as *sambe*’ *bali dayong* (“singing

spirits *sape*”). One of the last remaining exponents of the *sambe’ asal*, the late Lian Langgang of Long Moh demonstrated both sacred and secular repertoire to Chong in 2009. To the delight of all present, while playing some of the pieces, he artfully manipulated, with a thin string attached to his fingers, a dancing cork puppet (*uyat piping*).

From this original two-string version, the *sape* evolved into the present four-string version. At the head of the instrument, the strings (made of nylon fishing line, bicycle brake wire or guitar strings) are attached to tuning pegs. The intervals between the strings are fixed with the first two strings unison while the third and fourth strings are a fifth higher (*do do so so*), but they are not tuned to a standard pitch. When part of an ensemble, each *sape* is tuned to that of the fixed-pitch instruments. At ITE Batu Lintang, it is often tuned to E-flat *do* to match the best *jatung utang*. The first or lowest string serves as the melody string, while the other strings are employed for harmony. Positioned beneath the first string is a series of movable frets (*nden*) made of rattan or bamboo, glued to the surface with *udep* (a type of beeswax). The number of *nden* also varies, normally twelve to sixteen, encompassing 2½ to 3 octaves.

Depending on the piece to be played, the *nden* are adjusted by the player to form different pentatonic scales. *Sape* melodies for *datun julud* (group dance) are anhemitonic pentatonic (*do re mi so la*). These are the only tunes which can be played in an ensemble with the other instruments. In an ensemble, the main melody is usually played by the lead *sape* accompanied by melodic variations on one of the *jatung utang*, while the other instruments play ostinatos, chords, or improvise countermelodies. *Sape* repertoire for *kanjet laki* (men’s solo dance), played solo or in duet, utilize a combination of both anhemitonic pentatonic and hemitonic scales appearing in different registers. Melodies for *kanjet leto* (women’s solo dance) are mainly hemitonic pentatonic (*do mi fa so ta*), with *do re mi* confined to the higher register, as depicted in the transcription in Fig. 7. which shows an excerpt of the *sape* melody *Ilun Jebut* (this can be played either as a solo or as a duet with one *sape* playing the melody, while the other plays the drone). Unfortunately, nowadays, the repertoire for male and female solo dance is often dispensed with to enable greater participation by the whole ensemble and to avoid the hassle of resetting the frets.

The *sape* requires some aptitude and perseverance to master, besides considerable skill in tuning, replacing strings and dropped *nden*. Thus, it is only utilized by the teacher for instrumental accompaniment in the classroom or by the more talented students in specialized ensembles outside the classroom situation. Chong has successfully nurtured many such ensembles at Batu Lintang who have taken part in various performances, mostly in accompaniment of Kenyah songs. These include choir performances and musical dramas.



Fig. 7 Excerpt of sape tune *Ilun Jebut* for *kanjet leto* [transcribed by Chong Pek Lin]

## 4.5 *Recontextualization (Adaptations for the Classroom and Stage)*

### 4.5.1 Language

As the Kenyah language is unfamiliar to most Malaysians, some of Chong's students were skeptical about teaching the songs in school during practicum. Although they were confident that the melodies would be well-received, they were doubtful if their pupils could cope with lyrics in an unfamiliar language. Surprisingly, many later reported that their pupils enjoyed the novelty of singing in another language and learnt the lyrics quickly. One way to overcome the barrier of language was through preparing singable translations (in addition to literal translations), which provided the option of singing in Malay. Purists may object, as much of the beauty of a song is lost in translation. Nevertheless, these offered a way for learners to familiarize themselves with the melody first, without simultaneously having to master the lyrics in an unfamiliar language.

In public performances of the songs, wherever possible, the original Kenyah lyrics were retained and translated versions given in the program notes. During functions where program notes were not practical, the choir would sing a translated version in Malay, alternating with verses in the original Kenyah. For occasions such as choir competitions which stipulated that all songs had to be in either Malay or English, only translated versions were used, but movement and props were added to emphasize Kenyah culture.

### 4.5.2 Cultural Familiarity

Another barrier to overcome was familiarity with the context of the songs. 70% of the schools involved in the research were Chinese-medium schools in Kuching. Most of the children involved had never heard of the Kenyah and were unable to name the indigenous groups of Sarawak. As Bresler (1995: 10) expressed,

*We cannot love music we do not know. In folk society, love of the society's traditional music grows out of the learner's interrelated experiences not only with the sounds of the music, but with the people and contexts in which those sounds emanate. Therefore, the teacher in non-traditional teaching and learning contexts must find ways to provide these interrelated experiences to assure the necessary aesthetic gratification.*

Strategies thus had to be devised to familiarize them with the culture to spark the children's interest. Successful approaches included showing video-clips of Kenyah dance, bringing costumes and musical instruments to the classroom, teaching dance movements and dramatization of the songs.

### 4.5.3 Accompaniment

Kenyah songs are traditionally sung *a capella*. The only accompaniment is their very audible, rhythmic stamping on the wooden longhouse floor. In the classroom and on stage, stamping is not always practical, and without accompaniment, singers go out of tune. During their teaching practicum, Chong's students often used accompaniment such as keyboard, guitar and *sape*. For public performances, the team employed a mix of Western classical instruments (piano, cello) and traditional instruments (*sape*, *jatung utang*, *lutong*). Some scholars have taken exception to the utilization of piano accompaniment, arguing that a Western diatonic instrument was unsuitable and did not sound authentic. There are two objections being raised here; firstly, the use of a 'Western' instrument and secondly, that it is diatonic. The second objection should more accurately be directed at the arrangement, perhaps the application of diatonic harmonies rather than at the instrument itself. We concur that the songs may sound more 'authentic' if accompanied by 'Kenyah instruments' (although authenticity is debatable, as the songs are traditionally *a capella*). Kenyah instruments, unfortunately, can only play in one fixed key. A *sape* would need to be retuned, or the *nden* reset to play in another key or tonality. Thus, the choir would only be able to sing in a single key. It takes considerable time for a *sape* player to readjust the pitch of the strings, impossible to execute in the middle of a performance. In recent performances, a balance was struck by using traditional and contemporary instruments for separate songs, or different sections within a piece (Fig. 8).





**Fig. 8** ITE Batu Lintang students performing Kenyah songs in conjunction with an ethnic music conference, Kuching, 2004 [personal collection, Chong Pek Lin]

## 5 The Lun Bawang People and Their Musical Culture

The Lun Bawang are found in all four political states on the island of Borneo with an approximate total population of 42,000. There are approximately 15,754 Lun Bawang in Sarawak (Department of Statistics Malaysia, Sarawak, 2015) while the rest reside in East Kalimantan (Kapupaten Bulongan), Brunei (Temburong District) and Sabah (Sipitang District). 90% of the Sarawak Lun Bawang dwell in the Lawas District of Limbang Division, concentrated in the Trusan and Lawas Damit valleys and the Merapok area.

### 5.1 Vocal Music

In traditional Lun Bawang culture, the main purpose of singing is for entertainment while relaxing on the veranda at night or while working in the paddy fields. During the long working hours in the paddy fields under the hot sun, music helps to combat boredom and tiredness. Lun Bawang vocal music may be considered synonymous with their oral literature. Similar to those of other indigenous groups such as the Kelabit, Kayan and Kenyah, Lun Bawang epic songs narrated legends and sang praises of folk heroes related to their genealogical history. These songs are valued by Lun Bawang elders as they memorialize the origins and history of their community, besides serving as a catalogue of their customs and traditions, their norms and values,

their social mores, and their ethos. In the past, before radio and television became available in the village, singers were highly respected for their ability to entertain and educate.

Among the categories of oral tradition are the *buek* (stylized mythologies) which are long chanted text, normally requiring eight or more hours to narrate. The telling may span over several days, as each time only a short portion is being told (Deegan, 1970: 279). Subtypes of *buek* include *mumuh*, *arin*, *adui na'* and *ada' ilan* (Ipoi Datan, 1989; Deegan, 1970) and *upai semaring* (Jayl Langub, 1994). The chants are sung in archaic vocabulary with elaborate metaphor and syntax. Both Deegan and Ipoi Datan mention *nawar mengai* and *nawar ada'* as omen chants directed to deities and spirits before beginning a journey or undertaking a project. Other categories of oral tradition include the *benging*, "... which are songs composed about courtship and are humorous in intent, *telandi* which are songs composed for wedding feasts and *natawawa*, and *tidum* or children's lullabies" (Deegan, 1970: 268). Ipoi Datan (1989) mentions, in addition, the *tulu'*, described as songs composed for wedding feasts in accompaniment to the '*alai karur*' (long dance).

## 5.2 Instrumental Music

Instrumental music is commonly played for personal entertainment and recreation. During her field research in Long Semadoh, Lawas, Lim was told that in every village there would be several acknowledged 'musically talented individuals' and that 1 in 10 adult villagers can play at least one musical instrument such as the *pek bu* (tube zither), *ruding* (jew's harp), *telingut* (end-blown flute) and *tapi* (two-stringed lute). Traditionally, each music instrument was associated with a specific gender. Only the men played the *pek bu*, *tapi* and *telingut*.

Even until today, the instrumental performer is often the artisan who makes the instrument, and it is common for such an individual to be able to play every type of instrument found in the Lun Bawang community. There are no music teachers in the Lun Bawang community. Lun Bawang society has no system for notating its music nor is there a proper written record of their traditional songs. If a child is musically inclined, he or she will learn by imitation. During a break in any performance, children pick up the instruments and imitate what they have heard. This is encouraged by the adults who will then guide the children briefly on the instruments.

## 5.3 Influence of the Church

Christianity has had a great impact on Lun Bawang musical culture. James Brooke, the Rajah of Sarawak from 1839–1868, encouraged the expansion of Christianity in Sarawak, as he believed that the missionaries helped the government in developing the state. Their contributions included the setting up of missionary schools, providing



minimal health care services and introducing a modern agricultural system. Today, the Lun Bawang are predominantly Christians belonging to the Sidang Injil Borneo (SIB) Churches founded by the Borneo Evangelical Mission.

The solfege system was introduced to the Lun Bawang by the Protestant Missionaries. Their main reference was a hymn book, *Nani Lun Dayeh*, comprised of Western hymns translated into the Lun Bawang language by Mrs. Alan Belcher in the 1960s. Melodic structure, musical phrasing, rhythm with simple time signatures such as simple duple (2/4), simple triple (3/4), simple quadruple (4/4) and compound duple (6/8) were introduced to the community through this hymn book.

#### ***5.4 The Lun Bawang Bamboo Band, Lawas, Sarawak***

The Lun Bawang are well known for their unique Bamboo band ensemble, a genre which developed 80 years ago (Lim, 2007). The ensemble, which involves a sizeable number of people in the village has played an important role in social bonding. Both men and women are involved in the ensemble. The women play the *suling* (the side blown bamboo flute), which is played horizontally, while the men play the *bas* (bamboo trumpet), *tubung* (the small drum and the big drum) and *angklung* (bamboo xylophone). The wide repertoire of the band includes Western hymns, Indonesian hymns, native hymns, local and Western folksongs, and Malaysian patriotic songs.

The bamboo band was introduced to the Sarawak Lun Bawang in 1942 by two Indonesian Lun Bawang pastors, Labo Tai in Long Beluyu and Riong Betung in Ba Kelalan. In 1946, Labo Tai's successor, Bonel Pantulusang, continued his work in promoting the bamboo band at Long Beluyu and Long Semadoh. When J.G. Anderson, the Lawas Assistant District Officer visited Long Beluyu in 1947, he was extremely impressed by the band, writing "*Guru Pantulusang has taught them to make and play bamboo flutes (suling). The effect is most pleasing, and they play together in the school band, from ear.*" (Anderson, 1947: 226). Anderson also described how a 30-member bamboo band honored his arrival with a rendition of the Malaysian National Anthem and continued to entertain him with other performances during his stay there. He opined that the band served as an incentive for the villagers to send their children to school.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the bamboo band spread to neighboring Lun Bawang villages, and later to the Kelabit people at Pa' Main. The Daring family from Long Semadoh played a prominent role in the propagation of the band. While George Udan Daring and his sister Alice introduced it to four other villages, their brother, schoolteacher Jerry Samuel Daring promoted the modified six-hole flute which is still used today.

## 5.5 Instrumentation and Harmony

From 1945 until 1965, the *bas* instrument for the bamboo band only had two notes, *do* and *so*, produced by inserting a smaller bamboo tube into a larger one with two holes. The playing mechanism resembled that of a trombone. By pushing the smaller tube in and out, the player could produce two different notes. In 1966, Yohanes Sakai, another Indonesian Lun Bawang pastor, introduced modifications so that each of the seven different *bas* instruments (named as *bas do*, *bas re*, *bas mi*, *bas fa*, etc., corresponding to the seven tones in a major scale) could produce three pitches (as they do today). For instance, the *bas do* produces the *do*, *fa* and *so* sounds, the *Bas mi* produces the *mi*, *fa* and *so* sounds and the *bas so*, the *so*, *la* and *do* sounds. The notes are produced by covering specific holes, for instance, playing the *bas do*, *do* is produced by covering two holes (the top, and bottom ones), while low *fa* is produced by uncovering the top hole and low *so* by uncovering the bottom hole (Fig. 9).

The concepts of Western harmony, diatonic scales and primary chord structures were introduced to members of the bamboo band through the church. Previously, bamboo band instrumental skills were taught as a subject in the Buduk Aru Theology School in Ba Kelalan. During her research in Long Semadoh, Lim observed that the *suling* plays the melodies of various traditional and modern songs, while the *bas* players respond by providing the harmony and rhythm. The rhythmic patterns played by the *bas* throughout the piece are the same. The creativity in arranging the pieces



**Fig. 9** Bamboo band, 1950 (Source: Sarawak Museum Archive)

depends on the conductor of the bamboo band. The bamboo band players learn to master a piece through aural and oral skills, rather than by notation.

Each player knows which notes to play to accompany the melody. Referring to the music transcription shown in the key of G Major (see Fig. 10), if the melody note falls on *do*, *mi* and *so*, the *bas do*, *bas so*, *bas la* and *bas ti* will play *do*. Meanwhile the *bas re*, *bas mi* and *bas fa*, will play *mi*, thus resulting in a tonic (I) chord. If the melody note falls on *re* and *ti*, the *bas do*, *bas so* and *bas mi* will play *so*, while *bas ti* and *bas la*, will play *ti*, and *bas re* will play *re* resulting in a dominant (V) triad. If the melody note falls on *fa* and *la*, the *bas do*, *bas mi*, *bas fa* and *bas ti* will play *fa*, while *bas so*, *bas re* and *bas la*, play *la* resulting in the subdominant (IV) chord. To illustrate this, Fig. 10 shows the first 16 bars of the transcription of a hymn melody as played by a bamboo band ensemble. The melody in the treble clef is played by the *suling*, while the chordal accompaniments, based on the principles of Western harmony, are provided by the *bas* shown in the bass clef. The harmony used to accompany the piece is centered on primary chords of a particular diatonic major key. Based on the transcription, the chords used are Tonic chord (I), Subdominant chord (IV) and Dominant chord (V).

During a bamboo band rehearsal at Long Semadoh Rayeh, Lim asked if they could play the Swedish hymn “How Great Thou Art”. As their ensemble had never played it before, the conductor, Agong Baru, sang the melody of the song to them in solfege. The ensemble members joined in, singing along in solfege. The conductor then guided the *bas* players to master the accompanying rhythm pattern, which they executed on their respective instruments. The band players quickly succeeded in playing the hymn. Their ability to pick up these tunes by ear (with the aid of solfege) can be related to their frequent communal singing. While attending Sunday church services, Lim was amazed at their singing abilities. During a typical church service, the congregation sings around 20–30 hymns, all from memory. They sing hymns so regularly that the repertoire has become a part of their daily life. The lyrics and



**Fig. 10** Excerpt of Hymn Melody ‘Na Melalit Tuhan Macing’ (transcribed by Connie Lim Keh Nie)

melodies are ingrained in their memories, enabling them to reproduce the tunes easily while playing in the band.

### 5.6 *Repertoire and Role in Society*

Today, the bamboo band plays an important role in the church, resembling a church orchestra. The *suling* and *bas* are played in ensemble during worship services in the SIB church, and accompany the church choir during special occasions such as the Easter celebration (*Irau Easter*) and wedding ceremonies. Since 1945, bamboo bands have been performing in public in the presence of other communities during auspicious occasions. In the 1970s, the bamboo band became a contested event during the annual *Irau Aco Lun Bawang* (Lun Bawang Festival) held in Lawas with the aim of preserving Lun Bawang culture heritage and its unique music. The judging criteria for participating bands consist of three aspects, namely 'playing', 'tuning', and 'conducting'. In the aspect of 'playing', they are judged according to their tone quality, harmony and balance. In the aspect of 'tuning', players are judged on their ability to pitch match while playing in unison or in chords. Finally, the criteria for conducting skills includes 'accuracy in giving indication of the beat and tempo', 'execution of clear preparations' and 'skills in listening and shaping the sound of the ensemble'. In 2005, three bands from Long Tuma, Long Semadoh Rayeh and Lawas respectively, competed during the *Irau Aco Lun Bawang*. The Long Semadoh Rayeh band with 74 members won the contest and have gone on to perform at various district, state and national level functions. These include the National Level Arts Festival in Kuala Lumpur in conjunction with the 1992 Visit Malaysia Year, the National Day Celebration in Lawas, the Coronation of the Sultan of Brunei and the National Level Unity Day in Kuala Lumpur.

## 6 *Sape in the Wider Society*

Over the last 50 years, efforts by government agencies to promote Sarawak's indigenous culture have helped to raise the prominence of the *sape* on the world stage. The Sarawak Tourism Board began sending musicians and dancers for promotional tours abroad in the 1970s. Lepo' Tau *sape* maestros Irang Lahang and Jalong Tanyit from Long Mekaba performed at the Asian Traditional Performing Arts week in Tokyo 1976, while the renowned Tusau Padan (originally from Long Nawang, Indonesia, now resettled in Sarawak) appeared with a group of dancers in a series of tours to Los Angeles and Tokyo in 1986.

Despite these efforts, by the early 1990s, the *sape* had declined in popularity and was rarely seen in urban Sarawak. Even in the Kenyah-Kayan heartland, skilled practitioners were confined to a few musical families in specific villages. Kenyah and Kayan youth thought it far trendier to strum the latest hit songs on a guitar rather

than to pluck ancient tunes on a *sape*. When Chong began fieldwork in 1996, she noted that many Kenyah villages did not have a single resident *sape* player, relying instead on cassette tapes to provide dance accompaniment.

## 6.1 *Resurgence in Popularity*

With the turn of the century, the *sape* experienced a resurgence in popularity within Sarawak and grew substantially in international standing. This could be attributed in part to changing global trends, especially those linking world music and tourism. Randy Raine-Reusch, a Canadian musician working as a producer in the world music field, played a pivotal role in the promotion of the instrument. Fascinated by the timbre of the *sape*, Raine-Reusch came to Sarawak on a project to document the state's traditional instruments. He made extensive recordings of performances by Tusau Padan, from which he produced (for Pan Records) a compact disc *Masters of the Sarawakian Sape*. In 1997, he convinced the Sarawak Tourism Board to sponsor four Kenyah *sape* players (Uchau Bilong, Irang Lahang, Tegit Usat and Asang Lawai) and a dancer (Mary Dau) to the World Music Expo (WOMEX) at Marseilles, where they captivated both the international media and hardened festival directors, some of whom were moved to tears. The audience realized that they were fortunate to have the opportunity to watch this unique traditional performance. The melodious *sape* music accompanied by graceful Orang Ulu dance contrasted sharply with the energetic drum music and vigorous dance of the African team. The Sarawak team was interviewed by radio stations from France and Germany as well as the BBC World Service. At the request of the media, they gave an impromptu performance in a nearby park. This was recorded by a French crew and later broadcast on French television. Building on the momentum of this surge of international interest, the Sarawak Tourism Board established the Rainforest World Music Festival (RWMF) in 1998. Raine-Reusch, aided by Society Atelier Sarawak, acted as their initial consultant for the project. The main aims of the RWMF are:

To promote and preserve the unique culture of Sarawak, to run an international festival where local artistes could stand side-by-side with international artistes, and to present a new context for the traditional music of Sarawak. (Sarawak Tourism Board, 2007)

Ever since, it has been held as a major government-supported tourist event which has proved immensely popular. The annual three-day festival, consisting of daytime workshops and night-time concerts, has provided a platform for local traditional musicians, challenging them to play in new ways alongside international world musicians. Riding on the success of the festival, three fusion bands showcasing the *sape*, *Tuku Kame'* (from Sarawak Cultural Village), MITRA (from the Ministry of Social Development) and *Sayu Ateng* (from Ibraco Housing Development), established themselves. As described by Tan (2014: 363), these fusion bands.

... combine various types of traditional music and instruments to portray a harmonious image of Sarawak. Texts portray aspects of life in Sarawak, celebrate the splendor of the rainforest, mountains, and rivers, and remind listeners to respect nature.

The festival's icon has always been the *sape*. Now it features one of Malaysia's premiere *sape* masters, Matthew Ngau Jau of Long Semiyang, who has appeared in numerous promotional tours and music festivals in North America and Europe. More recently, other festivals and competitions have established themselves as major catalysts for the revival of *sape* skills. These include the "Baram Regatta", an annual gathering in Marudi for the Orang Ulu of the Baram featuring boat-races and cultural performances, Borneo Youth Sape festival in Sibü and the "Baram *Sape* Master Kuala Lumpur" competition (originally held in the Baram, the venue subsequently shifted to the national capital of Kuala Lumpur, reflecting the instrument's growing stature). There is now an increasing demand for *sape* teachers, and the mastery of this traditional instrument, once considered old-fashioned, is now seen as a worthy pursuit leading to a respectable career.

Established professional players now include representatives from various communities. Well recognized names in the *sape* circuit include Jerry Kamit, Saufi Aman, and Alena Murang (from the Iban, Malay and Kelabit communities respectively). There are also successful players from other countries, for instance French musician Julien Cottet, who credits Matthew Ngau as his teacher. Alena's success highlights the fact that many women are *sape* aficionados, breaking the male-only taboo long upheld within Kenyah-Kayan society. Jalong Tanyit's daughter Beatrice once remarked in exasperation how her father refused to teach her the *sape*, though he had no qualms about passing on his skills to non-Kenyah women such as American researcher Virginia Grolinski (Personal Communication, 2002).

## 6.2 Transmission of Sape Skills

The transmission and mastery of skills has taken different routes, as illustrated by the experiences of several established players. The first case illustrates transmission within a Kenyah community. Edmund Ngau Bilong from the Lepo' Tau village of Long Moh, Baram, is a *sape* master who has performed for various events, including a folk music festival in Beijing in 2019. Like many other *sape* exponents, he is a skilled craftsman who makes his own *sape*. In addition, he makes jatung *utang*, an instrument which he also excels at playing. Born into a musical family (his father a proficient *sape* player) and living only two doors away from the late Lian Langgang (an exponent of the *sambe' asal*), his skills were honed by observation and imitation. Besides teaming up with better known musicians and dancers for performances in urban areas, Edmund recently formed a village ensemble with aspiring young musicians. During practices, he nurtures the skills of the team, comprising three young men and his own sister. The 'syllabus' for his pupils includes classic Baram *sape* repertoire such as *Det diet* for *datun julud* (group dance), followed by challenging pieces such



**Fig. 11** Matthew Ngau leading a *sape* workshop for music education lecturers, Kuching, 2005 [personal collection, Chong Pek Lin]

as *Gut Garut* (for men's solo dance) and *Ilun Jebut* (for women's solo dance). New repertoire is imparted by rote through demonstration, supplemented by recordings of Lepo' Tau maestros such as Jalong Tanyit and Irang Lahang (Fig. 11).

Matthew Ngau Jau and Henry Anyie Ajang represent Kenyah/Kayan *sape* exponents who became established teachers in urban areas, passing on their skills to pupils of various communities. Matthew, who credits Tusau Padan as his own teacher, grew up in Long Semiyang, in rural Baram, and later worked as a teacher in urban Sarawak. He resigned from his government job to pursue a fulltime career performing, making and teaching *sape*, and was recently bestowed the prestigious 'Living Legend of Malaysia' award. Responding to the growing interest in *sape* in urban areas, he started his own private *sape* classes in Kuching and Bau. Among his pupils was Alena Murang, of mixed Kelabit/European descent, who began weekly lessons at the age of 14, together with six cousins. The classes were arranged by their parents who were concerned that they would lose their cultural identity while growing up in modernized Kuching. The seven Kelabit girls soon became adept at *sape* under his tutelage. Matthew's classes consisted of demonstration, observation, careful listening, and imitation. He also provided recordings on cassette tapes for their reference between lessons. Besides standard dance tunes, they learnt to sing Kenyah (*belian dado'*) songs such as *Leleng*, the melodies of which they would then play on the *sape*. By 2003, they were ready for their stage debut as *Anak Adi' Rurum Kelabit* (Young Children of the Kelabit Rurum Association) the first all-girls *sape* group at the RWMF. Through the ensuing years, although schooled in the Kenyah tradition with Kenyah



repertoire, the group, now known as *Kan'id* ('cousins' in Kelabit) began incorporating Kelabit culture into their repertoire, with modern adaptations of chants, stories, children songs, lullabies and dance tunes. Alena, now a full-time professional, has continued her advocacy in promoting Sarawak through *sape*. Her style is described as traditional, as she strives to maintain the pure, spiritual sound of the instrument emphasized by her teacher. Whereas traditionally instrumental and vocal music were always performed separately, Alena often features vocal and instrumental music simultaneously. Alena's debut EP, entitled *Flight* features five folksongs from both Kelabit as well as Kenyah traditions.

Henry Anyie, a former headmaster from the Kayan village of Long Bemang, picked up his skills from Kenyah *sape* masters during his numerous postings in the Baram. He initially taught *sape* privately before he was employed by the Dayak Cultural Foundation to give group lessons. Besides traditional rote learning, Henry's pupils were taught to associate the frets with solfège and to hum basic *sape* tunes based on solfège. One of Henry's former pupils at the foundation, Lesli Eli, of Iban heritage who had begun lessons at the age of 12, is now a successful professional player. A permanent member of the Malaysian Traditional Orchestra, he has performed in Korea, Japan and Thailand. Leslie's *sape* is modified to be able to play the full chromatic scale, to accommodate the 'modernized' repertoire of the orchestra which includes many diatonic pieces as opposed to the traditional pentatonic repertoire.

### 6.3 Changing Repertoire

With the transition from a quiet longhouse environment to the festival concert stage, amplification became imperative, and the *sape* has been modified to include guitar pickup fixtures added onto its soundboard. The instrument evolved further into what is known as the 'contemporary sape' (Lim et al., 2016, 2020; Lim & Mohd Fadzil Abdul Rahman, 2011, 2016, 2017). Narawi Haji Rashidi, the music director of Sarawak Cultural Village and band leader of its resident band *Tuku Kame'*, has developed a modern contemporary *sape* through the replication of the electric guitar. Additional strings and frets were added and the traditional palm fibre or rattan string was replaced with steel guitar strings. The craftsmanship was modified to enable standardizing the tuning to 440 Hz and, in imitation of the guitar, applying equal tempered tuning to the now permanently fixed frets. With standardized tuning, the *sape* is able to play in ensemble with other modern musical instruments. The additional frets and strings enable a full diatonic scale, allowing music arrangers to explore new creative music compositions using materials from Sarawak musical tradition. The new contemporary style is exemplified by Jerry Kamit, the premiere *sape* player of *Tuku Kame'* band which represented Malaysia in the 12th World Championship of Performing Arts in Hollywood in 2009. Other established bands associated with the contemporary style include *At Adau*, *Meruked* and *Sada Borneo*.



## 7 Conclusion

This chapter has featured descriptions of selected instrumental and vocal genres of Borneo as practiced by the original culture bearers, and their transmission beyond the original communities. Vocal genres are disappearing within increasingly scattered minority communities, but efforts to document and disseminate Kenyah songs, especially *belian dado* have been fruitful. These melodious, multipart songs are amenable to performance on the urban stage and incorporation into school music education programs. From the perspective of music education, the songs are invaluable as the lyrics harbor a wealth of cultural information, while the melodies display a variety of tonalities (as opposed to the overwhelmingly major tonality of songs in Malaysian school music books). A major advantage of the songs is the fact that they are recreational songs, with context acceptable to all students, regardless of ethnicity or religion. One barrier to overcome in their dissemination is lack of familiarity with the Kenyah language. Also, in bringing the songs to the urban stage, recontextualization and adaptations, such as the addition of instrumental accompaniment seem inevitable.

**The bamboo band** is still thriving within the Lun Bawang community. As this ensemble is intricately connected with the church, an institution to which the Lun Bawang are steadfastly loyal, its continued existence seems assured. Their repertoire thrives on the codependent relationship between the players. Unlike the Kenyah *sape* and *jatung utang*, which combine in ensemble, but also perform separately as solo instrumentalists, the instruments of the Bamboo Band always perform together. Dissemination beyond the community may be difficult to achieve at present due to the challenges of craftsmanship and the unique community support on which this genre thrives.

The *jatung utang* was found to be an attractive instrument for use in the classroom and for ensemble playing on stage. Its spread within and beyond Sarawak however has been slow. This is due in part, to the lack of promotion, the shortage of skilled craftsman, and the difficulty in obtaining suitable wood. Unlike the *sape*, it still has a low profile, and is thus unable to garner investment for large-scale production.

As the *sape* has gained an international following, and there are a sizeable number of skilled practitioners, it is likely to remain the most prominent Bornean instrument for some time to come. The evolution of the instrument was also discussed, beginning with the original two-string *sambe' asal*, leading to the 'traditional' four-string version, and the latest innovations with the contemporary *sape*. The two more recent versions of the *sape* now coexist with different repertoire, catering for different audiences. The contemporary *sape* style as exemplified by Jerry Kamit and the various fusion bands is at the forefront of newly curated music and experiments with new media. Meanwhile, the 'traditional *sape*' style as exemplified by Matthew Ngau continues to celebrate the repertoire inherited from the ancient masters, with some subtle changes (e.g. although Matthew retains the original *sape* with movable frets, he keeps extra frets which can be added on to play diatonic melodies). Besides continuing to teach *sape* in the conventional way, many *sape*

exponents now disseminate their techniques and repertoire through educational talks, recordings and streaming through social media platforms such as YouTube, Instagram, Spotify and iTunes. Perhaps these modern ‘hi-tech’ methods of dissemination, if applied to other traditional genres, could help to raise their profile.

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