THE RITUALISTIC PERFORANCE OF NGALAI / BERASIK: THE INTANGIBLE HERITAGE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF NATIONAL CULTURAL POLICY (NCP) AND MALAYSIAN HERITAGE ACT

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Abstract

This paper elaborates on the ritualistic performing arts of *ngalai/berasik* practised by the Bajau/Sama' ethnic group in the state of Sabah, from the perspective of the Malaysian National Cultural Policy (NCP) and National Heritage Act. Traditionally, *ngalai/berasik* ritual performance is a performance practice for healing, based on the ritualistic belief of animism. As a type of performing arts, this form of ritual contains elements of dance movements, songs, acts and music. Referring to NCP, the ritualistic performance of *ngalai/berasik* not only functions as a medium of healing, but it also serves as an artistic culture among the practising community. Meanwhile, referring to the National Heritage Act, Malaysia, it is a form of performance arts, categorised as Intangible heritage. Therefore, this study attempts to justify the ritualistic performance of *ngalai/berasik* as performance arts in the form of intangible heritage that is supposed to be preserved at the expense of sustainable cultural heritage.

Keywords: Ngalai/Berasik, Bajau/Sama', Intangible heritage, Ritual, Sustainability, Preservation

1. INTRODUCTION

The ethnic diversity in Malaysia makes this country rich with various traditions and cultures. This factor creates various forms of arts and performance according to various forms of arts and performances according to their respective belief and practice. The belief and practice of the society in Malaysia began since the era of animisme¹ until the emergence of religions and beliefs that has shaped the society. Assimilation comes from ethnic richness laden with various beliefs and their customs, and Malaysia is full of various cultural heritage. This heritage serves as the symbol and integrity of an ethnic group that has become the mainstay of the development of national identity.

¹ Animism is the basic religious belief that first emerged among primitive humans. Animism is the belief on the fact that every single thing on this earth has its own spirit, including the sun and the moon. They also believe that there are souls and supernatural entities living with them. Animism believes that every single thing on this earth has a soul that needs to be respected so that the spirit does not disturb humans, but will help in their everyday lives.

This contributes to Malaysia becoming a country that has various cultural heritage derived from diverse races and ethnic groups. The cultural heritage possessed has to be defended and preserved because it reflects a nation's identity and integrity. To understand more about the cultural heritage implied, one needs to know the definition of the term 'cultural heritage'. This aims to facilitate the understanding of the cultural heritage that has been categorised based on the criteria of *International Council on Monument and Site* (ICOMOS) under the *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization* (UNESCO) (Yuszaidy Mohd Yusoff et. al: 2011).

2. THE RITUALISTIC PERFORMANCE OF NGALAI/BERASIK PRACTISED BY THE ETHNIC GROUP OF BAJAU/SAMA'

Traditionally, the ritual of *ngalai / berasik* was a practice of performance to heal, based on the religious belief of animism. Ritual performance is a ceremony stemming from the humanistic act or desire to find a relationship with the supernatural (metaphysics) because naturally, human beings have this religious emotion. Ritual is the practice of performance that is still significant among the ethnic groups of Bajau/Sama' that is the second largest group of Bumiputera in Sabah, Malaysia. Before the British rule in the 19th century, the Bajau / Sama' ethnic group was nominally placed under the ruling of Brunei and Sulu. The people of Bajau / Sama' are a group of '*Proto-Malays*' that is characteristically maritime, or who have the skills and knowledge about the sea. This group is a seafarer and they live nomadically. Their lives depend greatly on the sources of the sea. The native people's culture of Bajau / Sama' is primitive in terms of the social and technology. The ethnic group of Bajau / Sama' is said to be safer to reside at sea compared to land. They started to move to land when there were economic activities and they had to find foods from the forests to survive. In the 19th century, for example, the number of Bajau who lived at sea decreased.

The existing community of Bajau/Sama' we have in Sabah today is generally known as Bajau or Sama'. In several places, there are other terms such as Samai, Samal, Bajjau, Badjaw and others. All these terms carry the same meaning. Any of these terms can be used because they refer to the same society. For general knowledge, the difference between these Bajau terms, is categorised by the external community. The Bajau society calls themselves the People of Sama'. The race implied by the people of Bajau does not refer to the 'race' in the Malay Language but instead, it refers to the ethic groups (ethnic)². However, today, there are many outside society who studies about the arts and culture of Bajau. Thus, to help ease the course of the study, they have classified the people of Bajau/Sama' generally into two categories namely Bajau Laut and Bajau Darat (Sea Bajau and Land Bajau). The latter, comprises of the people of the land especially in the West Coast of Sabah centered in Kota Belud. Thye are known as Sama' Tempasuk. In the meantime, Bajau Laut or the Sea Bajau refers to the people who live by the beach especially in the East Coast of Sabah centered in Semporna. They are called Sama' Kuvang. Nonetheless, for the people of Bajau themselves, these categories of division have never existed. They are normally known according to their origins or villages.

Thus, this study concentrates on the ritualistic performance arts practised by the ethnic group of Bajau / Sama' (Land Bajau) who makes the largest ethnic group in the districts of Kota Belud and Kota Marudu, Sabah. Kota Belud is a district that has the largest Bajau / Sama' population compared to other districts. This is because Bajau / Sama' are said to have come from this district even before the world war. The Bajau / Sama' society in Kota Belud works in the agriculture as their daily economic activity. Meanwhile, the ethnic group of Bajau Sama' in Kota Marudu is the mixture between the Sea and Land Bajau groups. However, in terms of the culture and the custom, the ethnic group of Bajau / Sama' still holds on to the same rules and regulations of their ancestors. These include the eating etiquette, bathing, marriage, feasting, even the belief on the surroundings inhabited by other creatures. The purpose is to maintain their wellbeing continuously because they believe that every action needs to be done carefully and according to the generational customs, as to avoid any mishap, unfortunate incidents or *tulah*³.

In line with the belief, the society of Bajau / Sama' still believes in the existence of the supernatural from other universe (metaphysics) until today. They believe that every place in this earth is inhabited by the supernatural entities. They believe that these entities can help and hurt them. For those who can help them, they need to be respected so that they are not harmed in any way. There are also these entities that can help in their daily lives. According to Yap Beng Liang (1993), the ethnic group of Bajau / Sama' believes that

² This study uses both terms of Bajau dan Sama' with the sign (Bajau/Sama') to refer to the same ethnic group.

³ Tulah merupakan suatu hal yang dipercayai berlaku apabila seseorang individu itu melakukan perbuatan tidak baik, iaitu yang melanggar peraturan umpamanya melanggar pantang-larang, menganggu kawasan makhluk halus, menyakiti orang lain, melawan cakap ibu-bapa ataupun bercakap burut tentang sesuatu yang tidak sah.

in this world, there are various types of Djinn (supernatural entity). Djinn is thought to be special because it has poer and it can influence human activity. Humans can only know or feel the power absorbed to them. It has become a culture in the healing context of the ethnic Bajau / Sama'. They believe that in this world there are not only humans and animals, but there are also the supernatural that influences human life. They believe that there are good, kind entities with supernatural powers and which help solve human problems whereas bad, evil entities hurt and trouble humans in their lives.

Normally, the entity will exist on one's body and it becomes the medium. Sometimes they can be the host, if the person dies and the family member or the child can be the next inheritor/host. These creatures cannot be seen but their presence can be felt. Individuals who can see these creatures are said to have a gift and are special in healing diseases caused by *tulah* or sorcery. The healing method is different based on the principle held by either the individual or the entity itself. From there, the ethnic Bajau / Sama' believes that the witch doctor that can connect with the supernatural entities are skilled individuals and have the power of invisibility.

Meanwhile, in the context of traditional Malay and the archipelago in general, the role of the witch doctor or the shaman is as the medium or the linker between the physical world and the metaphysical world. This is because, the shaman has his own special powers, where they have a certain companion or supernatural entities from the metaphysical world. Thus, the shaman can communicate with the creatures from the metaphysical world in the effort to heal the disease believed to have come from the supernatural entities. (Mohd Kipli Abdul Rahman, 2015).

3. THE RITUALISTIC PERFORMANCE OF NGALAI/BERASIK

From this belief, there emerges a ritualistic performace of $ngalai/berasik^4$. As a type of performance arts, it uses a combination of dance movements, songs, acting and music. Thus, this performance stems from the ritualistic ceremony of healing, so the element of performance also involves the shaman, the patient and some kind of food offering. This is because the ritualistic performance of ngalai/berasik is normally carried out on the patient with the help of supernatural entity known as embo'-embo'. It is a supernatural creature that comes from the fantasy world that comes down to Earth to help the shaman in the ngalai/berasik healing process. Embo'-embo' will enter the body of the shaman who is healing the patient, believed to be ill due to tulah or disturbed by this supernatural entity (Djinn). The main function of ngalai/berasik I to find the root problem of the disease, heal the patient and come forward with ways of curing the patient's disease. The ethnic group of Bajau / Sama' believes that this method of curing is a healing process that involves the power of other creatures.

From the belief on *tulah* there emerges the ritual performance of *ngalai* based on animism seeking to achieve healing. It is a set of patterns from symbolic actions like certain forms of worship, sacrifice, and prohibitions. Rituals are the result of human desire in their pursuit of connection with the supernatural, as humans themselves would naturally possess some religious emotions. In the traditional context, performing arts was also a prevailing form of ritual used in the healing process. Ritual performance is a process that is created from the action or desire to connect with the metaphysical world as they tend to have some religious sentiments. It is also a medium for uniting the intention of the members of the society with a belief through various procedures and actions done symbolically like certain forms that originate from worship, sacrifice, and prohibition. Thus, ritual performance is a ceremony that comes from the action and desire to connect with the supernatural for certain purposes which are normally seeking to obtain good, wellbeing and peace within the practitioners (Mohd Kipli Abdul Rahman, 2009).

According to Mohd Kipli Abdul Rahman, in the context of the traditional Malay in specific, and the Archipelago in general, the role of the *bomoh* or shaman is as a mediator or connector between the physical world and the metaphysical world. This is because a shaman has his own strength, where he often has company, or is attached to the supernatural spirits that serve as an entity of the metaphysical world. Thus, a shaman can communicate with the entities from the metaphysical world in the effort to heal diseases believed to have been caused by the spirit (Narupon Duangwises & Lowell D. Skar, 2016). This shaman is really respected by the people of Bajau following his skills in healing various diseases using magic. This is because, Bajau believes that *embo'-embo'* (the supernatural creatures) who cures the patients indeed exists

⁵ Embo'-embo' - the term used by Bajau/Sama', is a supernatural creature that helps the shaman in the *ngalail berasik* healing performance.

⁴ Referring to this study, the term 'ngalai' is used by the ethnic group of Bajau/Sama' Kota Belud whereas the ethnic Bajau Kota Marudu uses 'berasik' to explain the same ritual performance. Thus, this study will be using both terms (ngalai/berasik).

because during the process of healing, the shaman will communicate with *embo'-embo'*. *Embo'-embo'* determines the way that the patient is to be healed, and the things he must avoid throughout his healing period. The shaman in the ritual performance of *berasik* often comprises of aging women.

For the purpose of performing for healing purposes, sajian (offerings) which comprise of some foods must be served for the supernatural creature (embo'-embo') called upon to cure the patient. As coined by Mohd Kipli Abdul Rahman, offerings (sajian) are vital in the healing ritual. The reason why sajian is prepared, is following the belief that there is a spirit (supernatural) that gives life to the ritualistic performance. Thus, when performing this ritualistic dance, the shaman has to ask for the permission first by calling upon the spirit or soul of the ancestors so that the performance will be blessed for healing purposes (Narupon Duangwises & Lowell D. Skar, 2016). The foods come in the form of glutinous rice, kuih apam, water and boiled eggs. Sometimes, female white chicken is also prepared as one of the foods served for the embo'-embo'. The rice, penjaram, and boiled eggs are prepared as foods for embo'-embo'. The foods will be added per request from embo'-embo' represented by the shaman. Meanwhile, incense is used to fumigate the performance and the patient areas. Other offerings such as candle, perfume, bertih (roasted grain rice), mayang pinang (nut cluster), kain kuning (yellow cloth). kain merah (red cloth) and kain hijau (green cloth) are also used.

When all is prepared, the *ngalai* performance will begin with the ceremony 'buka panggung' led by the shaman. The purpose is to steer clear from the disturbance of the evil. The ceremony begins by burning off the incense while fumigating it throughout the whole area and also around the patient and reciting some mantra. Several pieces of fabric were also used in the ceremony comprising of yellow and green clothes. Yellow cloth is used by the shaman to dab the body of the patient and dancers will use the yellow cloth to be wrapped around their waists. The green cloth is used by dancers and patient needs to cover his entire head. The reason or the dancers to wear yellow and green is to incite the spirit of the *embo'-embo'* ⁶ and his companions to exorcise the bodies of the dancers and the patient himself. The spirit is the handmaiden from the fairyland who accompanies *embo'-embo'* in the ritualistic performance of *ngalai/berasik*.

After the ceremony of 'buka panggung', the shaman will sing, followed by dancers dancing to the rhythm. The musical instrument used is a bamboo and a stick. The song is actually a mantra that calls upon *embo'-embo'* to come and bless the performance and fulfill the request made. Initially, the singing and the dancing follow a slow tempo. However, when it gets to the peak, it becomes increasingly fast and upbeat.

The singing and the dancing will stop when *embo'-embo'* and the shaman begin to interact through the patient's body that has been taken over by *rojo*. At the same time, the shaman will play his role in controlling the movements of the dancers who are also exorcised by the *embo'-embo'* handmaidens. Meanwhile, the shaman tries to regain the consciousness of the dancers from exorcism and lets them rest while he continues to communicate with *embo'-embo'*. During the process of communication, the shaman will wipe off the patient's face with a yellow cloth and dust off his body as a sign that *embo'-embo'* is present. In the communication, there are several things that the shaman will ask to the *rojo*, about the root cause of the disease he suffers, how to heal and the taboo. After all is asked, the shaman will recite again the mantra and prayers to extract *embo'-embo'* from the patient's body and send it back to the fairyland

As it is sent home, the foods called 'pengeras' are also given as a sign of gratitude to the embo'-embo'. It is prepared as requested by embo'-embo'. After the ritualistic performance is over, the shaman possessed by embo'-embo' will perform the tutup panggung ceremony, by sitting in front of the offerings, reciting the mantra, cleaning the space and keeping all the offerings and rituals equipment. Meanwhile, the process of healing will occur and it will take a few days to heal entirely; it also depends on the strength of the patient's body. After the ngalai/berasik healing, the patient will feel extremely tired due to the exorcism he experiences. Normally, the family of the patient will hold a blessing ceremony or feast after the healing process so that the patient will heal even faster. The patient needs to adhere to several taboo determined by embo'-embo' mediated by the shaman to avoid from any unfortunate incidents or to avoid his disease from becoming ongoing. The healing of patients is seen as the physical and mental capabilities to manage himself or herself as normal.

The practitioners of *ngalai/berasik* believe that this physical world is also influenced by the metaphysical world, or the supernatural that is mythically believed as the souls of their ancestors, referring to the animism inherited for years.

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⁶ The soul that exists in all the creatures (things) either dead or alive and which traditionally was believed to be able to give strength or to become evil.

4. NGALAI/BERASIK FROM THE PERSPECTIVES OF NATIONAL CULTURAL POLICY (NCP) AND MALAYSIAN HERITAGE ACT

Related to this, if we were to view this from the heritage viewpoint, the existence of the ritualistic performance of *ngalai/berasik* is also a form of heritage. This is because, it fulfils the definition of heritage, which is handed down from the previous generations or in other words, the heritage left behind by the ancestors or the nature that has to be preserved. 'Heritage' also means the remnants that have become the pride and introduction to their people. The existence of the cultural heritage in Malaysia has undergone a long historical process that leans on the mainstream image that is national, by characteristic. It has long become a collective ownership and thus, it is able to create a sense of belonging among Malaysians. Heritage begins with human instinct to restore something that has been used before, experienced as a momento and the source of nostalgia. Human curiosity about any event, spurs them to find things that are bizarre and strange. In general, heritage can be divided into two- tangible and intangible heritage. Tangible heritage is something that can be seen and held permanently either static or portable, with a face and shape or artefact that can be clearly and precisely touched (Ab Samad Kechot, et.al., 2012).

Thus, referring to the definition of the ritual performance of *ngalai/berasik* it is more accurately included in the category of Intangible heritage. It is the field of heritage that has become the priority covering a type of heritage that is 'non-object' to be enjoyed by human sense. Intangible heritage means human action or movement that can be seen, touched, tasted, smelt or heard when it is done or which exists, but it cannot be enjoyed when it is gone or has ended. National Heritage Act 2005, interprets that Intangible heritage includes any form of utterances, language, quotes, proverbs, songs created through music, notes, lyrics, can be heard, singing, folks' songs, verbal traditions, poems, dances, acting as can be seen through stage arts, theatrical performance, sound and music compositions, martial arts, that have been created or exist with regard to the Malaysian heritage or any part of Malaysia or with regard to the heritage of the Malaysian society (Official website, Department of National Heritage, KPK Malaysia, 2016).

From there, the ritualistic performance arts ngalai/berasik also serves as the cultural heritage of Malaysia following the fact that the elements of the performance fulfil one of the three principles outlined in the National Cultural Policy (NCP) (http://pmr.penerangan.gov.my/index.php/maklumat-kenegaraan/238-dasar-kebudayaan-kebangsaan.html):

- (i). Leaning on the Native people's culture of this region encompassing areas of Malaysia, Indonesia, the Phillipines, Singapore, Brunei, Thailand and Kampuchea also South Pacific Islands (Polynesia, Melanesia and Oceania) until Malagasy is the main aspect of Malay culture or civilization. This region is the center of cultural expansion and heritage. The Malay culture dates back centuries ago and is marked by the grandeur and excellence of Malay civilization that centered in Melaka, with the use of the Malay Language as the linguafranca. This regional culture is depicted as the similarities shared in the field of language based on the Malay family- Austronesia, the geographical position, historical experience, the wealth of nature, arts and its identity. The Malay culture today is a way of life, a sign of identity and the basic measurement of personality to more than 200 million people who speak the same language. Therefore, the culture of the native people in the region in the narrow or wide interpretation of the Malay culture has become the mainstay of the Nationa ICulture.
- (ii).Other elements of culture deemed appropriate and reasonable can be accepted. Culture as a dynamic process, is often changing through the ongoing processes of inculcation and suitability. This principle is consistent with the situations of the pluralistic society inheriting multifarious cultures. Therefore, elements of the Chinese, Egyptian Indian, the Western cultures and others are deemed appropriate and should be considered and accepted in the formation of the National Culture. The suitability of acceptance in this inculcation depends on the absence of the conflict with the Constitution and principles of the Nation and the national interest also basic morality and universal spirituality in general, and Islam as the country's official religionin specific.
- (iii). Islam Becomes an Important Element for the Formation of National Culture Religion or the belief in God serves as an important element in the process of national development and the inculcation of good moral values among the people. Islam gives guidance to humans in balancing and strengthening the effort to fulfil the emotional and physical needs and because of that it should be an important element in the formation of National culture considering its position as the official religion of the country, other than the existence of the historical facts and Islamic values already advocated by the majority of the people in the region. All three principles above signify the acceptance of the vision of the 1971 National Cultural Congress.

NCP is formed on the awareness that the development of the National Culture is vital to create a stable and

united country. With that, the efforts to form the Malaysian National Culture seeks to achieve three important objectives which are to:

- (i). Strengthen racial and national unity through culture;
- (ii). Instil and preserve the national identity that stems from the National Culture; and
- (iii). Enrich and enhance the quality of human life and spirituality that goes in balance with the development of socio-economy.

In NCP, the ritualistic performance arts *ngalai/berasik* fulfils the first principle of the policy, or the heritage that leans on the native people's culture of the people. From these NCP objectives, thus the ritualistic performance arts *ngalaiberasik* should be preserved as a form of Intangible heritage. Referring to the Laws of National Heritage, preservation means the effort to improve and preserve the natural resources wisely and syestematically so that it can be enjoyed by future generations. Preservation is a process of caring for and watching for historical heritage from being destroyed and improved without any systematic planning and management. The concept of preservation of heritage accepted and practised by mankind is "Originality in the Preservation of Heritage" (Nurul Aimuni Husna binti Nasron, 2016). The preservation of cultural heritage is intangible according to the Laws of National, Act 645, Section 60 as follows (The Laws of National Heritage 2005):

- (i). The owner or caretaker of the object of heritage in the form of intangible cultural heritage must take into account all the steps that have to be taken to develop, identify, submit, execute and conduct a research on the intangible cultural heritage according to the stipulated guideline and procedure.
- (ii). The commissioner can negotiate with the owner or caretaker of the cultural heritage regarding the obeyance of the stipulated guideline and procedure.

The determination of the 2005 National Heritage Law asserts the importance of preserving *ngalai/berasik* as a form of intangible heritage not only for national unity and building national self-identity, but also for the sake of the sustainability of the ritualistic performance arts itself. With regard to sustainability, it can be explained as a capability or a capacity of something to sustain or retain itself. In other words, sustainability is about what we need to live today without affecting people's potential in the future to fulfil their requrements. This can be referred to the statement outlined by the 'World Commission on Environment and Development for the United Nations General Assembly in 1987' (Vermont Folklife Center 2016):

"Meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs".

Brundtland Commission, a foundation established in 1983 to promote global sustainability also shares the same view that (Scammon, D: 2016):

Sustainability, involves efforts to focus on meeting current human needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Traditionally, the sustainability paradigm encompasses the interactions between humans and the economic, social and environmental aspects of living.

Scammon, D (2016) further touches on the cultural sustainability that is synthesised with matters pertaining to heritage, social and economy such as:

Cultural sustainability examines ways to enhance our cultural identity and sense of place through heritage, shared spaces, public art, social capital, educational opportunities, and public policies in ways that promote environmental, economic, and social sustainability.

It is contended that the study on the ritual of *ngalai/berasik* is important because it also talks about social, economic, educational and cultural issues that should be made sustainable as an important heritage for the development of a civilized nation.

5. CONCLUSION

The ritualistic performance arts of *ngalai/berasik* are a combination of dance movements, songs, music and acting. Traditionally, the ritual of *ngalai/berasik* is a performance practice of healing that is based on the animism religious belief in the existence of the supernatural. Therefore, from the performance aspect, *ngalai / berasik* is included in the category of intangible heritage as dictated in the 2005 National Heritage Act. It is a form of heritage culture that is based on the native people's culture of the people of this region as outlined in the first principle of the National Cultural Policy (DKK). The importance is very significant in consolidating

national unity, preserve the national identity and enrich also enhance human life quality and spirituality that is balanced with the socio-economic development. In this vein, the ritualistic performance of *ngalai / berasik* should be preserved as a Malaysian artistic heritage culture for the sake of sustainability that can be the pride and joy of future generations of Malaysia.

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