

CHAPTER 2

THE RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF LAGU MENGHADAP REBAB

I. AROUSING ANGIN IN LAGU MENGHADAP REBAB

Searching for the meaning of Lagu Menghadap Rebab involved investigating, in addition to the music, the behaviour of the performers, including the Pak Yong and rebab-player, and the concepts and symbols governing this behaviour.

For example, my initial questions were: why is the singing of Mak Yong magical? why does the singer face the rebab? what is it that motivates the singer to sing as she does? what is the meaning of the rebab's haunting call?

Coming across the South Thai name of Lagu Gerak Bangun confirmed that one of the event's most obvious and overt functions is to arouse the angin of the Pak Yong or the patient playing Pak Yong.

Other indigenous beliefs and symbols have been found to occur in Lagu Menghadap Rebab in addition to angin. These include the agency of angin, the mythic kings in the theatre repertory, indigenous myths, the belief in the prototypical teacher,¹ the agents of the spirit world, the traditional Malay concept of the soul which is semangat, as well as an

ancestor appeasement function prevalent in the South Thai practice of Mak Yong.

As mentioned in Chapter one, angin, and all such symbols and metaphors mentioned above are, in one way or another, and in the most general sense, best understood as specialisations of semangat, manifested in ways peculiar to the Malay ritual system. Not only does this hypothesis clarify the theory of the significance of angin in Lagu Menghadap Rebab, it also explains the relationships of many of the overlapping meanings of such symbols.

In essence, semangat is the vital principle or spark which vitalises all animate and inanimate objects.² Thus, is semangat the "universal life-force" which permeates all aspects of nature, including such inanimate objects as stones, metals and trees.³ This belief spills over to include the veneration of the material implements of traditional Malay theatre such as its musical instruments and puppets as containers of semangat.⁴

Semangat also refers to the Malay concept of the soul. The study of semangat reveals a complex intermingling of beliefs reflecting the syncretic nature of traditional Malay culture and mythology.⁵ The indigenous Malay folk belief system includes its animistic past, as well as influences from the

Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist religions.

Endicott describes the differentiation of the term semangat into a number of terms such as nyawa and roh which also variously mean soul. To this end, he states that the Malays, "are able to express the differences among men and the unity of the cosmos in terms of a single system of ideas based upon semangat, the vital principle."⁶

The usage of the term nyawa indicates the Hindu-Buddhist influences on the syncretic folk Malay belief system. To the Malays, nyawa, has come to refer to life or breath or soul. The other term jiwa, is also interchangeable with the term nyawa, meaning soul.⁷ Nyawa can also be described as the breath of life, the aspect of the human soul that distinguishes the living from the dead, dividing also, mankind and the animal world from the inanimate living world.⁸ Nyawa is represented by the physical breath, which is taken in some situations to be a manifestation of semangat, the soul of man.⁹ Nyawa is also a term which Mak Yong practitioners use to describe musical events in Lagu Menghadap Rebab, such as the solo rebab interlude within the piece, called the nyawa rebab, where the singer pauses to take a breath (tempat ambil nyawa), waiting for her next vocal entry.¹⁰ The reason for this intermingling of ritual and musical indicators is not completely clear, except perhaps to point out how musical

events are conceived.

The most succinct analysis of semangat is stated by Ghulam-Sarwar when he describes how the human soul contains semangat and roh.¹¹ In illness, semangat is lost. Roh, a term originating from pre-Islamic and Islamic Arabian influences, is, however, divinely bequeathed, and its loss results in death.¹²

Traditional Malay magic thus, seeks to restore the semangat of the patient.¹³ Certain Mak Yong performances are specifically aimed at recalling the lost semangat in order to enable healing.¹⁴ During the course of research, I found that the most prominent metaphor utilised by practitioners in Malay performance is angin. Thus, the present thesis puts forward that the restoration of semangat occurs through the process of arousing angin.¹⁵

ANGIN

The word angin bears many literal meanings, unconnected to the interpretation used in this thesis. Dictionary definitions name over fifty types of the atmospheric winds.¹⁶ The word angin-angin refers to rumours or hearsay and angin-anginan means to be quick-tempered and easily angered. Angin also

refers to the wind caused by gas in the stomach, and the cold wind which makes one sick if the body has been chilled by it.¹⁷

The definition of angin as utilised in this thesis is of a phenomenon confined to sick people and performers. Angin is evoked to heal. The method of evocation is a combination of rituals, music and movement. The more skilled and sensitive the artistry of the performance, the likelier it is that angin will be evoked. On the other hand, the more sensitively receptive the performers are to the condition of angin, the more artistic the performer, and the more effective the healing.

Angin is evoked in traditional Malay modes of healing such as in the bomoh's healing rites, and in the more complex healing rites of Main Peteri and Mak Yong. Angin is also a heightened state of being in performance deliberately sought after by practitioners of the Malay performing arts.

The operations of angin therefore, link traditional healing ceremonies and performance.¹⁸ In both circumstances, angin is seen as a specialised manifestation of semangat. These contextual boundaries define and delimit the interpretation of angin as utilised in the present thesis which we now proceed to analyse.

Angin in Illness and Cures

The following section presents a general background to traditional Malay notions of illness and cures, leading to a brief description of the Main Peteri and the relationship between Mak Yong and the ritual healing arts.

Traditional Malays believe that the universe is composed of four humours consisting of earth, water, fire, and air (tanah air api angin) which are kept in balance. Physical illnesses are seen to be the result of a humourial imbalance. Illness is also spoken about in terms of an opposition between hot and cold. The majority of illnesses are believed to be caused by a humourial imbalance either towards hot or cold. Since their manifestation is a physical one, the treatment for these ailments by the bomoh usually involves physical and dietary therapy.¹⁹

Another category of illness exists where the semangat of the patient is said either to be depleted due to physical problems or has fled due to being startled or frightened away from the body, or else has been disturbed by spirits. Spirits are said to be composed only of air and fire, thus causing an imbalance to the body they come into contact with.

In most situations, simple invocations, spells and prayers

recited by the bomoh accompanied by dietary and other physical adjustments are sufficient to treat the patient. However, as a last resort, the patient may have to undergo the Main Peteri ritual.

A process of diagnosis precedes this ceremony which involves the reading of scattered popped rice or bertih. If the source of the illness is not caused by external or physical entities, then the problem is due to angin, which according to Laderman, indicates an internal personality problem.²⁰ The majority of Main Peteri rituals treat cases of sakit berangin, a category of illness caused by a suppression of angin.

The Main Peteri ceremony is one of the most elaborate forms of such ritual healing. The theories of Laderman and Ghulam-Sarwar define these Malay trance-healing sessions as a form of indigenous psychotherapy.²¹ Main Peteri is conducted by the shaman and his intercessor, called the Tok Peteri and Tok Minduk respectively. The Tok Minduk, as mentioned previously, is usually a bomoh and rebab-player as well.²²

Broadly speaking, Main Peteri treats patients through trances where both the shaman and patient go into trance. The Minduk guides and leads the shaman into trance. The shaman is said to be possessed by his helper spirits who intercede for him in speaking directly to the external spirits if they have been so

diagnosed as inflicting the patient. While the shaman undergoes a series of such trances, the minduk speaks to these external spirits and persuades them to depart from the patient's body with the promise of offerings.²¹

According to Laderman, Main Peteri trance sessions involve spirit-raising and possession, and this has its basis in an indigenous theory of personality development and frustration. Here, the metaphors and symbols used in the curative process are in fact concepts by which the patient may clarify what are actually personality problems.²⁴

The ritual performance of Mak Yong is necessary if the patient has been diagnosed as suffering from the repression of the particular type of angin associated with the archetypal heroes found in the Mak Yong dramatic repertoire. Therefore, in Mak Yong performances undertaken as an extension to the sessions in Main Peteri, the inducement, expression and fulfilment of the repressed state of angin within the patient is deliberately sought. In this ritual context, the Mak Yong performance by the patient enables emotional catharsis which is necessary for healing.

The patient of spiritual performances of Mak Yong is either one who has had some experience of Mak Yong but who is not a performer, or a practitioner who has not practiced his or her

art for a long period of time. The Mak Yong practitioner must perform at regular intervals to "satisfy" the need to express angin.²⁵ If the beneficiary is a non-performer born with an inclination towards Mak Yong, he or she needs to perform Mak Yong at regular intervals, guided by the bomoh or Pak Yong practitioner, to avoid illness that might be caused by a suppression of this untutored Mak Yong angin. The emotional identification with the trials and travails of the principal character of Mak Yong, the archetypal hero being a conceptualisation of angin, results in cathartic release whereby the beneficiary is healed and refreshed. The whole process can be said to consist of invoking, pampering, coaxing and flattering the angin of the patient so as to enable its fullest aroused expression.

In summary, Mak Yong has links to traditional Malay concepts of illness and the curative processes of the bomoh, through its curative function as a vehicle to invoke and express angin. The invocation of angin begins in Lagu Menghadap Rebab, as the opening piece to Mak Yong. The angin of the beneficiary is conceptualised as a king, one of the archetypal heroes of Mak Yong mythology. This angin, resident within the psyche of the beneficiary, is aroused and coaxed into emergence through aesthetic and artistic expression, as well as emotional identification with the state of sovereignty. In the Mak Yong drama thus, the arousal of angin is represented

by the invocation and emergence of the mythical king from his palace in readiness to enact the unfolding drama.

Aspects of Angin

Angin is differentiated according to the following aspects, as it occurs in illness, cures and performance:

- 1) angin as nafsu (desires) or perasaan (feelings),
- 2) angin as a personality force, manifesting itself as a state of being in performance and in trance,
- 3) the different types of the metaphoric conceptualisations of angin,
- 4) angin as a performance energy called performance flow as theorised by Western contemporary theatre activists, which takes into consideration the heightened state of being of the practitioner,
- 5) the different levels of the intensity of the expression of angin along a continuum where one end expresses the heightened state of being and identification with their characters that actors and musicians experience during performance, and the other end, the altered state of being called trance.

An elaboration of these aspects will help to explain and qualify angin's manifestation in Lagu Menghadap Rehab.²⁶

a. Angin as Nafsu or Perasaan

In Mak Yong performance, the arousal of angin is a phenomenon experienced by both practitioners and audience. One of such descriptions with which Mak Yong practitioners explain the experience of angin is as nafsu (desires) or perasaan (feelings). According to a retired Pak Yong and bidan:

"Angin ini perasaan tapi hok goda nak main tu Nenek moyang,²⁷ tapi apabila kata main itu jadi ada anginlah."²⁸

Several differentiations of angin co-exist in this statement which are angin as a feeling (perasaan), angin as the provocation to perform caused by the urging of the nenek moyang or ancestors, and angin as a heightened state of awareness achieved by the actor in performance.

Thus Mak Yong is performed for the simple reason of its performers having the angin or the desire to perform Mak Yong:

"Sebab ia angin ya. Ya angin.... Kalau takdok angin, takdok rasa nak main yalah."²⁹

Angin is also firmly declared to be situated within the personality of the individual. It is sometimes associated with nyawa. The following description demonstrates how, from a source from within the psyche, angin is connected to other

differentiations of semangat:

"Dewa Muda daripada kita juga! orang dok di diri kita belaka tu. Hanya tengok alihan nama. Angin kita. Angin mana dok nyawa ni po pah po pah lah [intake and release of breath]. Nafsu tulah Nama-nama penama. Hak tu. Angin di kita... nenek moyang itu di kita juga."³⁰

Angin as nafsu is thus one of the terms used by practitioners of Mak Yong to describe a force perceived to be located within the psyche of the individual. This concept is described by Laderman as a personality force. This is explained in the following section.

Ghulam-Sarwar's analysis of Dewa Muda, a symbolic figure of the Malay archetypal self, describes how in addition to its other multi-layered significances, Dewa Muda is associated with nafsu, and with the accompanying feelings and desires of the individual.³¹

It is precisely this aspect of angin which is described as nafsu, or the passions, as stated by Sweeney,³² that has placed Mak Yong and the other traditional arts on the insecure and unsupported periphery of the contemporary Malay Muslim world. As Sweeney points out:

"Islam insists that nafsu (the passions) should be

subservient to akal (reason). For the Muslim scholar, a performance which demands its audience should surrender themselves to its spell smacks too much of nafsu. Only by detaching oneself from the performance can the akal gain ascendancy."³³

Banks has also described the aspect of angin which borders on lust. To him,

"Malay concepts of rationality and need-satisfaction are phrased in terms of the concepts of angin.... and hawa nafsu (literally, the air of lust)."³⁴

According to Banks' definition, nafsu, seen as worldly human desire,³⁵ is the "main threat to the goals of Islamic morality" where "[m]an's task is to strike a balance between restraining nafsu and releasing it by use of reason (akal)."³⁶ Banks goes on to say that "[n]afsu is man's internal heart, his lust that yearns for release, and regular, regulated release is considered to be the normal and most happy mode of existence for any human being."³⁷

This control of the expression of nafsu has been pointed out by practitioners. For Mak Yong performers, angin, as the desires, needs to be contained and controlled in performance according to ritually-defined parameters.³⁸

The expression of angin in performance is thus a highly skilled and artistic venture, combining powerful feeling and expression with artistic control.

b. Angin as a Personality Force

Angin can also be understood as a personality force firmly sited within the psyche of the individual. It is manifested not only through trance as stated by Laderman, but also through a heightened state of awareness achieved in traditional Malay performance among performers.

In essence, Laderman's definition holds true:

"The Inner Winds [angin], as understood by east coast Malays, are close to Western concepts of temperament, both in the medieval sense of the four temperaments³⁹ and as artistic temperament. Everyone is born with angin, the traits, talents and desires representing our ancestors' heritage, but some have more, or stronger, angin than the common run. If these people are able to express their angin, they can lead untroubled and productive lives and, in fact, will usually be respected for their strong and gifted characters. If they cannot, their angin is trapped inside them, where it accumulates and produces sakit berangin, or sickness due to blockage

of the Inner Winds."⁴⁰

As mentioned in the review of previous literature, Laderman's analysis of angin limits its manifestation to that of trance, excluding other evidence of its operations in the traditional Malay rituals and performing arts. However, her description is illustrative of the condition of angin. To her:

"Inner Winds (angin) that will determine the child's individual personality, drives, and talents are already present at birth. Their presence, type and quality can be deduced from the behaviour of their possessor, but they are palpable neither to observers nor to their owner, except during trance, when they are felt as actual presence: high winds blowing within their possessors' breast."⁴¹

Angin is a non-projective inner personality force, expression of which is central to a human-being's well-being. To quote her again:

"...the trance proceeds from the very depths of the patient's being. It is an outward expression of the inner workings of the personality, a sign that the Inner Winds have begun to blow freely within the bosom."⁴²

This meaning of angin "extend[s] beyond professional temperament to the basic personality."⁴³ In other words, angin is not merely the ability and skills of a performer, but

a fundamental aspect of the Malay psyche. To echo the words of a practitioner, "Tanah air api angin semua dalam diri kita semua" which translates freely as "earth water fire wind [the four temperaments or the four humours] are all inside us."⁴⁴

c. The Different Types of Angin

Angin manifests itself in the individual according to a number of collectively known types such as angin bidan (traditional Malay mid-wifery), angin silat (Malay martial arts), angin Dewa Muda (the extrovert character-type conceptualised in the Mak Yong dramatic repertoire, angin Dewa Pechil (the introvert mythical character played out in Mak Yong theatre), angin joget (a social dance, also utilised in healing performances of Mak Yong), and angin Hala (spirit-tiger). According to Laderman, these personalised forces or angin types, are inherent within the psyche of the patient, and not an external entity.⁴⁵ In explaining angin, my informants have all at one time or another described angin as the interest, talent or ability of the individual, whatever shape or type it takes, be it the desire to be a doctor, or a cook, a musician, or a student, or a dhalang.⁴⁶

Ghulam-Sarwar organises these categories into four main areas: firstly, the angin-type associated with royalty, secondly, the

angin-type associated with the performing arts which includes the different sub-types of angin Mak Yong, angin connected with the martial arts, and lastly, other types of angin such as angin bidan (midwifery) and angin hala (were-tiger).⁴⁷

Among the different angin Mak Yong types are the important mythological characters belonging to the dramatic repertoire of Mak Yong, who are kings (raja) and spirits (dewa). The most prominent is Dewa Muda.⁴⁸ Dewa Muda is the archetypal hero of Mak Yong's principal story, a story which is regarded by Mak Yong's practitioners as the genre's first story.⁴⁹ Ghulam-Sarwar's analysis of angin is described through an analysis and interpretation of the multi-layered symbolic significance of the Dewa Muda story.⁵⁰ As a story and an archetype, Dewa Muda is seen as a romance and an allegory. As angin, Dewa Muda is the individual self, a symbol ensconced within the collective consciousness of the Malays. Dewa Muda is also seen as a symbol of shamanic initiation, as connected to the potent symbol of the magic kite.⁵¹

This importance of angin Dewa Muda is supported by definitions given by practitioners who in the same breath differentiate the aspects of angin, yet collectively define these elements of angin in terms of Dewa Muda. For Che Ning, the being of Dewa Muda is more than just one aspect of angin. For her, Dewa Muda is at times interchangeable with the blanket meaning

angin, situated firmly within the psyche and personality of the individual. In responding to a question on the difference between angin Dewa Muda and angin Hala, Che Ning said:

"Ia tak beza apa-apa. Angin Hala pun Dewa Muda dan lagi bidan pun Dewa Muda. Semua tu Dewa Muda belaka. Silat gayung ni pun Dewa Muda. Dia satu saja tapi tarian lagu ni orang panggil lagu ni. Duduk ka lagu ni, orang panggil lagu ni. Tapi, semua tu Dewa Muda. Dia sifat di diri kita ni Dewa Muda. Tapi Martabat... perangai. ... Makcik perangai lagu ni, angin datang lagu ni."⁵²

Other practitioners emphatically echo the sentiment that the legion of kings and dewa, sometimes collectively referred to as puak-puak raja, resides within the human body. Aminah Daud's interpretation is more specific: to her the raja is our skins:

"Raja Muda Puteri Bongsu kulitlah wei...kulit kita. Raja mari dimana Raja? Kulit kita ni!"⁵³

Sepiah Jali echoes this when she emphatically slaps her body to show Dewa Muda's residence.⁵⁴

As described previously, the angin-type of the patient in Main Peteri, is a metaphor manipulated by the shaman to exact a psychological and emotional expression from the patient which will then result in healing by catharsis.⁵⁵ This layering and manipulation of metaphors refers simultaneously to both the

internal human psyche as well as the external world,⁵⁶ a process whereby the patient in effect heals himself or herself.

Subsequently, the purpose of spiritual performances of Mak Yong is to flatter, coax and cajole the more highly differentiated angin, associated with the dramatic repertoire of Mak Yong. Be it Dewa Muda or Dewa Pechil, the patient or performer expresses his or her angin within the specific context of the emotional highs and lows of the specific story, resulting in catharsis.⁵⁷

As mentioned previously, it is therefore important that Main Peteri rituals determine as closely as possible, the exact nature of the angin of the patient. A performance of a Mak Yong Semah Angin performance was organised by Che Ning for the expression of her grand-child's angin which she assumed to be that of angin Dewa Muda. The first two nights of the three night ritual passed by with her grandchild feeling dissatisfied in the role of Dewa Muda. Finally, in the Main Peteri sessions on the third day, Che Ning recognised her grandchild's jerking and hopping trance movements being those associated with the Kuda Hijau Jelma Dewa angin (Green Horse Manifestation of the Gods.)⁵⁸ This angin-type represents one of the manifestations of the companion and spirit guide of Dewa Muda. Through the trance expression of angin Kuda Hijau,

Che Ning's grandchild finally found relief.⁵⁹

Lagu Menghadap Rebab opens every performance of Mak Yong by invoking the kingly or godly angin from within the patient or performer. At this stage, the king is generalised and unnamed. The king is not given a specific character until certain preliminary musical pieces following his emergence are performed.⁶⁰ Following Lagu Menghadap Rebab's invocation of a generalised kingship, the Mak Yong(s) or queen(s), must then sing to the king reminding him not to depart for long. Then, one by one, the king calls for his two servants who appear in the performance arena. Only when these two principal servants, the Pengasuh Tua and Pengasuh Muda, are summoned into attendance does the king reveal his identity, following which the story begins to be dramatised.

This suggests the importance of the generalised invocation of kingship, regardless of the specific mythic character of the repertoire to be performed. In fact, a recent South Thai Semah Angin performance which went on for three nights, deemphasised the story over the invocation and emergence of the characters. On the first two nights, the formal process by which the king emerges from his palace and summons his servants into attendance to reveal his identity and the plot of the story, took three hours ending past midnight. There was but enough time to name the king and state his intention

before closing down for the night. On each of the subsequent nights, a different king and story were similarly invoked, which implied the importance of the invocation of the different kings over their respective dramatic narratives.

The closing ceremonies of the spiritual enactment of Mak Yong are as elaborate and are as vital as the initial invocation of the king. It is not necessary to enter into further elaboration of these rituals as they have been well documented. However, it must be noted that adequate care must be taken to fulfil the purposes of the performance and bring the ceremonies to a proper close.

d. Angin as Performance Flow

Jit's theory extends the concept of angin as previously mentioned, to include the state of being achieved in an actor when thought and action become one, using the term flow to describe this event which occurs during performance. Jit theorises that this notion relates to the state of mind and body reached in the performance of traditional Malay theatre where the performer or patient can do things that in ordinary states he or she cannot do and that the type of angin expressed is specific to the performer.⁶¹ The utilisation of this theory in the definition of angin in the present thesis

was deemed necessary in view of the need to provide an explanation for the particular heightened state of being among Malay performers found in performance which is not trance.

Peter Brook, the theatre director and theorist whose work constitutes the synthesis of the works of Western theatre masters and theorists such as Stanislavsky, Brecht, and Grotowski, worked to train the actor to:

"...become so organically related within himself, he thinks completely with his body. He becomes one sensitive, responding whole... [t]he whole of him is one."⁶² "Further, [t]he movement must flow so irresistibly and with such awesome certainty that it seems to happen by itself... The whole of him will become one."⁶³

Flow is also the central concept used by Grotowski to denote the internal polemic of unity and oneness where "impulse and movement are one."⁶⁴

To Jit, performance flow can turn into trance when the actor loses his or her "third eye" (or awareness) or the means with which he or she is in control of his or her senses and actions. Jit narrates the example of the phenomena among the performance of Wayang Kulit, Malay shadow puppet play, whereby the performance of certain scenes of the dramatic repertoire

usually fight scenes and scenes of sadness and lament, arouses within the dhalang or puppeteer, very intense emotions. If the dhalang is performing in a state of angin and becomes consumed by these emotions, he is likely to fall into trance, as a result of which he loses reason. At these moments, the musicians are usually in a state of alert to anticipate the dhalang's by now, unpredictable directions as to choice of music.⁶⁵

This definition of angin takes into consideration its performative aspect, which is the state of being sought after by performers of all the traditional performing arts genres.

e. The Different Levels of Intensity in the Expression of Angin

Angin in Malay society is manifested in differing levels of intensity. For Jit, Malays describe trance, expressing in the different terminologies the depth of the trance, such as with the term lupa to describe a state of forgetfulness. Although Laderman's research confines the understanding of angin to trance, she does describe levels of trance achieved in Main Peteri and the respective levels of personal consciousness while in trance.⁶⁶ The shaman's trance differs from that of the patient's as the shaman's trance involves external spirits which are metaphors which he consciously manipulates to aid the patient, coupled by the fact he is in control of his

trance. The patient's consciousness however is controlled by the shaman, his altered state of being is a reflection of being in touch with his inner state of being.⁶⁷

Although Laderman's definition of angin is restricted to its manifestation in trance, it takes into consideration this differentiation of trance. The shaman in trance must retain some kind of control or memory over the metaphors he manipulates for the benefit of the patient. In contrast, the patient will often forget what he or she did in trance. Angin is also differentiated between the manifestation of angin as performance flow and angin as trance. A thin line separates these two manifestations of angin. In the traditional Malay performing arts, performers play on the thin edge between this heightened state of awareness in performance and outright trance.

Sweeney describes the divide between angin and trance in Wayang Kulit Siam. To him angin is separate from trance, whereas the present thesis utilises a broader definition of angin which is inclusive of trance. However, the definition of angin as a heightened state of being in performance that Sweeney describes is closer to the definition utilised in this thesis:

"...[angin has] a more specialized sense. It implies not only a strong penchant for the wayang, but also a

susceptibility to be moved greatly by the rhythm of the orchestra and a capability of identifying oneself completely with the characters of the drama, causing one to experience intense emotion. If an individual does not control his angin, he may lapse into a trance, a state of auto-hypnosis, which in the berjamu ritual, is deliberately induced."⁶⁸

Just as feelings cannot be allowed to run riot, there is a similar need for Mak Yong practitioners to contain the nafsu side of angin as mentioned previously. When performers say what they need to do in performance:

"....kita kena tahankan hati kita, kita kena tahankan nafsu kita...."⁶⁹

the border between restraint and letting go is defined. Patients of ritual Mak Yong do not have to acknowledge these parameters. For example, in a ritual performance of Mak Yong, the patient who had no prior experience of performing Mak Yong, went into a trance-like state where she obsessively enjoyed particular movements, regardless of the progressive dance directions provided by the Pak Yong actress by her side.⁷⁰ By contrast, the Pak Yong actress maintained her composure yet fulfilled the aesthetical dictates of her angin to perform Lagu Menghadap Rebab beautifully, without the patient's forgetfulness of self.

This points to a border between a high state of artistic arousal and trance which Jit and Sweeney comment on, both aspects of which are covered by the unified definition of angin as used in this thesis. It also suggests the discipline involved at the artistic level whereby the Pak Yong must constantly stand on a precipice between a state of angin as performance flow and angin as trance. Entering into trance may render the performer incapable of continuing with the artistic elaboration of the story.

Che Ning explains this need for practitioners of Mak Yong, in particular the Pak Yong guide who assists the patient, to control her personal desire or angin to perform. As she pointed out, it is important for the Pak Yong guide who assists the patient in the enactment of the story, not to let her personal desire to perform take over the stage:

"Kalau Semah Angin, kita melepaskan jiwa. Jiwa orang sakit. Jiwa dia. Jiwa orang sakit. Jadi lepas jiwa dia, pasal dia duk jiwa dia sakit nikan. Dia nak main Mak Yong kalau kita gi main dia tak lepaslah jiwa dia. Kita tak payah jadi main kita pandai dah. Misalkata SF sakit, Makcik mari buat ubat SF, Makcik tahu kata SF tak pandai main Mak Yong. Tapi, SF nak main pelepas jiwa, pasal SF duk lemah lumpuh demam selalu demam. Makcik pujuklah kalau kebetulan dengan Nenek moyang SF tu nama tu nama tu, ha dia turun di SF tu. Dia masuk dalam SF

tu. Itulah kalau dia nak pakai Pak Yong pun dia ceritalah nak pakai Pak Yong. Hah. Beri pakaian Pak Yong. Dan menari dia tak pandai kita pandai ni tolong bawa. Ah itu pelepas dengan Mak Yong."⁷¹

In this, Che Ning clearly delineates the role of the Pak Yong guide in aiding the enactment of the Mak Yong king by the patient. And as mentioned previously, the patient as Pak Yong is allowed and encouraged to give reign to the intensity of the expression of her angin. In the process of her explanation, Che Ning describes the different angin-states of the Pak Yong guide and the patient in Mak Yong performance.

The Acquisition of Mak Yong Skill and the Concept of Nenek Moyang

Two other conditions of angin are now discussed because of their occurrence in the process by which Mak Yong skill is inherited and passed down the succeeding generations. These conditions of angin are that Mak Yong performers must inherit angin in order to practise their art, and that the specialised aspect of semangat known as nenek moyang is a source of strength and guidance, motivation and inspiration, and a catalyst for performance. In particular, the findings on nenek moyang from South Thailand have suggested another sense of an archetypal identification. In Kelantan, the

archetypical symbol is represented by the Dewa Muda angin. In South Thailand, it is nenek moyang.⁷² Furthermore, as mentioned previously, nenek moyang is interchangeable with semangat for South Thai Mak Yong practitioners.

Traditional Malay healers and performers must possess the appropriate angin-type in order to be efficacious in their work. According to Sweeney, angin is associated with talent and that "[t]he prime prerequisite for an individual wishing to become a professional performer is the possession of angin."⁷³ And as Laderman has stated:

"[h]ealers of all types must possess the angin specific to their calling, and suffer when their talents are ignored."⁷⁴

In addition, angin as talent is seen to be an entity which is inherited. As a practitioner succinctly remarked, "Angin balik pesaka ni" (angin is inherited).⁷⁵ Bomohs from Kelantan and South Thailand acknowledge earthly teachers and are usually able to name them in lineage. At the point of graduation from specialised studying with their respective gurus, bomohs perform a special sembah guru ceremony to make efficacious the transfer of knowledge and skill from their earthly and other worldly teachers, as well as to make efficacious their curative powers. If they fail to do so their healing rites are said not to be berkat (blessed or efficacious). Mak Yong

performers also undergo the sembah guru rituals at the point of the completion of their learning period.⁷⁶ The bomohs I interviewed are bomohs by practice, who additionally perform Main Peteri and Mak Yong.⁷⁷ In some cases, bomohs are rehab-players as well, such as with the example of Paksu Seman, Wok Leh and Pak Adik, who, apart from being the Tok Peteri in Main Peteri, alternatively perform the duties of the Minduk.

The inheritance of the Mak Yong tradition through direct lineage with Mak Yong predecessors implies the inheritance of the specific and highly ritualised knowledge regarding Mak Yong, which may be manipulated by the Pak Yong in curative performances of Mak Yong. Most of the Mak Yong practitioners who take on the challenging role of Pak Yong are found to be women. Che Ning learnt directly from her mother who was a famous Mak Yong practitioner and mid-wife. Aminah Daud also belongs to this category of South Thai practitioners who perform very much within the province of their homes, with the exception of Che Ning, who immigrated to Malaysia. This category of performers performs both ritual as well as entertainment presentations of Mak Yong. Most know the stories and ritual meanings of events that take place in Mak Yong and are able to explain and teach these meanings. In most cases, these Mak Yong specialists are found to be Southern Thai.

On the other hand, Mak Yong practitioners without this direct inheritance of the Mak Yong tradition are less able to explain the ritualised aspects of Mak Yong. These practitioners are not able to guide a patient to healing through Mak Yong.⁷⁸ Most become apprentices to Mak Yong later in their lives, and through a more indirect process, such as joining a troupe. Most of the Pak Yong belonging to this category are Kelantanese. These Mak Yong practitioners appear to belong to a slightly more recent generation of Mak Yong performers whose traditional social contexts have already begun to feel the effect of modernisation.⁷⁹ These practitioners acknowledge their predecessors and teachers who imparted to them the specialised musical skills necessary to perform Mak Yong.

However, there exists a notion amongst some South Thai practitioners where the inheritance of Mak Yong performance skill is not attributed to an earthly teacher. Aminah Daud states that she became "pandai sendiri" (became skilled at performing by herself) and that the knowledge and skill to perform "turun sendiri" (came by itself).⁸⁰ In other words, Mak Yong skill, absorbed through constant exposure from early childhood, is seen neither to be deliberately sought after nor taught. The following paragraphs attempt to explain how the concept of nenek moyang is linked to this particular notion of the transmission of Mak Yong culture.

Nenek moyang is closely linked with the emergence of angin from within the psyche, as well as the inheritance of angin. The frequent reference to nenek moyang became apparent to me in interviews with South Thai practitioners of Mak Yong, unlike with those in Kelantan. These findings are summarised according to the following points.

The concept of nenek moyang is largely confined to the South Thai practice of Mak Yong, to whom nenek moyang is the equivalent of semangat. Furthermore, the functions and characteristics of nenek moyang are at times, interchangeable with those of angin Mak Yong. The characteristics of nenek moyang are that nenek moyang is inherited, that nenek moyang is seen as a bringer of performance, teaching and healing skills, that nenek moyang represents the provocation to and catalyst of performance, and that it is a source of inner strength and guidance. These characteristics liken the function of nenek moyang to that of the shaman's familiar spirit, or helper, in that nenek moyang appears to function as the Pak Yong's guardian spirit. This could well prove to be yet another link between Mak Yong and the practice of shamanism.

The frequent reference of South Thai Mak Yong practitioners to their nenek moyang and its relative omission by their Kelantanese counterparts is intriguing. Research conducted

during the present thesis has revealed that in South Thailand, the process of the inheritance of nenek moyang as the ancestral angin which brings the talent to perform, is seen as the indicator of the coming of age as a Mak Yong practitioner. In interviews with Aminah Daud and Mak Timah, it was revealed that they began to be driven to performing Mak Yong at their ancestors' provocation (digoda nenek moyang) soon after the death of their respective predecessors. As children they would have been part of the general family participation in the performance of Mak Yong. But they would not have consciously felt the drive to perform Mak Yong until the event of the passing down of the ancestral angin unto them, at their predecessor's death. These practitioners speak of not knowing that they were destined to inherit the ancestral angin to perform Mak Yong until a predecessor had died. The impulse to perform, described as turun nenek moyang or descent of the nenek moyang, would then manifest itself in one of the predecessor's potential successors via the classic symptoms of sakit berangin, upon which the person would begin to feel compelled to perform Mak Yong to appease the provocation of the aforesaid ancestral angin.

According to Che Ning, nenek moyang is like a seed which perpetuates its own species through the propagation of seeds. So if one dies, another replaces it. To quote another Mak Yong practitioner:

"Mati habis orang ni timbul hok lain pula. Nanti Makcik tak tahu nak timbul mana orang anak cucu Makcik."⁸¹

Nenek moyang is also seen as a source of skill:

"Kalau takdok Moyang ratik, taklih jadilah angin de wei... Tak dok jadilah nak boleh main ini."⁸²

From this, it is possible to deduce that angin comes from within, and nenek moyang is an inseparable part of this special personality force, inspiring and urging the practitioner to perform.

There thus appears to be a link between practitioners who have special and intimate knowledge of the workings of Mak Yong as healers and as teachers, with the concept of nenek moyang. These practitioners are principally found in South Thailand.⁸³

Before she died, Che Ning described the state of being in performance as such:

"...macam Makcik ini badan ini Makcik, tapi masa turun nenek Moyang tu perasaan ni Makcik ingat alah Dewa Muda sungguh."⁸⁴

This description connects nenek moyang to the process of invocation of angin in performance via the reference to the primary Dewa Muda angin-type.

Nenek moyang is conceived to be wilful, an entity which constantly seeks to be appeased. If it is not, it will datang goda (come and disturb) the successor. This refers to the classic symptoms of sakit berangin whereby the patient or practitioner is beset by unease, loss of appetite and lack of sleep and a loss of energy not due to physical causes. The besetting of these symptoms is said to be the provocation of the nenek moyang. Thus, nenek moyang is seen to be a provocation to performance.

Masuk nenek moyang (literally meaning the entry of the ancestors) has also sometimes been described as a state of being whereby habits and abilities not normally practised by the person are done or carried out with the presence of nenek moyang. For example:

"Nenek Moyang ini dia kalau dia turun nenek moyang, moyang kita dulu biasa makan pinangkan, kita tak makan pinang pun masa dia masuk dalam kita tu makan pinanglah. Mintalah pinang. Itulah nenek moyang."⁸⁵

The beneficiary of one particular semah angin performance presided over by Che Ning, was Cik Yong, Che Ning's granddaughter.⁸⁶ According to Che Ning, Cik Yong was unable to conceive despite having been married for two years due to the fact that she was said to be digoda nenek moyang (disturbed by her ancestors, who had been neglected). The

ceremony which was aimed at arousing in Cik Yong her angin or semangat had a similar effect on Cik Yong's other relatives and neighbours. At one stage of the performance, more than six other people succumbed to hysterical and uncontrollable crying and entered into the circuit of the bomoh's administrations.

Che Ning did not appreciate that what she saw was the distraction of the bomoh away from her grandchild, as he attempted to administer to the newly affected members of the community. In a subsequent interview with me she said that those people were not really ill but had merely naik semangat saja (felt their semangat aroused, not really being sick because of it.)⁸⁷ This reflected her concern that attention should not be detracted away from her grandchild, who was the prime beneficiary of the three-day ritual.

In the above description, it is also apparent that the process of nenek moyang datang (the entry of the ancestors within a person) can be infectious, creating a deeply emotional response in the spectators as well. The uncontrollable crying of the witnesses to the performance was due, as was later revealed, to the fact that they had felt kecil hati (discouraged) and jauh hati (disappointed) because they rasa nenek moyang datang (felt their ancestors approach.) Furthermore:

"... dan lagi tengok adik buat tu kita pun rasa boleh buat tapi nak buat tak kena itu dia menangis."⁸⁸

The concept of datang sendiri, ascribes the wilful yet intimate nenek moyang as the bringer of the skills and knowledge of performing Mak Yong while exacting the price of performance. For the generations who did not learn Mak Yong, but who may have the angin to perform Mak Yong, the price of performance continues to be exacted. The process is possibly more traumatic as their listlessness is compounded by their inability to perform Mak Yong, manifested through the angst of feeling kecil hati at not being able to perform, as well as the intense longing to perform. These individuals thus desire the exhibitionism of the artistic world and the cathartic release of expression but cannot do it without guidance.

Interviews with Aminah Daud, a mid-wife and retired Mak Yong practitioner from Narathiwat revealed many ways in which South Thai Pak Yong are intimately bonded to their nenek moyang. In my very first meeting with her, Aminah was courteous, surprised that I should come so far to find out about Mak Yong and moved by long hidden memories of Mak Yong. There were times when she could not remember the flow of a story in discussion so she would tell me, tunggu titih nenek moyang,⁸⁹ (wait for the words of my ancestors). She would then continue when the memory came. In my second interview with her after

a break of almost two years,⁹⁰ Aminah greeted me with her usual grace. But after I told her that I wanted to interview her further about Mak Yong, she looked disturbed and after a period of distraction, called her daughter to prepare some betel nuts. She assembled this and asked me for 112 Baht in Thai currency (the approximate equivalent of US\$5). She then made a simple offering and doa (prayer)⁹¹ to her nenek moyang to inform her ancestors of what she was about to do and invoke their blessings and guidance in the process, so as not to invoke their wrath. Once this was done, she looked relieved and told me that after my first visit, she came down with severe aches and pains in one of her knees because she did not invoke her ancestors before imparting Mak Yong knowledge to me. She told me:

"Payah nak kecek. [Nenek moyang] mari tak habis. Ah, mari tak habis. Pas gadoh-gadoh nu goda pula dah kita."⁹²

After having apologised profusely for this agonising lack of cross-cultural foresight, I took pains to carry out this offering on all subsequent visits.

In addition, nenek moyang is also seen as a source of inner strength and guidance. Che Ning would always pray to her nenek moyang before she performed:⁹³

"Kerana semangat tu kerana semangat tu sesuatu yang bagi

kekuatan seperti Makcik selalu doakan sebelum main minta Nenek Moyang turun. Itu doa semangat. Suruh masuk mari. Dah masuk mari."⁹⁴

Che Ning would also pray to her nenek moyang in highly private invocations to become unsurpassed on stage. This is an insight into the professional rivalry that exists between individual performers and different performing troupes.

To Che Ning therefore, nenek moyang, in essence, was in fact another word for semangat. According to her:

"Semangat tidak angin. Semangat moyang. Jadi masuk nenek moyang. Tapi orang Kuala Lumpur panggil kata semangat. Pulau Pinang kata semangat."⁹⁵

This association of semangat with nenek moyang supports the notion of angin and nenek moyang as specialisations of semangat.

Three factors suggest that the occurrence of nenek moyang links Mak Yong with shamanism. The first is that the function of nenek moyang can be seen as a helper spirit to the Pak Yong, just as the familiar spirit is to the traditional Malay shaman. The second factor is that nenek moyang is an entity which is inherited. Finally, there is also found to be a

close connection between the shaman's familiar spirit and other ancestral spirits as described in previous studies on Malay magic.

In the research of Windstedt, Endicott and Cuisinier on Malay magic, there are two somewhat connected notions regarding the inheritance of ritual knowledge. Firstly, there exists the notion that a shaman must possess or inherit a familiar spirit in order to become efficacious as a healer.⁹⁶ The other notion is that magical knowledge and efficacy of healing by a shaman or bomoh is transmitted down the succeeding generations.⁹⁷ This notion finds a parallel in Mak Yong as practised by the South Thai Malays. Not only do these practitioners believe that Mak Yong knowledge and skill mari sendiri (comes by itself) as mentioned previously, but that in addition, they believe themselves effective as performers only after a personal encounter with their nenek moyang (lepas moyang inilah duk bawa boleh jadi main.) This personal encounter is seen to be a point of transmission down the succeeding generations.

To the Malays, a bomoh has to obtain ilmu, the spiritual knowledge of the bomoh, in order to be efficacious in his cures.⁹⁸ In addition, a shaman needs the help of his personal spirit helper which can only be inherited.⁹⁹ Endicott suggests that the being through which the shaman obtains ilmu

and the spirit helper are in actual fact different manifestations or aspects of the same being. In fact, the guide to the art or ilmu of the healer is almost always associated with the spirit of ancestors which is inherited. As Endicott further describes, this "dream guru-spirit helper" is the "ghost of one of a person's magician ancestors."¹⁰⁰ Firth also suggests that the Tok Peteri is possessed by his ancestral spirit influence.¹⁰¹

It is thus possible, given the functions of nenek moyang as described above, that nenek moyang is the link between Mak Yong and shamanism. The link between Mak Yong and shamanism has already been pointed out by Ghulam-Sarwar via the symbol of Dewa Muda.¹⁰²

Summary to Angin

The foregoing definition of angin advances the concept of angin as a multi-layered, multi-levelled expression of an essential core value of society. Angin is seen as a creative force from within the psyche and is distinguished by the different levels of intensity of the actual physiological experience of angin in the performance of Main Peteri or Mak Yong. It is a state attained in traditional Malay performance. Suppression of angin causes illness. Its

arousal and expression, which leads to artistic performance and emotional catharsis, occurs in the traditional healing rituals such as Main Peteri and spiritual Mak Yong. Thus, performance, as with healing rites, is an important regulator of psychological and social stress.

The aspects of angin discussed above have a direct and an indirect bearing upon the performance of Lagu Menghadap Rebab. Angin as nafsu and as a personality force is sited within the psyche of the individual. Conceptualised as a mythical king, angin is the principal metaphor of the sung-text of Lagu Menghadap Rebab.

The manifestation of angin in Lagu Menghadap Rebab differs in intensity according to whether the Pak Yong is a regular Mak Yong actress, or a patient with no prior experience and skill in performing Mak Yong, who does so for its healing purposes. The Pak Yong actress must invoke angin through text, music and dance, to achieve a heightened state of being in performance, as she arouses and releases her kingly angin from within her personality in preparation for the performance. Her angin must be controlled and contained in order to perform beautifully. However, the patient, who is an individual who desires to perform Mak Yong because he or she possesses the angin Mak Yong without the performance skill, is guided in the dance and song by a genuine Pak Yong practitioner. In this

case, the beneficiary is not expected to control his or her expression of angin. Instead, the beneficiary is encouraged to do the opposite, even if the intensity of the angin's expression spills over into trance.

The spectators at all village performances of Mak Yong including those that took place in the 1990s, are more than merely passive. In addition to a natural enjoyment of the spectacle of performance, the expression of angin and the accompanying catharsis is vicariously experienced by the audience. The patient in Main Peteri and Mak Yong is the witness to, as well as the beneficiary of the performance. Because the audience has an emotional investment in the performance through the impact of its symbolic meanings, the actor-audience divide is not as pronounced as it would be in a context where theatre is a leisure activity.

Another point to be borne in mind is that the first part of Laqu Menghadap Rebab is among the most introspective of Mak Yong's musical repertoire to be sung by the Pak Yong. The Pak Yong focusses inward, as she concentrates on the process of invoking her angin.¹⁰³

Angin also occurs within a complex matrix of symbolic meaning which includes that of nenek moyang as a specialisation of semangat, the all-encompassing traditional energy force.

Nenek moyang, to the South Thai practitioners of Mak Yong is the very equivalent of semangat, functioning as the catalyst or bringer of the skills and talent necessary to perform Mak Yong well and acting as a guardian spirit. It is not known yet how nenek moyang specifically affects the musical structures of Lagu Menghadap Rebab. However, the present thesis argues that the concept of nenek moyang serves to highlight the aspect of angin associated with the specialist ritualised and artistic skills of performing Mak Yong which are connected to the arousal of angin in the performance of Lagu Menghadap Rebab.

The present thesis asserts that the invocation and arousal of the angin from within the psyche of the beneficiary is framed, apart from multi-layered ritual significances, in Lagu Menghadap Rebab's musical forces, such as sung-text, dance, musical structure and style. The crux of the present argument lies thus in its ability to demonstrate this phenomenon which will be carried out in Chapter three. Chapter three will show how the concept of angin as a performance energiser is revealed in the aesthetical impulse of composition which is defined and controlled by the Pak Yong through her unique melodic style, in interaction with the rebab part, and in her control over principal structural and rhythmic elements.

PLATE 7

A patient playing the Pak Yong
being guided by a Pak Yong actor in
ritual performance of Mak Yong,
Kuala Besut, July 1994.
(Photograph by J.S. Fernando).

PLATE 8

The same patient is guided by the Pak Yong actor
who is now in costume,
in a ritual performance of Mak Yong,
Kuala Besut, July 1994.
(Photograph by J.S. Fernando).

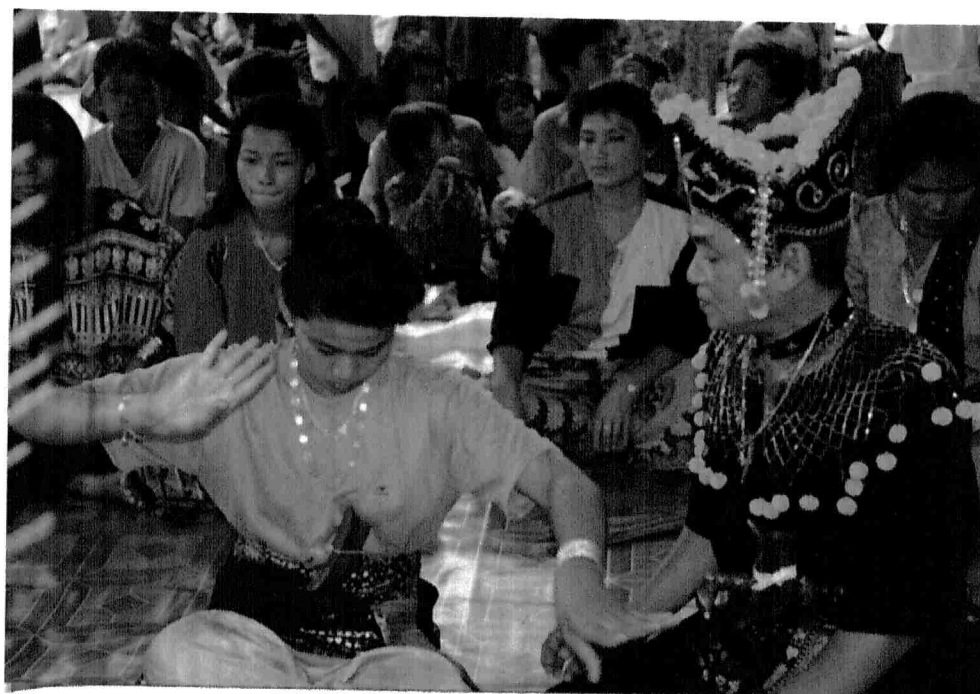


PLATE 9

A patient in trance being guided
by the Pak Yong actor
in a ritual performance of Mak Yong,
Kuala Besut, July 1994.
(Photograph by J.S. Fernando).



II. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REBAB

The performance of Lagu Menghadap Rebab contains multiple layers of meaning. One tangible, physical and dominant symbol for Lagu Menghadap Rebab is the rebab which links the ritual dimension with the musical. The interchange between the rebab and rebab-player produces angin as an energising force. This is signified in the behaviour of the Pak Yong who faces the rebab-player in an attitude of homage and salutation. The following passage investigates the various layers of significances attached to the rebab in the performance of Lagu Menghadap Rebab.

The Singer Faces the Rebab

In any viewing of a traditional performance of Mak Yong or Main Peteri, the privileged viewing point is from the position of the rebab. In the stage plans of both Mak Yong and Main Peteri, the rebab-player is seated at the eastern end of the rectangle facing west. The gongs are placed to the rebab-player's right in the north-east corner. The gendang-players are seated along the north side of the stage aligning themselves towards the rebab in the central east position. The Pak Yong and Mak Yong performers seat themselves in front of the rebab in an attitude of homage to the instrument once

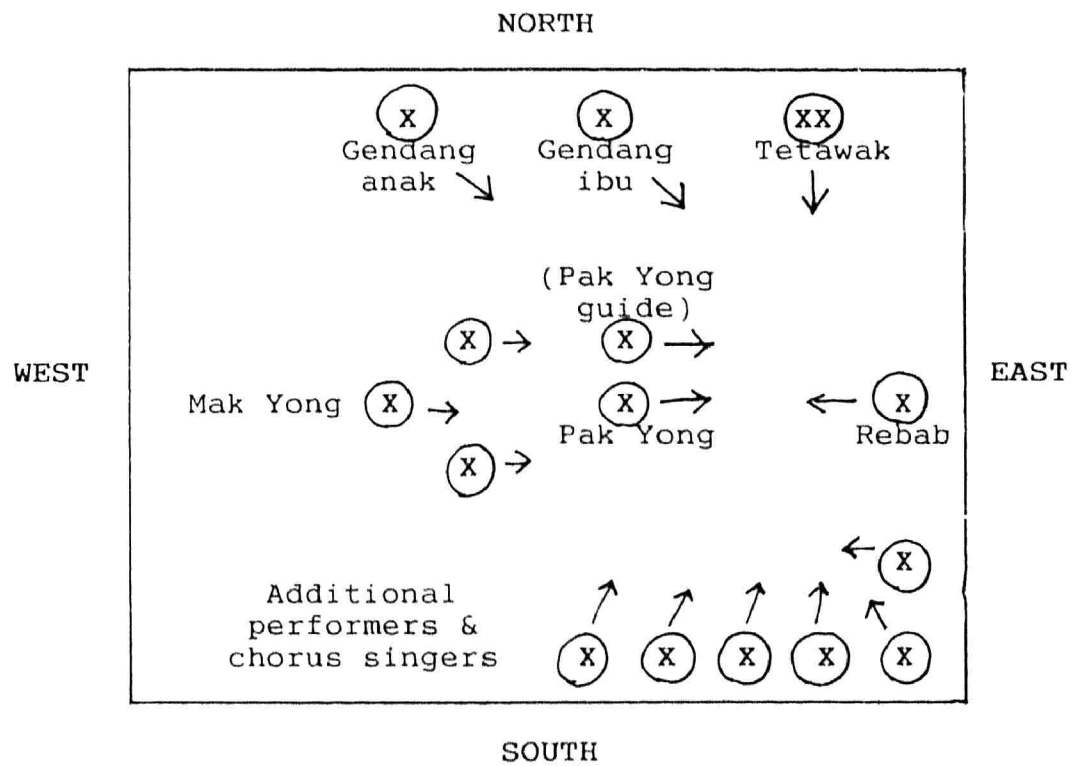
they enter the performance arena prior to the Menghadap Rebab. This behaviour is an extension of the behaviour of the patient to the minduk in Main Peteri, where the Tok Peteri or shaman and the patient sit facing the rebab-player. See FIGURE 2.

When questioned regarding the significance of this positioning, bomohs reply in a number of ways. One of the reasons given is that performers are thus positioned in order that they might face the rising sun which is the source of new life.¹⁰⁴ According to Waterson, "East is the direction of life, the rising sun, deities, and life-affirming rituals, while west is associated with death, mortuary rituals, and ancestors in their deified form."¹⁰⁵

This ritual practice of acknowledging the life-giving east is also to be found in the practice of the Malay monarch, who traditionally faces east when holding court.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, the Pak Yong must do likewise in a performance of Mak Yong, as she readies herself to transform into the kingly character she plays.

This acknowledgement is made even more potent because the archetypal and primal first teacher of the traditional Malay performing arts is said to reside in the east.¹⁰⁷ The placement of an offering called nasi guru (rice for the teacher), which hangs behind and above the rebab-player

FIGURE 2: The Stage Positions of Mak Yong Performers during Lagu Menghadap Rebab



reinforces the significance of the east as well as of the first teacher. This offering is said to represent the guru hok besar, the "big" or main teacher, according to the dictates of ritual practice. Each of these offerings consisting of pulut (sticky rice), an egg, some raw thread, a 20 cent coin (equivalent to US\$0.04), and a quid of betel are said to represent parts of the human anatomy, evidence of the homocentric nature of Malay folk practices.¹⁰⁸

All Kelantanese theatre forms involve opening ceremony rituals which invoke the original teacher. In Mak Yong, this ritual event is performed in Lagu Menghadap Rebab. Known also as Maharisi or Batara Guru, the Malay name for the Hindu god Siva, is the guru of the Malay traditional theatrical arts.

Winstedt notes that one invocation preceding a Mak Yong performance involved invoking the Mother Earth, Father Sky, the Awang Hitam, the saints at the four corners of the world, and the ancestor, Batara Guru, whom he observes is the first of all teachers giving details of his origins and home.¹⁰⁹ In Wayang Kulit Siam, the original teacher, or in this case the original dalang, is conceptualised as the all-important god, Shiva, who is, as mentioned earlier, Betara Guru. The original dalang is also known as Sang Yang Tunggal.¹¹⁰ In Nora Chatrī or Manora, a folk-dance theatre form, Mesi Mala is the acknowledged founder of the performance who is invoked in

the elaborate opening ceremony rituals.¹¹¹

To some bomohs, the first teacher is said to be Tuhan, or God.¹¹² Winstedt describes a myth from Selangor which designates Allah as the first magician.¹¹³ Such acknowledgement of Tuhan as the source of all knowledge and life may be part of the syncretic style with which Malay folk beliefs and practices have become integrated with external religious influences, in this instance, Islam.

The sembah guru performances of Mak Yong are held once in a lifetime. These ceremonies are in effect graduation ceremonies where the Pak Yong honours her living and non-living guru, and the knowledge of her earthly and non-earthly guru is passed down to her. Main Peteri and Mak Yong bomoh in Kelantan also undertake a similar sembah guru performance once in their lifetime in order that their healing be efficacious. If they fail to do so, their ministrations are not seen to be berkat or blessed with the powers of the guru.¹¹⁴

To Che Ning, guru hok asal (the original teacher) is "Guru segala alam dunia ini dia guru", the teacher of the whole world and all that is in it. To her, the guru simply possesses different names such as Betara Guru, Maharisi, Malaikat Izazir, and Dewa Sa'alang Tunggal (the godly father of Dewa Muda, the principal character of ritual performances

of Mak Yong).¹¹⁵

Just as the meanings and characteristics of angin and nenek moyang are found to intersect, so too do those of the archetypical teacher and nenek moyang. Previous writings and current field-work have found that the characteristics of guru and nenek moyang are similar, although not clearly differentiated. For example, when the To' Belian, another term for shaman, recites the list of the ancestors of his lineage, it is more likely that it is a list of his masters (guru) than his actual ancestors.¹¹⁶ Yet, Che Ning, proudly declares herself to be in lineage with nine successive ancestral Mak Yong practitioners, as opposed to Mak Yong gurus, just as a shaman recites his or her lineage. This blurring of concepts cannot be explained due to insufficient evidence, and remains outside the scope of the present thesis. However, it is sufficient to note the common function of guru and nenek moyang as core energising values in society.

Facing east, thus, carries with it the significance of paying obeisance to the original teacher said to reside there. Mak Yong practitioners also state that the symbolic and archetypical teacher they acknowledge is, or resides in, the rebab, which with its player, sits on the eastern side of the stage.¹¹⁷ The rebab is specifically highlighted as the guru sekalian permainan (teacher of all traditional performing

arts).¹¹⁸ As the melodic and musical leader, as a ritually empowering agent of moving the hearts of its listeners, and as catalyst for the singing of the Pak Yong, literally triggering off the memory of the melody in their minds, the rebab is an integral part of the performance. The musical analysis in Chapter three will demonstrate its function in enabling the expression of angin. This function is further supported by two origin myths of Mak Yong from South Thailand which tell of the beginnings of Mak Yong from the construction of the first rebab.

In this function of the rebab as teacher of all traditional performance, Wok Leh says:

"Dia tak tak tak mengadap rebab ini, dia taklih mek. Dia orang menyanyi, dia Tok Guru duduk situ. Dok di rebab."¹¹⁹

Furthermore:

"Guru hok asal mari di rebab, ia di situ dah." "Lani ning pun, dia kena orang mari mengadap dia ke rebab."¹²⁰

And why?

"Dengar sini boleh pandai".¹²¹

"Pemain-pemain yang lain kena tengok pada rebab. Semua kena dengar rebab."¹²²

Another point to be made is that the interchange between the rebab and rebab-player in Mak Yong which produces angin, parallels the interchange between the rebab and minduk in Main Peteri. The rebab-player is thus a bomoh when he acts as the minduk. In this role, the rebab-player as minduk guides the shaman and patient through song and through rebab music. The significance of this ritual relationship of rebab-player as healer is extended in Mak Yong through the agency of the rebab's music, as a guide to healing, where the Pak Yong is beneficiary and rebab-player guide.

In both Mak Yong and Main Peteri, the rebab-player is seated on the east side of the stage. In Main Peteri, the minduk is faced by both shaman and patient because the minduk is their guide through the turbulent winds of healing through trance.

The minduk is so invested in the authority to aid in healing that after his period of learning, as with the shaman, he has to sponsor a sembah guru ceremony where the teacher is saluted and honoured,¹²³ which, as stated previously, all major performers and bomoh of the related genres undergo. Without such a ceremony, the student cannot involve himself in ritual healing and his efficacy as a healer remains in some doubt.¹²⁴

It is not possible to say with any certainty whether all

rebab-players were at one time minduk. However, there certainly appears to be a general division of rebab-players between those who perform the role of minduk and whose main practice is Main Peteri, and those whose main practice is Mak Yong, a distinction made obvious also in terms of their respective repertoire. In many of today's rare occasions of Main Peteri or Mak Yong performances for healing, the rebab player is not minduk, but simply a player knowledgeable in the respective musical repertoires.¹²⁵ Whatever the case may be, the rebab's function is made significant by the intercessory role of its player as minduk in some of the complex rites of healing. The sound of the rebab and its use by its player, the minduk, are therefore active agents as intercessors to the metaphorical spirits possessing the shaman.

In summary, the significance of the Pak Yong facing east and/or facing the rebab is a complex conglomeration of relationships in the ritual, social and musical planes. The most prominent symbolic behaviour in Lagu Menghadap Rebab is thus the attitude of the Pak Yong in facing east towards the rebab and its player, in a gesture of respect, humility and obeisance.

The physical and tangible symbol that works across such ritual and musical dimensions is thus the rebab.¹²⁶ The metaphor of this musical instrument, designated in myth as a human body,

reflects the traditional Malay world-view where man is seen as a microcosmic reflection of the universe. Rebab music guides the singer, leads the musical ensemble and arouses angin. In a parallel relationship, the minduk as rebab-player in Main Peteri, uses all his resources, including rebab music, to guide the shaman.

A minduk unhesitatingly replied to the question as to why performers and patients face the rebab.¹²⁷ Ultimately, the rebab is teacher: "Rebab guru sekalian mainan,"¹²⁸ and, "Guru kepada orang mainan."¹²⁹ Performers must thus consequently, "hadap guru,"¹³⁰ as well as "tidak boleh tunjuk belakang."¹³¹

The rebab is teacher because "orang nyanyi turut dia."¹³² And, "apa lagu dia buat turut dia."¹³³ Even the beats of the gendang follow the rebab. The rebab's leadership is thus seen to be an indispensable factor in the performance arena.

Invocations to the Guardian Spirits of Mak Yong's Musical Instruments

The Malay world is inhabited by spirits or mahluk halus. As is the case with all traditional theatre and arts genres in Kelantan and South Thailand, elaborate rituals to sanctify the performance space in the ceremony called upacara buka panggung, or rituals to prepare the stage, open every

performance of Mak Yong in order to pay respect to and win the cooperation of these spirits who rule and reside on earth, and in so doing sanctify the performance space.¹³⁴

Among the buka panggung ceremonies in Mak Yong is the bomoh's direct announcement to all spirits of the intentions of the performance, asking for their aid in not causing any disturbances, as well as inviting them to partake of offerings to them at a specified time. The bomoh uses the smoking censor (kemenyan) to bathe and cleanse all spaces and paraphernalia of the performance including the musical instruments.

Invocations directed at the penunggu ("waiters"), or semangat, of each instrument, reveal that the instrument and the player are seen as being directly able to affect the hearts and minds of all its listeners.¹³⁵ The bomoh addresses the instruments with the usage of spiritual names - umbang sakti for the rebab, the first musical instrument to be smoked, sri gemuruh (the thunderer) for the gendang, and sri berdengung (the rumbler) for the gongs.

The term umbang literally means to float, or sail, like a boat. It can also mean to make a trip, to travel over the sea, or to lie moored between two cables.¹³⁶ In this context, the persistent image is of passage. To Wok Leh,

umbang refers to a sea-creature which makes a sound such as produced by the rebab. Other practitioners were unable to explain the meaning of umbang sakti. However, the metaphor of the rebab as a vehicle of transportation, carrying the listeners through to healing is a compelling one.

Linked to this is the musical concept of bawa lagu (carrying the song) which literally means, the musical part which leads the journey of the music. The invocation of the bomoh is particularly symbolic because he refers to the ability of the instruments, in particular the rebab, to bawa lagu, literally carrying the performers and patients alike on their journey through to rejuvenation. In describing the interplay between the vocal and rebab parts, musicians distinguish between who carries the part, or bawa lagu, as they describe who the musical leader is at particular points.¹³⁷

When the bomoh invokes the spirit of the rebab, he inversely invokes the angin of the rebab-player. He asks for a suara merdu (sweet voice) or a suara asyik (an entrancing voice), one that will entrance the audience and performers alike.¹³⁸ The rebab is the leader of the panggung "kerana dia yang mengeluarkan nada-nada yang tarik perasaan manusia."¹³⁹ The gendang rhythms which play a special role in inducing trance in Main Peteri sessions, are invoked so that "bila orang dengar seperti hati meletup menyedarkan orang."¹⁴⁰

Additionally, the semangat of gendang players is so invoked that the effect of their performance should: "bukan seperti pukul gendang tapi pukul hati."¹⁴¹

In brief, the performance of the rebab's music is a deliberate strategy on the part of its players to produce the energising force angin, not only within the Pak Yong, but in all listeners.

The Rebab as Catalyst for Performance

The role of the rebab as the musical leader has already been mentioned. In general, the Pak Yong cannot find the inspiration to sing outside the context of a performance. As stated previously, a prime requisite of being able to perform is the possession of angin. Using the singers' words, performers have to main dengan angin or play with angin. There were many occasions where Mak Yong singers would say that they could not remember how the lagu went without hearing the rebab and the rest of the musical ensemble. When questioned more closely it was apparent that their dependency on the rebab melodic line was more critical than on other instruments. In this sense, the rebab is the catalyst for performance. This critical aspect of rebab music is further described in Chapter three.

Sweeney notes in several genres of professional Malay story-telling a dependency of performers on what he calls a 'catalyst.'¹⁴² He observes that this catalyst is often a musical instrument although in some cases it is the incense used in the ritual preliminaries to performance. For example, he discovered that the Tok Selampit and the Awang Batil, professional story-tellers, gain their inspiration only when the rebab and batil are respectively held in place. Sweeney here calls the rebab and the batil 'catalysts' for the performance.

An example of the potency of the rebab's music is seen in one procedure called the isih angin where the bomoh sometimes plays a Mak Yong tune on the rebab to evoke a response from the patient.¹⁴³ If the patient is suffering from a suppressed Mak Yong angin, he or she will respond to the music by crying, because he or she is susceptible to the musical sound. The bomoh, thus having successfully diagnosed the ailment of the patient, is able to take the subsequent steps necessary for healing. This process describes the advocacy of the sonic properties of rebab music as producer of angin.

The music of the rebab is used deliberately to elicit angin. The performer's dependency upon its sound results in a melodic interplay between the rebab and vocal parts of Lagu Menghadap Rebab. This is demonstrated in more detail in Chapter three.

The Anthropomorphic Significance of the Rebab

Firth points out how the rebab is locally explained as a "simulacrum of the human body", and through this is connected to the Malay homocentric symbolic system, implying the "relation of man to the external world, and to religious structure."¹⁴⁴ As mentioned earlier, the rebab as a metaphor for the human body highlights the homocentric nature of Malay cosmology. The personification of rebab as a human-being and the homage paid to it also resonates with the Thai-Buddhist tradition of wai kru, which salutes the teacher. This is perhaps an indication of the Thai-Buddhist influence on the artistic genres of the region.¹⁴⁵ The head of the rebab, which resembles the head-gear of Thai and Cambodian classical dance costumes is called the kepala or kecopong, which is the name for the head-gear of the chief Manora character, the residence of Manora's ultimate and original teacher.

The use of the term nyawa rebab indicates the rebab interlude in Lagu Menghadap Rebab in a demonstration of the anthropomorphical conceptualisation of the rebab.¹⁴⁶

The Rebab in Origin Myths of Mak Yong from South Thailand

The rebab features in origin stories of Mak Yong sourced from South Thai practitioners. Although myths and legends by nature cannot indicate precise historical details, they are more indicative of the essential qualities of an indigenous art form, and through this are indicative of the core values of society.¹⁴⁷ The myths presented in this section indicate sources of sung text, compositional inspiration, and the role of the rebab in the musical aesthetic of Mak Yong. They also provide a mental history of the people.

Ghulam-Sarwar's analysis of myth is based on myths collected by himself, Mohamad Affandi Ismail¹⁴⁸ and Mubin Sheppard.¹⁴⁹ Mohamad Affandi Ismail collected several legends which he categorised roughly into two divisions, one which traces the origins to two siblings (*budak dua beranak*), and the other to a three member family (*tiga beranak*). The first division Ghulam-Sarwar notes is sometimes associated with the Javanese gods Semar and Turas. Within this division too, the two children are said to have developed Mak Yong out of a sonic and kineasthetic imitation of nature. In the second division, a Batak Putih character (translated literally as a white nomad or aborigine), is involved in a king's search for Mak Yong. Mubin Sheppard suggests that Mak Yong is etymologically connected with Mak Hiang, the rice-spirit, with its

identification with Dewi Sri, the Hindu-Javanese harvest goddess. From what can be discerned from the above writings, there is no mention of the rebab in these myths.

Ghulam-Sarwar's analysis of these myths concludes that two issues predominate: that Mak Yong celebrates nature and that it is associated with mythic gods, in particular Semar and Turas.¹⁵⁰

During the course of fieldwork in South Thailand, two new myths emerged, adding to this accumulation of mythic tradition giving the rebab a symbolically potent position in the Malay cosmos.¹⁵¹ Owing to their significance, and since they have not been previously recorded, they are set out in full here.

The first myth:

In this myth, De, one of three brothers and slaves of a king, accidentally killed the royal dog. In a fury, the king, had both De and the unfortunate dog interred in a mountain cave and evicted the other two weeping brothers called Mak and Yong, from the palace. It is said that their weeping emerged as melodies and rhythms. In their wanderings, they eventually came across the cave where De and the dog were interred. Following a sobbing sound, they entered the cave only to discover two piles of bones

belonging to De and the dog respectively.

Mak made a rebab out of the bones of the dog, shaping the neck of the rebab with the backbone of the dog, the body out of the skull, the tuning pegs out of the ears and so on. With this transmogrified dog, Mak played many beautiful songs to mourn the passing of De and to long for his return. Moved by pity, God intervened, bringing back to life De, from the pile of lifeless bones. All three brothers were happily reunited.

Meanwhile, the king was unhappy because he had not begotten a child. He vowed that if he was so blessed he would sponsor an elaborate performance. Soon enough, a child was born to him who became ill due to his father's unfulfilled vow. The King was advised by his bomoh to release himself from this vow in a special ceremony which included a performance. The King's servants eventually found the three brothers in the cave making music using the transmogrified rebab, music which sounded strange and wonderful. The servants then led the brothers back to the palace unrecognised.

As a result of their performance, the King's son was healed and the threesome remained in the palace thereafter. The performance began to be known as Mak

Yong and to be performed by the progeny of the king.

Similarly, another king searched for a performance to release him from his vow and cure his son. In the same way, Manora was discovered.

The second myth:

The second myth utilises the Batak motif. The Batak were said to be one of the primal peoples of God, children of Adam and Hawa who were sent out of Mecca by Nabi Muhammad upon their refusal to convert to Islam.

The Batak family consisted of De, the father, Batak Putih (Mak) the mother, as well as Sah, her brother. They settled in Java where Batak Putih gave birth to a son whom they called Yong. They were once more chased out of Java upon their refusal to convert to Buddhism. They eventually settled near Bukit Yong.

Batak Putih became ill after eating a banana De had given her, and as a result of this one of her breasts fell off. She then died to the devastation of her suckling child, the ten-year old Yong. Yong wept endlessly, it is said, in poetry and in song. To appease the crying child, Sah told De to make a rebab out of the dead body of the

mother, using her stomach to make the skin, her intestines to make the strings, her hair to make the bow strings, and likewise build a rebab out of her body parts. Then Sah told De to play the rebab and its resulting tones were that of the soothing voice of Batak Putih. Hearing this Yong stopped crying and slept.

Subsequently, a King and a Queen who lived somewhere in what is now Thailand, wanted to find a performance to celebrate the occasion of their son's circumcision. The King sent his two servants, Dogol and Sulung to search for one. These servants eventually came across the sound of Yong's crying accompanied by the voice of the rebab. They brought the Batak family back to the palace who impressed the king with their music. It is said that De refused to enter the palace as he considered himself unworthy in the eyes of humans. This is said to be the reason why Mak Yong is performed on the earth ground, as it originated among primal people who considered themselves too lowly to perform on a platform. The king wanted to play the rebab but did not dare touch the skeleton of the dead mother and ordered his servants to make one out of wood. The prince was so enraptured by its sound that he learnt to play the Pak Yong, the role of Yong the son. The king decided to call the whole event Mak Yong. And so Mak Yong was brought into the

palace.

Couched in the metaphorical language of the first myth are some significant images which pertain to the rebab and Mak Yong. One is that the songs that sound out from the rebab are empowered with the ability to transform - from sickness to health and from death to life. The other point is that the somewhat gross association of the death of the dog and its transmogrification into a symbol of power more potent than that of a King, display the balance of power between a King and his subjects - a King can only rule if subjects bestow on him the right to rule.¹⁵² The third point to be made is that the performances take place for healing. Fourthly, Mak Yong's origins among the primal indigenous peoples, a possible reference to its animistic past, links it to the Peninsular Malaysian aboriginal practice of animism. The adoption of Mak Yong by royal patronage highlights the metaphor of sovereignty as a reinforcement of the Malay monarchy in operation within the structures of Mak Yong performance.

Che Ning acknowledged Mak Yong's origins as coming from the Batak Putih figure in her invocations to the rebab. Wok Leh stated that Mak Yong originated from a Batak Putih who came from the sea, who sang to her child.¹⁵³

Myths cannot be read as history. However they can be read in

terms of the mental history of a people. Homocentric images resonant in both myths are seen in the transformation of the dead mother into a ritually powerful object of healing. The metaphor of the Batak as originators of Mak Yong suggests a link between the Malay population and the earlier orang asli of the land. Another recurrent theme in this myth and remnants of other myths implies that Mak Yong seems to have first been the practice of an indigenous or primitive people which was later adopted by kings. There is also the resonant image of the lagu first manifesting itself in the crying or pleading of the brother or son, a crying which has a specific purpose of calling back life. Out of this crying emerges the lagu which when combined or joined with the rebab becomes a potent force, capable of the power of rejuvenation.

Obviously much more research needs to be done to refine these preliminary conclusions. In these myths, certain images and metaphors suggest in their frequency of occurrence, a relationship between the rebab and efficacy of the healing aspects of Mak Yong in the traditional context and the central position of the rebab in the Mak Yong cosmos.

III. THE PERFORMANCE OF LAGU MENGHADAP REBAB: SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF MAK YONG

In brief we perceive clear status and gender reversal occurring in the physical, social and performative interface of Pak Yong vis-a-vis rebab-player. In addition, there is an apparent reinforcement of sovereignty through the utilisation of the kingly metaphor. These two findings may be best interpreted in the light of Kessler's writings on the socio-political implications of Main Peteri.

Kessler's socio-political analysis of Main Peteri sees the trance-healing ritual as a reflection and reinforcement of the power constructs of Kelantanese society as a centralised sultanate. In his analysis, these power constructs are seen through the significance of the balai, which literally means palace.¹⁵⁴ The balai is a ritual offering in the ritual ceremony of the feasting of the spirits, or the berjamu ceremony, which takes place during some of the spiritual performances of Main Peteri, Mak Yong and Wayang Kulit.

Kessler states that the institution of the balai and its function within the Main Peteri complex signifies that the body is metaphorically seen as a "miniature state,"¹⁵⁵ and that illness is the cause of a "lost sovereignty."¹⁵⁶ The bomoh and minduk search for the causes of the illness within this allegory of courtly chaos, reaching a happy conclusion

when the sovereignty of reason has been achieved through the ejection of the invading spirits into the balai.¹⁵⁷ The balai is at once a receptacle of the disruptive forces, as well as a substitute for the human individual, which is ultimately discarded.¹⁵⁸

Kessler uses as his model the theory argued by I. M. Lewis that the incidence of spirit possession occurs generally among the marginalised of society.¹⁵⁹ According to Kessler, the psychological illnesses were caused by a "strained or ambiguous social position", or "some difficult and stressful, even abruptly disjunctive, transition between social positions."¹⁶⁰ He supports this in an analysis of the findings of his research which show that the majority of Main Peteri patients are either women,¹⁶¹ whose status in Kelantanese society is not secure,¹⁶² and who are subservient to men, or those in a painful transitional stage in life.

Kessler's analysis of the utilisation of the kingly metaphor in the healing processes of Main Peteri is particularly significant as regards the present argument. In the ritual, the patient enacts the metaphor of lost sovereignty and its restoration, a process which symbolises the patient's regaining her former reason and vitality. The parallel between such metaphorical manipulations in Main Peteri and Mak Yong is obvious and contributes to the idea that in the

performance of Mak Yong there is a similar validation and legitimisation of sovereignty.

Kessler's findings about the high occurrence of women patients seeking the treatment of the Main Peteri rituals, also has implications in the performance of Mak Yong, where the kingly roles are usually played, although not without exception, by women. The women who play the Pak Yong in Lagu Menghadap Rebab, are thus simultaneously subservient as supplicant to the rebab-player, whose role is overlayed with the symbolism of the minduk's duties, and supreme in their sovereign role.

An investigation of the physical interface between the Pak Yong and rebab-player in Lagu Menghadap Rebab reveals the existence of a number of ritual and social relationships. These relationships, as mentioned previously, are concerned with issues of gender and social status. These are:

1. of the weakened patient towards the empowered rebab-player, and the empowering east, residence of the guru,
2. of the female in submission to the male,
3. of the beneficiary towards the benefactor.

The social frame of Lagu Menghadap Rebab is also represented by the reversal of gender roles where the male minduk plays the transmogrified female Batak rebab in confrontation with

the ordinary woman who is transformed into a male king for a night. Here, the rebab is mythologically assigned to its role as the transmogrified body of a dead mother into a rebab, which, through its voice, still has the power to soothe the crying of the young son. The rebab as resurrected female mother is played by the male rebab-player who is at once the musical inspiration and support for the female patient, who becomes a male king. Thus, throughout the duration of the performance, the reversal of gender and status is played out in many ways.

In addition, the social frame of the interface between the Pak Yong and rebab-player extends into the performative frame. There is a confrontation or reversal of status, as the beneficiary transforms from ordinary mortal to exalted mythical king in the context of a performance. In Lagu Menghadap Rebab, the ordinary villager becomes sovereign Pak Yong, the low-life human the exalted king, in a reversal of political status.

Turner's theory of liminality is utilised at this point of the argument. Despite the manipulations and reversals of social status and structures which occur during the liminal period of performance, no social change is permanently exacted. The liminal period is the transformative and transitional period of performance, causing a disjunction of reality. The patient

or Pak Yong player goes through this liminal period, coming out "healed" or "refreshed." This is because, in this process, the socially familiar is made unfamiliar when a vulnerable patient of lowly stature is transformed into the invulnerable and sovereign king in a reversal of status. Acting out the pleasures and privileges of the albeit temporarily acquired sovereignty, is part of the process that enables healing.

Mak Yong, thus, as begun in the Lagu Menghadap Rebab, temporarily reconstructs the power structures of traditional gender inequalities and politics, by upholding normally marginalised members of society. Through a juxtaposition of status between reality and performance reality, Mak Yong is a rite of passage, a liminal period of triumph for a marginalised person.

The suggestion that Mak Yong is a ritual theatre form where, among its other outcomes, the marginalised may find expression, is echoed in the Batak motif in the Mak Yong myth where Mak Yong is a performative expression of the marginalised Batak, which was only later adopted by kings.

Angin is at the centre of the liminality of Mak Yong performance. The patient as marginalised person is momentarily empowered through a reversal of the status quo via

the expression of her kingly angin. As Chapter three will demonstrate, this angin is expressed by the Pak Yong, through music and dance.

In summary, the interchange of the ritual, social and musical dimensions in Lagu Menghadap Rebab centres on the operations of angin, that essential core value. The performative interface of the Pak Yong vis-a-vis rebab in Lagu Menghadap Rebab results in both a reinforcement, and a momentary escape, of traditional political structures, through the usage of the kingly metaphor.

However, in an additional twist, the analysis in Chapter three and four will ultimately demonstrate how this metaphorical reinforcement of sovereignty is evened out by the subtly egalitarian melodic relationship between the vocal and rebab parts. These findings will in turn be used to show that the symbolic and musical uniqueness of the first part of Lagu Menghadap Rebab is an indication of its archetypical nature, as regards Mak Yong music.

CONCLUSION

The significance of the performance event known as Lagu Menghadap Rebab and also Lagu Gerak Bangun, are revealed through the implications of both titles. Both names appear to describe respective functional aspects of the piece. The former name highlights the symbolic behaviour of the performers. The latter name, Lagu Gerak Bangun, indicates the primary function of the piece which is to arouse angin. Collectively, this points to the multilevel homage paid to the teacher symbolised by the rebab and to the potency of the rising east. There is also the mythological suggestion of the rebab as mother of Mak Yong. The rebab-player is significant as healer or minduk, and with the agency of the guardian spirits of the rebab, a potent music is produced, which produces angin. Together, all these significances, played out on the ritual, social and performative dimension, centre on the operations of angin, a core value of Malay society.

NOTES

1. All traditional Malay performing arts genres stress the importance of acknowledging the ultimate, proto-typical teacher, as well as the earthly teachers.
2. Winstedt, R. O., The Malays, A Cultural History, (London: Macmillan, 1959), p. 19.
3. Ghulam-Sarwar, Panggung Semar, p. 10.
4. Ghulam-Sarwar, Panggung Semar, p. 12. Ghulam-Sarwar also points out that the reverence with which these ritual instruments are treated could also be due to the presence of guardian spirits (penunggu or penggawa.)
5. Ghulam-Sarwar, Panggung Semar, p. 7.
6. Endicott, An Analysis of Malay Magic, p. 79.
7. See Ghulam-Sarwar, Panggung Semar, p. 10. Both the terms nyawa and jiwa were used by Mak Yong practitioners in interviews with them regarding the subject of angin. These terms feature in statements made by Mak Yong informants which pertain to semangat, and which are quoted in the present thesis.
8. Endicott describes nyawa as one of the aspects of soul, together with semangat, and roh in a hierarchical arrangement, with the most differentiated aspect of the soul known as roh at one end, confined to mankind, and the most generalised aspect of the soul as semangat at the other, which includes all living things, animate and inanimate. See Endicott, Analysis of Malay Magic, pp. 47-9.
9. Cuisinier, Jeanne, Sumangat: l'ame et son culte en Indochine et en Indonesie, Paris: Gallimard, 1951, in Endicott, p. 80.
10. Most Mak Yong musical pieces contain the nyawa rebab, as a pause between the vocal melodic lines. The significance of the usage of the term nyawa is discussed later in the section concerning the anthropological significance of the rebab. The use of the term nyawa as a musical indicator is discussed further in Chapter three.
11. Ghulam-Sarwar, Panggung Semar, p. 12.
12. Ghulam-Sarwar, Panggung Semar, p. 8.
13. Ghulam-Sarwar, Panggung Semar, p. 12.

14. Mak Yong is traditionally performed for entertainment-oriented or specifically spiritual-oriented reasons. Performances with a spiritual intent include Mak Yong to semah angin, or to "blandish the winds", to menyambut or memanggil semangat, or to recall or strengthen the soul, to sembah guru, which is to salute the human and other-worldly teacher and to make efficacious their teachings, and Mak Yong in combination with Main Peteri. For further explanation, see Ghulam-Sarwar, "The Structure of Spiritual Performances," in "The Kelantan Mak Yong Dance Theatre," pp. 206-60.
15. The present thesis does not exclude the possibility of a further development of the relationship between angin, semangat and such other concepts as mentioned above.
16. See Kamus Lengkap, ed. Awang Sudjai Jairul and Yusoff Khan, Pustaka Zaman, Kuala Lumpur, 1990. It could be of significance to note that definitions of angin as an agent found in illness and performance are omitted in dictionary references. Reasons for this are as yet unknown.
17. Laderman, "Main Peteri (Malay Shamanism)", p. 19.
18. In other words, in traditional Malay society, the divide between the function of healing rituals and performance is less distinct than in urbanised contemporary Malaysian life.
19. The following exposition of traditional Malay concepts of illness and cures is taken from Laderman, "Main Peteri (Malay Shamanism)", pp. 7-12.
20. Laderman, pp. 13-20.
21. See Laderman, Taming the Wind of Desire, and "Main Peteri (Malay Shamanism)". See also Ghulam-Sarwar, "Main Puteri: A Form of Malay Psychotherapy."
22. Laderman distinguishes between bomoh who perform Main Peteri and those who do not. Those who do are most likely to also be involved as performers in Mak Yong and Wayang Kulit. See Laderman, "Main Peteri (Malay Shamanism)", p. 12.
23. See Laderman, Taming the Wind of Desire and "Main Peteri (Malay Shamanism)" for a more complete examination of Main Peteri from the perspective of both indigenous personality theory and Western psychotherapeutic theory.
24. Laderman, "Main Peteri (Malay Shamanism)", p. 14.

25. In spiritual performances of Mak Yong, the patient undergoes various trance, joget (a type of social dance) and silat sessions, as part of his or her treatment. At the end of each the patient is continually asked whether she is puas or satisfied. If she feels she has still not expressed herself to her satisfaction, the Mak Yong troupe must allow her to continue with this activity till she is satisfied.
26. The musical evidence for the operations of angin in Lagu Menghadap Rebab is demonstrated in the musical analysis of Chapter three.
27. Nenek moyang, or otherwise the ancestors of the individual, is seen as a specialisation of semangat, a metaphor much utilised by the South Thai practitioners of Mak Yong. This is analysed subsequently.
28. "Angin is our feelings. The deeply disturbing desire to perform Mak Yong is our ancestors provocation. But the performance of Mak Yong is a result of having angin." Personal interview with Aminah Daud, 3 August 1994.
29. "Because of angin. If there is no angin, there is no desire to play." Personal interview with Aminah Daud, 3 August 1994.
30. "Dewa Muda comes from us too! They all reside within us. It is just a different way of calling it. Our angin. Angin which is our breath, [in out in out]. That's our feelings. Many names. Angin is within us, our Nenek Moyang is also within us." Personal interview with Aminah Daud, 3 August 1994. For a more detailed explanation of Dewa Muda see the section on angin-types.
31. Ghulam-Sarwar, "The Dewa Muda Story", p. 15.
32. Sweeney, Malay Word Magic, p. 76.
33. Sweeney, A Full Hearing: Orality and Literacy in the Malay World (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 196-7.
34. Banks, Malay Kinship, p. 86.
35. Banks, Malay Kinship, p. 87.
36. For further explanation, see Banks, Malay Kinship, p. 86-7.
37. Banks, Malay Kinship, p. 87.
38. See statement made by Che Ning in the section on the different levels of the expression of angin where nafsu is discussed.

39. The four humours.
40. Laderman, "Main Peteri (Malay Shamanism)," p. 20.
41. Laderman, Taming the Wind of Desire, p. 41.
42. Laderman, Taming the Wind of Desire, p. 16.
43. Laderman, "Main Peteri (Malay Shamanism)," p. 21.
44. Personal interview with Aminah Daud, 3 August 1994.
45. Laderman, "Main Peteri (Malay Shamanism)," p. 14.
46. Personal interviews with Che Ning, Paksu Seman Besar and Pak Hamzah.
47. See Ghulam-Sarwar, "Main Puteri: A Form of Malay Psychotherapy", pp. 12-3.
48. For a comprehensive explanation of the complex Dewa Muda matrix, see Ghulam-Sarwar, "The Dewa Muda Story."
49. Ghulam-Sarwar, "The Dewa Muda Story", p. 3.
50. Ghulam-Sarwar, "The Dewa Muda Story".
51. The magic kite belongs to Dewa Muda, who, in the drama, must fly the kite into the heavens. The golden kite is a metaphor for the human soul, specifically the soul of the shaman in flight. For further explanation, see Ghulam-Sarwar, "The Dewa Muda Story", p. 11.
52. "There is no difference. Angin Hala is Dewa Muda, the midwife is also Dewa Muda. All are Dewa Muda. Silat gayung is also Dewa Muda. They are the same but people call them by different names. But all are Dewa Muda. Dewa Muda is a disposition within our characters. But it has the exception of rank. If I have this particular temperament, the angin that is aroused is of this particular sort." Personal interview with Che Ning, 5 December 1994.
53. "The Young Princess [another mythic character in a Mak Yong story] is our skin, our skin! Where does the King come from? Our skins!" Personal interview with Aminah Daud, 3 August 1994.
54. Personal interview with Sepiah Jali, 14 October 1993.
55. Laderman, "Main Peteri (Malay Shamanism)," p. 5.

56. See Laderman, "Main Peteri (Malay Shamanism)," p. 15, and Ghulam-Sarwar, "The Dewa Muda Story", p. 14 on the multiple meaning of the symbols and metaphors utilised in Main Peteri and Mak Yong.
57. For further elaboration on this see Ghulam-Sarwar, "The Kelantan Mak Yong Dance Theatre", pp. 206-60.
58. See Ghulam-Sarwar, "The Dewa Muda Story", p. 9.
59. The South Thai version of Lagu Menghadap Rebab which is utilised in the present thesis as basis for its argument, is sung by Che Ning and recorded during the second night of this particular Mak Yong Semah Angin performance.
60. See Chapter three for a description of the opening musical repertoire of the performance structure of Mak Yong. For further explanation, see Ghulam-Sarwar, 1976, pp. 168-81.
61. Krishen Jit, "The Malay Shadow Puppet Play."
62. See Heilpern, The Conference of Birds, p. 137.
63. Heilpern, p. 171.
64. See Mitter, Systems of Rehearsal, p. 112.
65. Krishen Jit, "The Malay Shadow Puppet Play."
66. Laderman, Taming the Wind of Desire, p. 88.
67. Laderman, "Main Peteri (Malay Shamanism)," p. 25.
68. Sweeney, Amin, The Ramayana and the Malay Shadow Puppet Play, p. 42.
69. "...We have to restrain our hearts, we have to restrain our desires." Personal interview with Che Ning, 5 December 1994.
70. This is the Mak Yong Semah Angin performance mentioned previously as being the occasion where the recording of the South Thai version of Lagu Menghadap Rebab was made. This performance took place in Kuala Besut, 18-20 October 1993 and was led by Che Ning for one of her fellow villagers.
71. "In Mak Yong Semah Angin, we release [give relief to] the sick spirit. The spirit of the patient. His spirit. The sick spirit of the person. We release his spirit because he is sick. He wants to play Mak Yong and if we instead play he will not have a chance to release his spirit. We do not need to play, we are clever already. For example, you are ill and I come to treat you, and I know you are not clever at playing

Mak Yong. But you want to play to release yourself because you have been sitting around in sickness and weakness. I coax and flatter your ancestors till they come down to you. They enter you. That is why the patient says he wants to play Pak Yong. Hah. We must give him the Pak Yong's clothes. And if he is not clever in dancing and we are, we must help him along. This is the process of healing in Mak Yong." The initials "SF" refer to the writer. Personal interview with Che Ning, 5 December 1994.

72. Personal interview with Dr. Krishen Jit, 7 November 1996.
73. Sweeney, Malay Word Music, p. 76.
74. Laderman, "Main Peteri (Malay Shamanism)," p. 21.
75. Personal interview with Aminah Daud, 3 August 1994.
76. Ghulam-Sarwar, "The Kelantan Mak Yong Dance Theatre," p. 135.
77. Among my key informants who are or were practicing bomohs, were Wok Leh from a village near Saiburi, Pak We who lived near Pattani town from South Thailand, Paksu Seman Besar of Teluk Renjuna, and Pak Adik or Baharuddin of Cabang Empat. Pak Hamzah Awang, the famous puppeteer, is not strictly a bomoh. However, his insights into traditional rituals were helpful.
78. The former category mentioned previously is peopled by South Thai practitioners and the latter, Kelantanese. This detail points to the relative difference in terms of the importance of ritual performances of Mak Yong in each location. This implies a closer adherence to ritual principles among the South Thai practitioners and an orientation towards an aesthetic performance among the Kelantanese practitioners in the entertainment and courtly arena.
79. Practitioners such as Khatijah Awang, Mariam Titisan Air Mata and Sepiah Jali are included in this category.
80. Personal interview with Aminah Daud, 5 February 1993.
81. "When this person dies, the nenek moyang will emerge in someone else. I do not know who among my grandchildren it is going to go to." Personal interview with Aminah Daud, 3 August 1994.
82. "If there is no moyang angin cannot happen, we cannot play." Personal interview with Aminah Daud, 3 August 1994.

83. Che Ning, Aminah Daud, another Che Ning from South Thailand have all been Mak Yong practitioners endowed with the knowledge of Mak Yong's roots, history and efficacy as a healing agent for angin disorders.
84. "... like my body [for example], this is my body. But when my ancestors descend, my feelings are that I am truly Dewa Muda." Personal interview with Che Ning, 5 December 1994.
85. "Our ancestors are like if when they come, and in the past they used to eat betel-nut and sireh leaves, and we do not normally eat it, we will insist upon eating it. Ask for it. That is our ancestors." Personal interview with Che Ning, 5 December 1994.
86. See note number 59 and 70.
87. It must be noted that the fellow villagers who succumbed to the effect of the performance probably all had in their own way, some blockage of angin, some repressed and contained desires which came out in their vicariously witnessing the spectacle of Mak Yong. Che Ning specifically organised this performance of Mak Yong because her grandchild's blockage of angin manifested itself in her inability to conceive.
88. "...and furthermore, seeing their younger relatives perform aroused in them such intense longing to perform, but they knew that they did not know how to perform, and that was why they cried." Personal interview with Che Ning, 5 December 1994.
89. Personal interview with Aminah Daud, Narathiwat, 16 February 1993.
90. Personal interview with Aminah Daud, 6 July 1994.
91. The usage of the expression "doa kepada nenek moyang" by Aminah Daud and Che Ning has been translated in the present thesis as "prayer to the nenek moyang," following the most general meaning of the word "doa" as prayer, according to Kamus Lengkap, Pustaka Zaman.
92. "It's hard to describe. [My ancestors] came endlessly. Came endlessly. After which they disturbed me and made me suffer." Personal interview with Aminah Daud, 3 August 1994.
93. In one ritual performance sponsored by a woman called Mek Muji, all members of her family, including her father, fell into trance in the final trance-sessions prior to the removal of the balai. Che Ning who had previously been playing a supervisory role, suddenly went up to the balai swaying her body in trance. She did not keep long at it. When I asked her later why she went into trance, she said that it was

because Mek Muji's father's angin was so strong that she "panggil kita moyang tu ... penolong" (called on the help of her ancestors as a similar source of strength). In addition, at this point of the ritual performance, the story of Dewa Pechil reached its climax, and Che Ning herself mentioned that her angin-type was the introverted Dewa Pechil, thus resonating within her strongly at this point.

94. "Because semangat is something that gives me strength for example I always pray before performing so that my Nenek Moyang will come. It is a prayer for semangat. Asking for it to come and enter me." Personal interview with Che Ning, 5 December 1994.
95. "Semangat is not angin. Semangat is nenek moyang. That means the energy of the nenek moyang has entered the person. Kuala Lumpur people call it semangat. Penang people call it semangat." Personal interview with Che Ning, 5 December 1994.
96. To Winstedt a shaman possesses a familiar spirit by which he gains his efficacy as a healer by inheritance, or by preceptor. See Winstedt, Shaman, Saiva and Sufi: A Study of the Evolution of Malay Magic, London: Constable and Co., Ltd, 1925, pp. 44-6. He also says that the tiger (spirit-helper) "is in fact a dead ancestral shaman who becomes his successor's guide and helps him now in the trance when he is possessed by spirits". See Winstedt, The Malay Magician: Being Shaman, Saiva and Sufi, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1961, p. 13. Furthermore, in Patani, a shaman must bequeath his art to a pupil before dying if not a ghost will inhabit his ritual objects. Many orang asli tribes believe that the familiar spirit of a shaman comes to a person through inheritance or a dream. Winstedt also describes a Kelantanese ritual to acquire a shaman's powers at the grave of a murdered man. A Selangor myth accredits Allah as the first magician. See Winstedt, The Malay Magician, pp. 47-8.
97. Endicott summarises the findings on the acquisition of magic stating that to become a magician, one has to acquire ilmu through learning from unrelated magicians, or through learning from relatives, either living or dead. Ilmu is the spiritual knowledge of the bomoh which gives him power over the world of spirits. In addition, a shaman must also acquire a spirit-helper or familiar and that this happens usually through patrilineal inheritance in a dream (Cuisinier, Danses Magiques de Kelantan, p. 6). He speculates that the being that brings both the revelation and the familiar are different aspects of the same thing. Cuisinier emphasises the continuity of the inheritance, and that the ilmu is merely entrusted into the safe-keeping of the magician (Cuisinier, pp. 6-12). Endicott speculates even further, pointing out that according to

Cuisinier (pp. 39-40), the soul of a dead shaman takes the form of the tiger spirit, in other words, the hantu belian. According to Wilkinson (Wilkinson, R. J., "Some Malay Studies", Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, x (1), 1932, pp. 67-137.), "bliau" is old Indonesian for shaman, it would logically be deduced that the guru or spirit-helper is in fact a shaman ancestor (Endicott, p. 17). He views "ilmu" as a tradition handed down through a series of magicians who may or may not be linked by heredity; one's magical antecedents may be his ancestors, but they probably are not (p. 18). "The invocation of ancient magicians at the beginning of a seance is not ancestor worship" (p. 18). Endicott also comments on the hereditary magician bomoh baka, bomoh pesaka meaning the ancestral bomoh, to the extent that he says that the magic of a hereditary magician is considered more efficacious than that of a bomoh belajar (p. 14). In evaluating bomohs, Malays consider and hold in esteem the fact of hereditary transmission or pesaka and baka or that which is inherited. What is inherited is the spirit-helper which increases the efficacy of the ilmu of the magician (pp. 18-9).

98. Endicott, p. 16.
99. Endicott, p. 16.
100. Endicott, p. 17.
101. Firth, "Malay Spirit Mediumship", p. 193.
102. The Dewa Muda complex of meaning is suggested to be the other link that Mak Yong has with shamanism. See Ghulam-Sarwar, "The Dewa Muda Story."
103. This is discussed in Chapter three.
104. Personal interviews with Pak Hamzah, Paksu Seman, Wok Leh.
105. Roxana Waterson, The Living House: An Anthropology of Architecture in South-East Asia, Singapore: Oxford University Press, p. 94.
106. Meilu Ho, "The Royal Nobat of Kedah, Malaysia", unpublished M.A. dissertation, Univ of California, Los Angeles, 1991, p. 23.
107. This tradition of paying obeisance to the original teacher is not dissimilar to the chief traditional theatre genre, Manora, which is performed in the same region.
108. Personal interview with Paksu Seman, 22 June 1994.
109. Winstedt, Shaman, Saiva and Sufi, p. 8-9.

110. Ghulam-Sarwar, Panggung Semar, pp. 126-7.
111. Ghulam-Sarwar, Panggung Semar, pp. 174-5.
112. Personal interview with Pak Hamzah. Che Ning, in another interview, also said that the original teacher is in fact, Tuhan. Personal interview with Che Ning, 5 December 1994.
113. Winstedt, The Malay Magician, pp. 47-8.
114. Personal interview with Paksu Seman Besar, 22 June 1994.
115. These deities do not represent such fixed and delimited entities as they represent different aspects of a particular manifestation. As Che Ning would say, it is a case of "alihan nama", the interchangeability of names. Personal interview with Che Ning, 5 December 1994.
116. Endicott, p. 157.
117. According to Ghulam-Sarwar, the rebab is seen as a "symbol of the ultimate teacher." Paksu Seman Besar more specifically clarified the role of the rebab as teacher of the performance of Mak Yong, which would include all its aspects, such as music and dance. See Ghulam-Sarwar, "The Dewa Muda Story," p. 13. Personal interview with Paksu Seman Besar, 22 June 1994.
118. Personal interview with Paksu Seman Besar, 22 June 1994.
119. "It is not that they are facing the rebab [as an object]. For the singers, their teacher resides there. Resides in the rebab." This and the three subsequent quotes are taken from a personal interview with Wok Leh, 18 August 1994.
120. "The original teacher comes and resides in the rebab. Even today, it is necessary for people to pay obeisance to the original teacher who resides in the rebab."
121. "If you listen to the rebab, you can be clever [you can play Mak Yong]."
122. "The other performers have to look to the rebab. All have to [take their cue from the rebab and thus listen to it.]"
123. Personal interview with Pak Ibrahim, 3 April 1993.
124. Personal interview with Paksu Seman, 22 June 1994.
125. In the instance of Main Peteri trance sessions in a recent performance of Wayang Kulit Berjamu, the shaman did not face the rebab-player because he was not the minduk. Instead, he faced the actual minduk, who happened to be seated beside the

rebab-player. Wayang Kulit Berjamu is a special ceremony of the shadow puppet play which involves giving a feast to the inherent spirits. This was performed by Pak Hamzah's troupe, 29-31 January 1993.

126. Ghulam-Sarwar also points out the ritual importance of of the rebab. See Ghulam-Sarwar, "The Dewa Muda Story."
127. Personal interview with Paksu Seman Besar, 22 June 1994. This and all subsequent quotes within the paragraph are made by Paksu Seman.
128. "The rebab is the teacher of all performance."
129. "The teacher of all performers."
130. "We face the teacher."
131. "We cannot show our backs to our teacher."
132. "Singers are guided in their melodies."
133. "The singer is guided by the melody played by the rebab."
134. See Ghulam-Sarwar, Panggung Semar, p. 37-57. The spirits are known as orang, who are in charge of specific localities, penunggu "waiters" at these localities or as penggawa, guardian spirits of the particular localities.
135. Pak Harun Deraman spoke about the rebab as being imbued with semangat which needed to be acknowledged. For example, he explained that the rebab must not be kept lying flat on the ground or on a raised area, but must be hung on a wall when not in use. If not, its semangat is depleted. Personal interview with Pak Harun Deraman, 26 May 1993.
136. Kamus Lengkap, eds. Awang Sudjai Hairul and Yusoff Khan (Petaling Jaya: Pustaka Zaman, 1990).
137. The musical interplay between the vocal and rebab parts is discussed in Chapter three.
138. This and the following statements were made by Pak Harun Deraman, in a personal interview, 26 June 1993.
139. "...because it is the rebab which produces the sounds that attract and arouse the feelings of its listeners."
140. "... upon listening, people's hearts will explode in awareness."

141. "...not simply strike the gendang but also the hearts of the people."
142. Sweeney, "Professional Malay Story-Telling: Some Questions of Style and Presentation", in "Studies in Malaysian Oral and Musical Traditions", Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia, Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan, 1974, p. 60.
143. See Ghulam-Sarwar, "Main Puteri", p. 15-6. Personal interview with Pak Hamzah, 31 January 1994.
144. Firth, "Malay Spirit Mediumship", p. 196.
145. This was first suggested to me by Dr Mohd Anis Md Nor.
146. See Chapter three for more details regarding the names of the rebab body parts.
147. Ghulam-Sarwar's myth analysis focusses on the myth as a conveyor of information regarding Mak Yong's past. See Ghulam-Sarwar, "The Kelantanese Mak Yong Dance-Theatre", p. 41.
148. See Mohamed Afandi Ismail, "Perkembangan Mak Yung Sebagai satu Seni Teater Tradisional", in Dewan Bahasa, Vol. 9, No. 6, 1975, pp. 363-366.
149. Mubin Sheppard, "Ma'Yong: the Malay Dance Drama", Tenggara 5, 1969, p. 107.
150. Ghulam-Sarwar, "The Kelantanese Mak Yong Dance-Theatre", pp. 40-1.
151. The first myth came from an old bomoh from Patani before he died. The second came from Che Ning, who originated from Narathiwat.
152. See Meilu Ho, "The Royal Nobat of Kedah, Malaysia", p. 84.
153. Personal interview with Wok Leh, 18 August 1994. To him "dia asalnya dia mari daripada Batak Putih dalam laut. Dia duk mengulit-ulit tidur. Batak Putih. Dia duk main dok anak."
154. Kessler, Conflict and Sovereignty." For further information on the balai, see Ghulam-Sarwar, Panggung Semar, pp. 100-1.
155. Kessler, p. 321.
156. Kessler, p. 320.

157. Kessler also notes that "in main peteri,...the patient is purged of disruptive emotions (nafsu) that have grown beyond control. Like animals, humans are moved by nafsu, but unlike animals they also, by their very nature, have the means to temper and regulate their nafsu. This means is akal, or reason". Bomohs seek to restore akal or reason within the patient, thereby restoring order to chaos. See Kessler, p. 320-1.
158. The balai is a ritual model of the state, representing the royal palace, made out of bamboo, decorated with flour offerings for the feasting of the unseen guests of the performance. It is an offering made on the last night of the special Main Peteri Berjamu ritual, where the spirits, symbolic of the unwanted influences, once attracted to the balai, are discarded with the balai at some remote corner of the village, at the culmination of the Main Peteri Berjamu rituals.
159. See Lewis, Ecstatic Religion: an Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism.
160. Kessler, p. 302.
161. Banks also noted that the sponsors for the Mak Yong exorcism performances were chiefly women. See Banks, Trance and Dance in Malaya, p. 34-5.
162. Kessler's research showed that the majority of women who requested Main Peteri performances were insecure wives, using Main Peteri as an expressive means of resentment against sexual inequality. See Kessler p. 316.

PLATE 10

The bomoh (with the blue and white headscarf)
sits facing the rebab
in the buka panggung ceremonies,
a ritual performance of Mak Yong,
Pattani, August 1994.
(Photograph by J.S. Fernando).



PLATE 11

Paksu Seman Besar plays the rebab,
in a ritual performance of Mak Yong,
Teluk Renjuna, June 1994.
(Photograph by J.S. Fernando).



PLATE 12

A rebab-player from Kuala Besut
in a ritual performance of Mak Yong,
Kuala Besut, July 1994.
(Photograph by J.S. Fernando).

PLATE 13

A rebab-player from Pattani
in a ritual performance of Mak Yong,
Pattani, August 1994.
(Photograph by J.S. Fernando).



PLATE 14

Mak Yong musicians
in a ritual performance of Mak Yong,
Teluk Renjuna, June 1994.
(Photograph by J.S. Fernando).

PLATE 15

Mak Yong drummers playing the
gendang anak and gendang ibu
in a ritual performance of Mak Yong,
Teluk Renjuna, June 1994.
(Photograph by J.S. Fernando).



CHAPTER 3

THE MUSICAL DIMENSION OF LAGU MENGHADAP REBAB

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter consists of an analysis of the music of Lagu Menghadap Rebab, in order to demonstrate the hypothesis that the operations of angin, an essential value of Malay society, are found to be incorporated within the musical system of Lagu Menghadap Rebab.

In order to successfully demonstrate the hypothesis, the musical analysis of Lagu Menghadap Rebab needs to provide evidence based on the two functions expressed by the two titles of the piece, Lagu Gerak Bangun and Lagu Menghadap Rebab. As stated previously, the former title emphasises the function of angin, and the latter, the significance of the rebab. Thus, the musical analysis in this chapter will present evidence of the operations of angin within the music of Lagu Menghadap Rebab, as well as evidence for the musical significance of the rebab.

In this chapter, musical analysis investigates the textual structures and meanings, formal and rhythmic systems, and the tonal and melodic language of Lagu Menghadap Rebab. The analysis is centred around the two structural and melodic systems found to be in operation within Lagu Menghadap Rebab.

For analytical purposes, the first part of the piece refers to the first structural system beginning from the start of the piece through the first chorus until the end of the second gong-unit of solo 2. See FIGURE 10. The second part of the Lagu Menghadap Rebab begins at the start of the third gong-unit of the second solo, and onwards till the end of the piece. In effect, the second solo is a transitional structure, composed of a conjoining of the two formal styles. The second formal style is heard in its entirety in the second chorus and all subsequent solos and choruses until the end of the piece.

Musical Preliminaries

1. The Musical Ensemble

The Mak Yong musical ensemble consists of a pair of double-headed drums called gendang ibu and gendang anak, a pair of bossed gongs, called tawak ibu and anak, or collectively, the tetawak, and the rebab, a three stringed spiked bowed-lute. See FIGURE 3 for an illustration of the basic instruments of the Mak Yong orchestra. Other instruments like the serunai (quadruple reed oboe), canang (pair of small bossed gongs placed horizontally on a rack hit with a padded beater) and kesi (small cymbals) belong strictly to the Wayang Kulit Siam and Manora tradition. They come into play in the special Tari Ragam or Lagu Bele-bele Berjalan (song sung while walking),

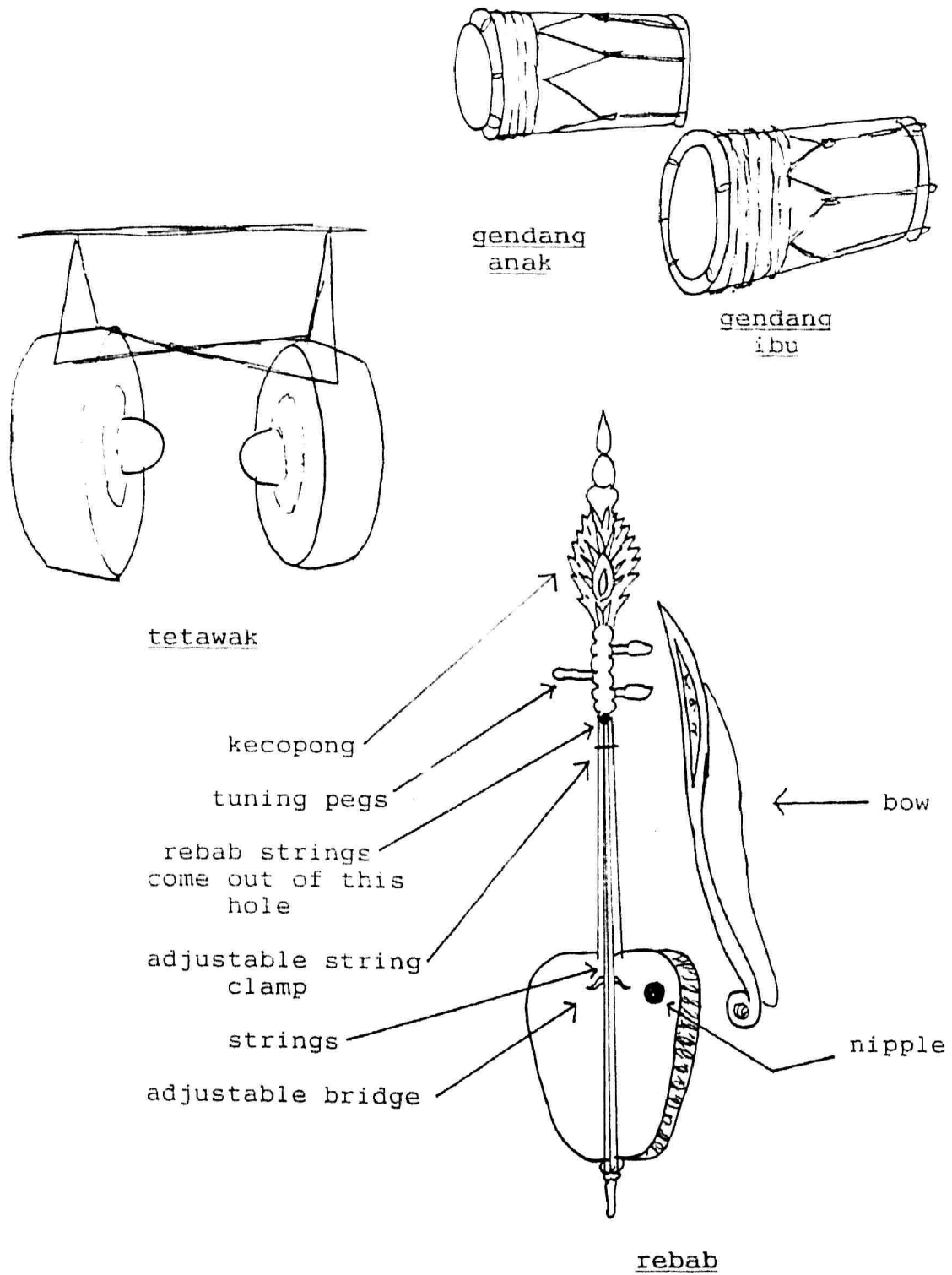
which is borrowed from Manora, but these instruments are not relevant to the present thesis.

The music of Mak Yong is sounded in three layers.¹ The melodic layers are carried out by the rebab and vocal parts. The rhythmic layers are played by the double-headed drums in interlocking patterns. The gongs act as structural markers.

The gendang are a pair of "double-headed drums with a slightly convex wooden body."² The two heads of the gendang anak are made of goat hide while those of the gendang ibu the larger is made of cowhide and the smaller of goat hide. They are laced on to the body with split bamboo and rattan and which can be adjusted to raise or lower pitch and timbre. The gendang anak is tuned so that the large head will produce a pitch to match that of the hanging gong of high pitch (the tawak anak). The gendang ibu is tuned to produce a low damped timbre on the large head.³

The gendang is held horizontally on the lap of the seated drummer and struck with the hands.⁴ Two principal sounds are produced by the gendang anak, represented by the mnemonic sounds 'chap' (small head, right hand) and 'ting' (large head, left hand). The two principal sounds produced by the gendang ibu are represented by 'chap' or 'pak' (right hand) and 'duh' (left hand).⁵

FIGURE 3: Instruments of the Mak Yong Orchestra



Knobbed gongs are part of the larger indigenous Southeast Asian tradition, coming in a large variety of sizes and used in a large variety of ensembles and musical styles. The tonal interval of the two pitches of the two gongs used in the Mak Yong musical ensemble ranges from that of a third to a fourth.⁶

2. A Special Note on the Rebab

The three-stringed rebab is the only melodic instrument in the Mak Yong ensemble. It belongs to the family of chordophones (musical instruments which produce sound by means of a stretched string) and falls within the lute division. A lute by definition has a body and a neck which serves as a handle as well as to stretch the strings beyond the body. The rebab is commonly described as a spiked bowed lute or fiddle.⁷

Rebabs vary in length and size, and in the depth and breadth of the resonating body. Because rebabs continue to be hand-crafted by a few specialised craftsman and/or rebab-players, various styles exist, and the resultant vocal quality differs.⁸ However, despite this, analysing the rebab's contemporary makeup based on one particular rebab, still makes it possible to specify the basic physical structures of the

rebab and its material.

The rebab is a three-stringed fretless bowed lute with one spiked leg. Its strings were formerly made of twisted cotton⁹ and according to another source, sometimes also made out of stretched silver or copper.¹⁰ Contemporary rebabs however use ordinary steel guitar strings, sizes 3, 4 and 5. As one faces the rebab, the highest string lies to the viewer's right, and the lowest to the left. In the Kelantanese dialect the lowest string is called tali bong or tali besar, the middle string tali tengah, and the highest string tali kecil/cing, pronounced as cih. The strings are tuned to produce the intervals of two rising perfect fourths. In some cases the tuning coincides with the intervals of a perfect fourth and a perfect fifth.¹¹ According to one rebab-maker, the smoother and more pliable the string the better, as this is less demanding on the skin of the fingers.¹²

At the base of the rebab, the strings are attached to a metal holder. At the top end of the rebab, the strings are wound round the pegs. The tuning pegs are called pemulas, or telinga which means ear. The thickest string is wound round the highest peg, the thinnest round the lowest. As the strings are stretched upward from their base holder along the neck, they pass into a hole high on the long hollow neck of the rebab, and are wound round the pegs from within the

hollow. This is indicated in FIGURE 3. A little further down, the strings are fastened down with a piece of string tied very tightly acting like a clamp, called the kembang. This clamp is sometimes adjusted a little higher or lower to accommodate the differing registers of the Pak Yong singers. The long neck shaft of the rebab, referred to as the tulang belakang or backbone of the rebab by the Malays, is sometimes made of a length of metal piping. A long wood spike runs vertically along the length of the central body cavity, connecting the neck shaft to the body.¹³

The wooden body of the rebab is covered by a piece of the skin of a cow's stomach or buffalo skin.¹⁴ Ghulam-Sarwar notes the previous usage of coconut shell bodies.¹⁵ This skin is said to be the skin or kulit of the anthropomorphised rebab. The wood used to make the body is usually kayu nangka or wood from the jackfruit tree.¹⁶ The small wooden bridge, called pacat which literally means leech, is placed on the upper centre of the skin. It is placed at a slight angle, allowing for a longer resonating length for the thickest string, and a shorter one for the thinnest. The bridge is sometimes likened to the busul or small metal insert which is fastened to the traditional Malay kite or wau that produces a sound when flown. A small wax nipple is placed to the right of the bridge. The nipple helps to mute the resonance, enhancing and refining its mellow voice. It is known as susu which

literally means milk, or tetek, meaning nipple. The sides and the back of the body are covered with gaily coloured cloth, and often, strands of coloured tassles are hung on the back of the body. A small cloth bag usually hangs at the back of the body containing a few bits of resin for the bow, and some spare bridges. The head of the rebab called the kepala, literally meaning 'head', is also known as the kecopong, which refers to the head-gear of the chief Manora character, and is carved in a number of styles.¹⁷ A popular Malay motif for the kepala is the pucuk rebung or bamboo shoot. An antique rebab in the possession of one bomoh is carved in the style of the Manora head-gear.¹⁸ It has even been said that rebabs have been sighted which were carved in the shape of a man's head.¹⁹ Sometimes the head of the rebab is decorated with dangling coloured wool or string, or wound with raw cotton. This is said to be the jambul or crest of hair. The bow's strings are made of coconut palm fibre, violin bow strings or ordinary nylon fishing line.²⁰ The bow is said to be the arm or lengan. The foot of the rebab is literally called the kaki.

The backbone or neck shaft of the rebab is angled precisely in relation to the body in order to provide for optimum leverage space for strings to be depressed by the fingers. Most rebab strings are 'light' to touch, not requiring exerted pressure for fingering work. This allows for delicate filigree ornamentation.

As a musical instrument uniquely belonging to the North Eastern Malays of Malaysia and South Thai Malays, the rebab is used in Mak Yong, in Main Peteri, and Tarik Selampit. The use of a two-string rebab was in use in the now extinct genre of Wayang Jawa.²¹ The player is usually a male who sings with the rebab while he plays. In Mak Yong, the rebab-player will join in singing the choruses. In Main Peteri, the rebab-player is the Minduk who guides and intercedes for the shaman through singing. In Tarik Selampit, the rebab-player is the story-teller who accompanies himself with the rebab.

The ancestry of the Malay rebab is probably Middle Eastern. Historically, the earliest mention of the rabab (being a similar bowed stringed fiddle) is found in 10th-century Arab treatises.²² The rebab and its variants are found in all Middle Eastern countries and North Africa. With the spread of Islam as well as the development of Persian and Arab trade, these variants found their way westward into Europe, where they are still found in Turkey, in Yugoslavia, and eastward into Central Asia, South Asia, West China, and Southeast Asia.²³ Bearing names such as the kamancha, the satar, the gusle, these variants all show some commonality with their ancestor. The music of the Javanese two-stringed rebab has strong stylistic links with the female vocal style of singing as part of the gamelan orchestra. In Sumatra, the rebab accompanies a traditional form of story-telling. The elegant

three-stringed saw sam sai of the Thai Mahori musical ensemble is another example of a Southeast Asian bowed lute.

One source states that the ancestor of the Malay rebab called the rabab arrived in Malaya and Indonesia with the spread of Islam in the early 15th century.²⁴ Another suggests the equal possibility of its arrival via Indonesia.²⁵ The precise date of the arrival of the rebab to the Malay Peninsula remains uncertifiable. The functions of all the far-flung varieties of the Arab/Persian rabab seem to follow two general trends. They are popular accompanying instruments in the telling of epic songs, poetry or stories of a narrator who usually accompanies himself; or they are important melodic instruments within an orchestra-like ensemble. In particular, the rebab and its variants have always lent themselves most easily and naturally to the accompaniment of the human voice, being close to it in sound, register and timbre.

3. The Musical Repertoire of Mak Yong²⁶

The musical repertoire of Mak Yong is performed in conjunction with dance, and within specific dramatic and performance convention contexts.²⁷ The repertoire is categorised in a number of ways. These are according to whether the pieces are instrumental or sung, according to whether the pieces are fast

(cepat) or slow (anjur), and according to contextual usage and in accordance with Mak Yong role-types.

Among the drummed pieces or laqu-laqu paluan, are pieces used to mark all entrances and exits of Mak Yong characters such as San Pak Yong Turun (the Pak Yong descends), a piece with which the performers enter the arena of performance, and San Penyudah, the final closing piece. The pieces with the least complex musical structures are the Lagu Barat Cepat and Lagu Barat Anjur. They are suggested by Ghulam-Sarwar to have been innovations into the Kelantan tradition of Mak Yong during its patronage by the Kelantan court and brought over by visiting Thai performers.²⁶

Among the Mak Yong pieces categorised by context are pieces used to convey information (berkhabar, to convey news, or bercerita bari, to relate a story), pieces used for walking or travel situations which include the popular contemporary examples such as Lagu Kijang Emas, Lagu Saudara, Tari Ragam, Lagu Seri Gunung, Lagu Tok Wok, and Lagu Sedayung Tonggek. The Mengulit (lulling or crooning) category, includes calming, soothing pieces used to describe situations which include bathing at a pond, picking flowers and crooning someone to sleep. There are also pieces used in a lamentation context, such as Lagu Mengambul. Pieces used to accompany specific activities include the specialised Lagu Eno Nanggol. Many of

the pieces named and collected by Ghulam-Sarwar in the 1970s are now no longer in use such as Lagu Pandang Wangi, Lagu Chagak Manis, Lagu Gebiyah, and Lagu Gading Bertimang.

Malm points out the eight different types of pieces belonging to the sedayung (unknown meaning) category, which includes the important Lagu Sedayung Mak Yong sung by the Mak Yong character. Within this category is the significant Lagu Sedayung Pak Yong, otherwise known as Lagu Menziarah ke Bilik Pengasoh, the name I encountered among the Kelantanese musicians in the course of my research, meaning to travel to the Pengasoh's quarters, and known to the South Thai Malays as Lagu Anak Lima, literally meaning the piece about five children. In all, this piece stands in a category of its own, because, as noted by Ghulam-Sarwar, it is one of the most significant pieces of the Mak Yong repertoire, apart from the all-important Lagu Menghadap Rebab. This piece functions to arouse angin through indirect reference to the angin of the king's servants, the Pengasuh. It is also used in the magical self-transformations, the invocation of angin, spirits and other special powers.

All Mak Yong performances open with an introductory musical prelude of pieces performed in their unsung versions. Subsequent to this, the entrance of the performers onto the arena is accompanied by the drummed Lagu Pak Yong Turun. The

following sequence of pieces is then performed, up till the point the story begins to be dramatised:

Lagu Menghadap Rebab (the king is invoked and prepares to leave the palace)

Lagu Sedayung Mak Yong (preparatory piece sung by the Mak Yong; usually if more Mak Yong characters are involved in the performance, each will sing in turn a suitable piece which tells the Pak Yong not to leave the palace for long),

Lagu Sedayung Pak Yong (sung by the Pak Yong in readiness to call his servants, the Pengasoh),

Lagu Pak Yong Muda or Lagu Kisah Barat (a second attempt by the Pak Yong to arouse the Pengasoh),

A number of subsequent pieces involve the Pengasoh, one by one being aroused by the Pak Yong, eventually making their way to the palace and kneeling before the Pak Yong in readiness for his news. This includes pieces such as Lagu Barat Cepat and Lagu Saudara.

Lagu Ela (the piece by which the Pak Yong discloses his identity)

(The story begins).

This format operates in every performance of Mak Yong. As most performances stretch beyond one night, this format will open each and every successive night as well. In the

interests of shortening performance length, successive nights of contemporary performances of Mak Yong performed in Kuala Lumpur and sponsored by government institutions omit this opening convention and move straight into the continued dramatisation of the story. One performance which I witnessed even cut short Lagu Menghadap Rebab by jumping from its rebab introduction straight into the second solo skipping the first solo and chorus entirely.²⁹

In ritual healing performances of Mak Yong of the 1990s in both South Thailand, Kelantan and Trengganu, Lagu Menghadap Rebab was performed each night of the usual three-night event. A two-night sponsored performance by one of the government agencies in Kuala Lumpur omitted Lagu Menghadap Rebab on the second night, as the priority was in completing the story.³⁰ In contrast to this, a three-night ritual performance of Mak Yong in Patani almost completely neglected the performance of the story, as mentioned previously. The complete invocation, arousal, and naming of the mythic king and his dramatic predicament lasted until nearly the end of each night's performance and followed closely the performance structure outlined on the previous page.³¹

4. The Link between Tonality and Function in Mak Yong Music

The discrepancy in the names used by the South Thai and Kelantanese practitioners implies that the focus of the South

Thai practice of Mak Yong is on its overall healing function. At the same time, this suggests that the Kelantanese practice is a slightly later development in the continuum from ritual to theatre. The examples for this are: Lagu Menghadap Rebab is also known as Lagu Gerak Bangun, Lagu Sedayung Mak Yong as Lagu Fikir, Lagu Sedayung Pak Yong as Lagu Anak Lima or Lagu Menziarah ke Bilik Pengasoh, and the Lagu Barats as being known by the situations in which they occur. In the case of the South Thai usage of the title Lagu Gerak Bangun, function is most specifically implied.

Bearing in mind this discrepancy, the categorisation of Mak Yong's musical pieces to match the melodic content of the piece with title(s) has yet to be done. As Matusky has observed in the musical repertoire of Wayang Kulit, the same melodies are often known by different names according to the different contexts in which they occur.³² In this sense further research needs to be carried out taking into consideration on the one hand, popular names given by practitioners on both sides of the South-Thai-Malaysian border, and on the other, the different contextual functions of pieces bearing the same melody but given different titles.

Another potentially useful type of categorisation of Mak Yong is that which distinguishes pieces cued in by a solo rebab introduction from those which are vocally introduced. Pieces

cued in by the rebab include virtually all pieces in the Mak Yong repertoire with the exception of the Tari Ragam, and the sung versions of Lagu Berjalan and the Lagu Barats. The two latter pieces are, in their sung versions, cued in by the singer. Mak Yong practitioners speak of melody in terms of who brings or bears the melody or siapa bawa lagu, be it the vocal or rebab part, where the other part is more subservient and supportive. Pieces which are cued in vocally may for example have more in common with the music of Manora, which contain pieces cued in by the singer. This style of categorisation may indicate a wider range of influences on Mak Yong's musical style than has been hitherto considered.³³

In addition, I suggest that there is a connection between tonality and function too which might in turn reveal the origins of the two-part Lagu Menghadap Rebab. Lagu Sedayung Pak Yong and the second part of Lagu Menghadap Rebab share similar tonalities in terms of the narrow scalic range and choice of actual pitches.³⁴ Both pieces are used in situations where the arousal of angin is called for, thereby suggesting the link between tonality and function.

Furthermore, the narrower tonal range of Lagu Menghadap Rebab's second part and its association with the gerak bangun aspect of Mak Yong music implies that the function of concentrated arousal of angin, or gerak bangun, limits the

aesthetic range of the music. The narrower scale in use in the second part is higher in pitch than in the first part, and this certainly conveys a state of increasing excitement and arousal better than a lower range of pitches would. Also, the less complex melody results in greater interaction by the participating audience in the answering chorus sections.

The scales used in Mak Yong music may well indicate the external influences in the development of Mak Yong's repertoire coming from the historic and geographic proximity of the northern states of Islamic Malaysia with Buddhist Thailand. This line of questioning cannot be investigated further within the context of the present thesis. Subsequent research into the tonalities of the melodies of Mak Yong could reveal new and exciting evidence of the origins of Mak Yong.

Discussion concerning scale as regards Lagu Menghadap Rebab is definitely relevant because of the simple fact that the musical piece contains two formal systems, each of which has a distinct tonal vocabulary. Scale, besides other musical considerations, is thus part of the musical analysis investigating the uniqueness of Lagu Menghadap Rebab which is undertaken in the next chapter of this thesis.

II. TEXTUAL STRUCTURE AND MEANING

The basic textual structure of Lagu Menghadap Rebab is a series of verses sung solo by the Pak Yong which alternate with a chorus sung by a group of men and women. The text consists of a series of solos sung by the Pak Yong which are interspersed by a chorus. This text is sung in the South Thai and Kelantanese Malay dialect and chorus members alternate with the solo verses to give a melismatic and textless rendering of the same melody used in the solos. The chorus uses specific vocables, such as "dondang", pronounced in dialect as "dondae" and "e", pronounced as in "day", are used.

The two-part structure of Lagu Menghadap Rebab is reinforced by this bi-modality of textual imagery. The link between what are two apparently unrelated metaphors, that of royalty and that of natural movement, is the operations of angin.

The samples of the sung-text of Lagu Menghadap Rebab presented in FIGURES 4, 5 and 6 are given a free translation. FIGURE 4 presents the sung-text of the South Thai style of Lagu Menghadap Rebab. FIGURE 5 presents the Kelantanese court version, and FIGURE 6 the contemporary Kelantanese style. These sung-texts are taken from the three sample versions of the piece which I recorded and transcribed during the course of research.³⁵ These sample versions of Lagu Menghadap Rebab

form the basis of the musical argument.³⁶ The South Thai textual example as sung by Che Ning can be said to represent the South Thai textual style and the Kelantanese textual example sung by Mariam Titisan Air Mata can be said to represent a shorter version of the Kelantanese style. Additional sung-texts of each of the South Thai and the contemporary Kelantanese styles of Lagu Menghadap Rebab are provided in Appendix C to enable comparison.

Further information on Lagu Menghadap Rebab and the metaphoric content of its sung-text as performed by the old Kelantanese court performers from the pre-war period, is provided by Ghulam-Sarwar.³⁷

The sung-text of Lagu Menghadap Rebab contains two kinds of imagery. The first is the kingly metaphor, and the second metaphor consists of images of movements in nature.

The first metaphor of sovereignty in the first part of Lagu Menghadap Rebab highlights an essential function of the piece, which is the metaphoric installation of the Pak Yong as king. This is performed through the sung lyrics which name royal regalia, office and sacred symbols.³⁸ In the above three samples, the elaboration of royal detail varies only in detail. See the first solos of all three FIGURE 4, 5 and 6.

FIGURE 4: Sung-text of Lagu Menghadap Rebab in the South Thai Style³⁹

SOLO 1

Ai royat... hilang gak,

(A previous story subsides,)⁴⁰

Ai sangat dagang⁴¹ berino⁴², timbul la cek wei, ala,

A new story is about to surface,)

E e e, ai timbul royat seorang raja sebuah, ala sebuah
negeri gak,

(The story of a king, of a land,)

Ai tak dok raja nak salin⁴³, ala salin ku raja,

(If there is no king to be regaled as king in this
telling, let me take on the kingly regalia),

Kalau tak dok menteri, la cek wei,

(If there is no minister,)

Sangat ada nak salin, ala salin menteri gak.

(Let me take his place)

Rebab interlude or nyawa rebab

Ayuh, e e e, ayuh la cek wei,

(Ayuh,)

Ai gerak raja berusul menteri berasal⁴⁴,

(Arouse the king with his origins, the minister with his
sources,)

Anak seorang dinamakan, hamba la cek wei,

(One child is called,)

Ai Puteri Ratna, ai Ratna Suling⁴⁵ la cek wei e.

(The Princess Ratna Suling.)

CHORUS 1

SOLO 2

Ai bong ralik⁴⁶ tak sudah, ai sangat dengan membilang la
cek wei,

(A restlessness seizes my heart, I desire to resume the
telling)

Hamba tuan wei, kohor bilang berita hamba, kalau tambah
banyak la cek wei,

(As the telling proceeds, it increases in the speed and
quantity of its outpouring,)

Ayuh tuan wei,

Ala siap dengan memakai, anjung dalam istana tuan wei.

(The wearing of royal regalia is completed in the inner
chambers of the palace.)

CHORUS 2

SOLO 3

Siap memakai anjung istana la dalam gak,

(The wearing of royal regalia is completed in the inner
chambers of the palace,)

Ala peng la cek wei raja berjalan gak,

(With the complete regalia of office, the king walks,)

Ayuh la cek wei,

Tarikkan tipuh, dagang membuang membuang sila la wei.

(The leg is uncrossed from the cross-legged seating
position.)

CHORUS 3

SOLO 4

Tipuh sangat membuang la sila,

(The leg is uncrossed,)

Sawar mengorak lingkaran, ai bembang sangat gugur di

tapak la cek wei,

(Like a snake that unloosens its coils, our solitudes
are destroyed in the bud,)⁴⁷

Ayuh,

Ai bagai sireh, sangat ada layuh di junjung tuan wei.

(Like the swaying betel-leaves when carried mid-air.)

CHORUS 4

SOLO 5

E e e sireh sangat layuh dijunjung gak,

(Like the swaying betel-leaves when carried mid-air,)

Kalau menarik songsang,⁴⁸ gajah ada lambung belalai mek
wei,

(_____, the elephant waves its
trunk,)

Ayuh tuan wei,

Liuk lintuk gemulai⁴⁹ balai.

(Swaying from side to side and returning to place.)

CHORUS 5