Keywords: Rote, Arak (Lontar Palm Gin), Conviviality, Feasting, Recit

ALCOHOL LIFESTYLE AS ANTI-STRUCTURAL MANIFESTATION IN THE SENTANI PAPUA COMMUNITY

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The alcoholic lifestyle of the Sentani people, especially drunks, is closely related to various acts of structured violence carried out by state government institutions and customary government, but also with ownership, use and management of natural resources, and with freedom of opinion that is both government and customary. As a society that is experiencing a socio-cultural crisis and is marginalized, they become a group of anti-structural liminal. They do things that deviate from the structure by consuming alcoholic beverages as an effort to reduce psychological suffering. This article is the result of field research with a descriptive qualitative case study method with an anthropological approach. The method used for data collection is literature study, observation, and in-depth interviews. Knowledge about producing traditional khewphu drinks is one of the local geniuses of the Sentani people. During drunkenness, drinking alcohol helps those who are experiencing liminality as limited as they feel.

Keywords: Khewphu (intoxicating water), adat structure, anti-structure, psychological suffering, local genius

BEVERAGE OF THE SPIRITS

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BRIEF DESCRIPTION

Dayak Ngaju, a tribe who live in the Katingan watershed area Central Kalimantan, have a traditional alcoholic drink called baram. Baram (made from rice, yeast, various types of spices and sugar) playing important role on Dayak Ngaju culture. Sacredly, baram is used as a complement to the Kaharingan religious ritual such as basarah, napesan, and tiwah. Baram in the sacred context is made by mutual cooperation (handep) by the community and will be prayed for by the Kaharingan religious figure called pisur.

Although it is still controversial because it is considered the culprit and the source of social problems, according to some sources, baram is considered part of the Dayak tribe culture and is already mentioned in the Panaturan (Kaharingan religious scriptures), although not explicitly. Because of that, baram is also known as the beverage of the spirits.

This paper will describe about position and role of the sacred baram in the Dayak Ngaju culture. Especially the Dayak Ngaju tribe who live in the Katingan watershed, or commonly called the Katingan people.

Keywords: Baram, Alcohol, Dayak, Kaharingan, Culture
BACKGROUND

In June 2016, authors was involved in a research study of baram at Danum Simak Harum Village16, Tewang Sangalang Garing District, Katingan Regency, Central Kalimantan. Baram lost its prestige with factory drinks because baram was considered ancient and illegal. In addition, baram distribution and consumption tends to be difficult to monitor. On the other hand, although it is still controversial, baram is an integral part of the religious practices of Hindu Kaharingan. Baram is like two sides of a coin, it has a good yet bad faces. Unfortunately, the bad face of baram appears more often and sinks the other side which is its good face.

This article tries to describe the sacred side of baram in the cultural and religious practices among Dayak Ngaju tribe who embrace Kaharingan religion. Let’s get closer to baram so that we can reflect, does alcoholic beverages deserve to be called the beverage of the spirits?

OBJECTIVE

Too many bad stories about baram make its pride fade away among local people, and baram is actually marginalized in its own land. However, baram is part of the culture of Dayak Ngaju tribe which its existence needs to be seen objectively. Concern about baram which are almost always described as destructive and evil drinks, encourage author to display baram from the other side. In this article, the story of baram is based on the authors’ experience when interacting with a Pisur (Kaharingan religious scriptures), who opens up the insight that baram has a sacred meaning.

DESCRIPTION

In 2015, the total population of Danum Simak Harum was 1683 people, consisting of 829 Kaharingan followers, Protestant Christians (625 people), Islam (203 people), and Catholics (261 people)17. The Dayak Ngaju tribe is very respectful to their ancestor. In the Dayak Ngaju language, ancestral spirits are called sangiang, and basangiang which means “calling spirits” through a ritual. The summoned sangiang is the helping spirits of Ranying Hatalla, which is God in the Kaharingan religion. Pisur invites the sangiang(s) in an interesting way, that is by serving baram.

Baram also appeared in other ceremonies such as tiwah18, napesan19, and basarah20. Moreover, baram is also used as offerings and placed on pambak (grave), and patahu (small house which is believed to be a place to inhabit the protective spirits of the village and house).

Baram is not explicitly mentioned in Panaturan (Kaharingan religious scriptures). The word that mentioned many times in Panaturan is behas or rice. In the Panaturan stated, “Guci Lalang Tambangap Langit yang di dalamnya telah berisi Behas Nyangen Tingang.” This sentences are considered as a clue that baram is represented through rice which has high spiritual value.

Baram which is made exclusively for ritual and baram which is made for non-ritual occasion, have several similarities that are the raw materials and a taste that is characterized slightly bitter yet sweet. When talking about baram more specifically, especially baram for ritual purposes, the

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16The name of village is disguised for protecting informant’s privacy.
17RPJM Desa Danum Simak Harum 2015
18Tiwah is a funeral ritual of Kaharingan follower.
19Napesan is another kind of funeral ritual of Kaharingan. This ritual is more simple than tiwah.
20Basarah is weekly worship for Kaharingan followers that is done every Thursday in Balai Basarah.
difference can be seen from who made it. Baram whips is intended for ritual purposes can be made by a non-spiritual actor and also by a spiritual actor, called pisur.

Baram that is made by pisur always inserted by prayer, ritual, and made in the way called handep (mutual cooperation). Whereas baram that is made by a non-spiritual actor, there is no insertion of anything at all. Need to be underlined, not all pisur make their own baram for all of ritual that they lead. The main reason is for practicality, that is why many people nowadays prefer to buy baram from the others instead of making it themselves. Finding a pisur who still make baram with his own hands is something rare and valuable.

Authors is very fortunate to have the opportunity to see the baram making process made by one of the oldest pisur in Danum Simak Harum village. The pisur is a woman around 70 years old. Author calls her Tambi, which means ‘grandmother’ in Dayak Ngaju language.

One time, Tambi made baram for ritual purposes that she would lead. The main ingredients used are; white rice, water, sugar and spices. As for various spices used consist of; galangal, cinnamon powder/stem, turmeric, large cinnamon leaves, cloves, chili, tobacco. Except sugar and water, all ingredients are measured according to the taste of the maker.

The first process of making baram is making yeast. The preparation begins by soaking the rice in water for 4 hours, and all the spices are dried in the sun until they are completely dry. After all ingredients are ready, rice and all seasoning are pounded using lisung and halu until it’s become smooth. The pounded result is sifted using a bamboo sieve until a fine brownish-white powder is obtained. The fine powder is then mixed with water, kneaded using a hand, shaped like a gong, sprinkled with yeast bran (indang rahi), stored in a closed place until mushrooms appear on it.

The second step is doing baram fermentation by mixing raw water and sugar. Every 10 liters of water requires 1 kilogram of sugar. These two ingredients that have been mixed are put in a large bucket that already filled with yeast from the first process. Every 10 liters of water requires 15 grains of yeast. Several different pieces of yeast then burned until charred, afterwards put it in the same bucket. Next is to cover the bucket with a clear plastic, then cover it with clean sheet of cloth, lastly cover with the bucket lid as close as possible. At the top of the bucket lid, there must be objects as bamboo claws, charcoal, turmeric, and betel nut. All objects must remain during the fermentation process to keep the baram away from the bad influences of spirits who like the aroma of baram.

Baram which has been stored in a bucket, fermented for 10-15 days. There should be no fights or children crying during baram making so that the taste of baram would not sour. Yeast that used for baram fermentation process can be used for a maximum of three times, this process is called menganding, and re-used yeast is called anding. The first and second process are generally used by all baramers for any purpose, both spiritual and non-spiritual purposes. Baram made by Tambi is baram for spiritual purposes, and the striking difference is there is a handep in this process.

In handep process of making baram with Tambi involves 20 peoples consisting of grandchildren, children, relatives, and neighbors. They are not paid and do not need to be informed what they have to do in the process. There is a break during concocting spices process where is Tambi

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21 Lisung in bahasa called lesung(mortar).
22 Halu is a log that is used to pound anything inside lisung.
sprinkled upwards, in all direction of points of the compass. Tambi prayed to Ranying Hatalla so that the baram she made would not disturbed by evil spirits. Riwut (2003) said that rice is usually sprinkled into the air or over the heads of humans, with the aim of calling on the helpers of Ranying Hatalla named Putir Selong Tamanang and Raja Anking Langit, which are the rulers of grain and rice.

Baram made by Tambi abstinence for sale. If someone needs it for party purpose, Tambi prefers to lend it. So, the borrower must return the borrowed baram with the same amount. Authors asked why Tambi did that, Tambi replied, “I am not a baram seller, I make and drink baram just to respect sangiang(s), the spirits.”

FINDINGS

From Kaharingan’s point of view, behas or rice is the link between the sacred and the profane, between man and God (Ranying Hatalla), and that is manifested in the form of baram. In this article, baram making process done by handep. Handep is a reflection of the harmony that exists in society of Danum Simak Harum village.

CONCLUSION/RESUME

Baram is a kind of alcoholic drink made in such a traditional way by using rice, yeast, water, sugar, and spices, then fermented for a period time. The crucial role of baram in Kaharingan religion, makes it called beverage of the spirits. Baram is not just an intoxicating drink but full of spiritual values.

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YOU GIVE LOVE A BAD NAME:
THE DEGRADED MEANING OF BARAM AMONG THE DAYAK OF CENTRAL KALIMANTAN

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It is not so easy now for Indonesian to publicly consume alcohol beverages. The market is limited to fancy restaurants and clubs in the big cities. They are not freely sold because of the regulations and pressures from groups of people reject the circulation of alcohol beverages. The later in the most cases are identified as puritan moslem groups. People in rural areas somehow have the opportunity to enjoy traditional alcoholic drinks. Unfortunately, as with many other traditional items, traditional drinks seem unable to compete with drinks originating from the city, which enter as a symbol of modernity. Beer, whiskey, wine, etc. are the choices for the younger generation. Although various types of drinks have long been known but over the past fifty years, they have been strengthened by modern ideas. There was a time when several bottled and canned