

The Function of the "Tawar" Incantation of the Kutai Tribe for Their Society within the Perspective of the East Kalimantan Province's Plan as the New Capital of Indonesia

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Abstract

The State Capital City Plan (IKN) in East Kalimantan Province could have both positive and negative implications for the administrative regions within the East Kalimantan Province. Particularly, it is assumed that there will be negative impacts on the cultural traditions of the community within the humid tropical forest environment of East Kalimantan Province. Therefore, the objective of this article is to alleviate the negative impacts affecting the local cultural traditions. The method employed is a qualitative approach, utilizing the foundational theories of structuralism and literary sociology. To acquire an overview of the function of the *Tawar* verbal tradition within its community, the research area encompasses Samarinda, Kutai Kartanegara, and Kutai Timur. Based on the field research results and their analysis, there exist two groups of *Tawar* traditions: (i) Oral *Tawar*; and (ii) *Tawar* accompanied by its cultural traditions. Regarding *Tawar*, in terms of its verbal aspect, it falls under the category of incantations. Furthermore, within its society, *Tawar* still functions as a means of healing. Nevertheless, this *Tawar* tradition is gradually eroding due to easy access to healthcare services and the advancement of knowledge among the community regarding religious aspects. This is because the *Tawar* tradition is accompanied by cultural practices that involve elements of local community beliefs. Meanwhile, the oral *Tawar* tradition is rooted in the Islamic religion.

Keywords: tradition, function, structural, literature, poetry

1. Introduction

The relocation of the capital city of Indonesia is a government program initiated during the era of President Joko Widodo, which entails the transfer of Indonesia's capital city from Jakarta to the East Kalimantan Province. This program is followed up by the commencement of constructing the Archipelago Capital City located in Penajam Paser Utara Regency (PPU) and parts of Kutai Kartanegara Regency. East Kalimantan is a part of the provinces situated on the island of Borneo, which encompasses five provinces: (i) East Kalimantan, (ii) North Kalimantan, (iii) South Kalimantan, (iv) Central Kalimantan, and (v) West Kalimantan.

East Kalimantan consists of 10 districts/cities, namely: (i) Samarinda City, (ii) Balikpapan City, (iii) Bontang City, (iv) Kutai Kartanegara Regency, (v) Kutai Timur Regency, (vi) Kutai Barat Regency, (vii) Mahakam Ulu Regency, (viii) Berau Regency, (ix) Paser Regency, and (x) Penajam Paser Utara Regency. Penajam Paser Utara Regency (PPU) is designated as the starting point for the construction of the Archipelago Capital City (IKN). The neighboring or bordering areas of the IKN include Kutai Kartanegara Regency, Balikpapan City, and Samarinda City. The precise starting point is located in the Sepaku sub-district, which is one of the sub-districts within PPU.

The construction of the Archipelago Capital City (IKN) has already commenced in the East Kalimantan Province. The designation of East Kalimantan Province as the location for IKN requires attention. Mass urbanization of various ethnic groups, coupled with the influx of global culture through social media, is assumed to bring about changes in the behaviors of its society, thus influencing cultural traditions rooted in local wisdom. The cultural traditions imbued with noble local wisdom are poised to lose ground to modern culture among followers of the IKN development. It is assumed that this will erode the existing local cultural traditions within the humid tropical forest environment of East Kalimantan Province. It is indeed regrettable if such an occurrence were to transpire.

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This assumption could indeed become a reality, as there are already indications of the gradual marginalization of Kutai cultural traditions. In particular, their healing tradition known as "*Tawar*" is currently facing the threat of extinction due to two main factors: (i) the increasing religious knowledge of the predominantly Muslim Kutai community, and (ii) the influence of external culture entering Kutai society through social media. The cultural healing traditions of the Kutai tribe vary in their backgrounds, encompassing beliefs rooted in animism as well as those stemming from the Islamic faith. Healing practices founded on religious beliefs may still have the potential to endure. However, those rooted in animistic beliefs are likely to fade away as religious knowledge continues to advance in the community.

This research aims to provide a description of the Kutai tribe's incantations from both structural and functional perspectives within the Kutai community. The depiction of the functional aspect within their society is intended to ascertain measures for addressing the impacts of the Archipelago's Capital on the cultural traditions in the East Kalimantan province, which are oriented towards the Tropical Rainforest and its Environment.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Structuralism

There are two fundamental theories that form the foundation for this research, namely the structural theory and the literary sociological theory related to the function of the *Tawar* tradition among the Kutai tribe within their society. The Structuralism Theory is a component of the Objective Criticism theory. Within the United States, Objective Criticism emerged in the early 20th century. This perspective posits that all literary works possess autonomous qualities. This implies that a literary work is self-contained, not tied to its author, readers, or the surrounding world (Abrams, 1981, p.37). It is understood that a literary work can only be analyzed or examined for its structure through the literary work itself.

According to Piaget (1995, p.3-12), the structure of a literary work possesses three attributes: *wholeness, transformation, and self-regulation*. Wholeness signifies that a literary work is a complete entity, and each of its parts is closely interconnected. Transformation is understood as the capability of a literary work's structure to be transformed while aligning with the system and norms within the literary work itself. Furthermore, self-regulation is defined as when one part of the structure changes, the other parts of the structure change as well, adapting to the changes that occur. This is why each part of the structure of the literary work cannot be separated from one another (Hawks, 1978, p.17).

The interpretation of literary works requires structural analysis. According to Teeuw (1983), structural analysis is the initial and primary undertaking prior to other analyses. This is based on the idea that a literary work comprises a complex structure of signs. Hence, to comprehend a literary work, a structural analysis of the literary work is required beforehand (Pradopo, 2002, p.71). This principle applies to literary works in both poetic and prose forms. The visual structure of a poem encompasses; (1) Sound, (2) Words, (3) Lines, (4) Stanzas, and (5) Typography. These elements constitute the building blocks of a poem. These elements are found in both traditional and contemporary poetry.

Discussing mantras as one of the forms of traditional Indonesian poetry certainly cannot be separated from the structure of poetry. The structure of poetry is an integral part of the study of structuralist theory.

1.2 Mantra

Old poetry encompasses; *mantras, quatrains, talibun, gurindam, syair, bidal, and seloka*. Among these seven forms of old poetry, the ones that have persisted within society are mantras and quatrains. Mantras and quatrains have persisted because of their functions as communication tools. Mantras serve as a means of communication with the spiritual world, while quatrains serve as communication tools in daily interactions. Based on the research of Pamungkas et al. (2023), the overarching interpretation of coordinated mantra language is the causal relationship between vision, strategy, ethics, culture, and religion. The main features of the mantra are an emphasis on secrecy and conservatism, as well as a reliance on sound. A look at the history of mantras shows that mantras have been used since ancient times (Bhuyan, 2023). Structurally, mantras generally exhibit several characteristics, such as end rhyme, resulting in words within the mantra possessing a rhythm infused with mystical tones. Furthermore, the words' meanings convey persuasion and threat. Additionally, another notable attribute involves the use of carefully selected words considered to possess supernatural or powerful properties.

Within their respective societies, the function of mantras as a means of communication with the spiritual realm persists due to their close connection with the community's beliefs. Understanding a mantra itself involves sacred words that depict human beliefs and attitudes. Mantras are also part of an oral literary tradition, passed down through spoken tradition, closely tied to their community (Muslimin, 2019).

There are several functions of mantras according to their types within the community: (i) as a means of self-protection; (ii) as a healing tool; (iii) as a means of community cultural tradition; (iv) as an attractor or enhancer; (v) as a means to harm/kill, commonly referred to as "*santel*" (black magic); (vi) as a means of empowerment/physical strength; and (vii) as a means to facilitate tasks. In this study, the focus is on the healing function. Therefore, the characteristics of the mantras used in this research are related to the characteristics of healing mantras.

2.3 Literary Sociology

Literary sociology is the discipline that considers the social factors of society as foundational to literature. The social factors of society are elements that must be considered in literary works (Endraswara, 2011, p.8). As articulated by Damono (2014, p.1), literature presents the depiction of the lives of story characters, and these presented lives are, in fact, reflections of social realities. This social reality involves interrelations among communities, individuals, and events that take place within an individual's inner self (Damono, 2014, p.1). Literature seeks to express the meaning of social situations and reflects or expresses life (Kasmawati et al, 2023, p.36).

The close relationship between the community and literary works, including the mantra tradition, which makes the mantra tradition an integral part of ancient poetry, undoubtedly reveals an understanding of the social interaction processes of their society (Eagleton, 2002, p.6). As stated by Wellek (1966, p.94), literary works have social functions and utility within their communities. This can be understood from the perspective that a literary work holds significance within both urban and rural communities upholding traditional beliefs (Sumarjo, 1999, p.8). This function is distinctly depicted within a literary work. In line with the viewpoint presented by Fananie (2000, p.2), literature portrays the reflective reflections of its society's life, including across the domain of oral and narrative literature. Narrative literary works in the form of oral traditions still serve a significant role within the cultural traditions of their respective communities to the present day. Notably, oral literary traditions frequently possess religious underpinnings, especially in societies that adhere to Islam. However, it's not uncommon for cultural contexts to blend elements of both religious and animistic beliefs.

The nature of the community's involvement with cultural traditions is particularly evident when oral traditions embody their indigenous knowledge. As a result, the functions of a cultural tradition become apparent as well.

3. Research Methodology

The present research employs a qualitative descriptive approach. This approach is used to obtain an overview of a situation or subject using factual information (Maulina, 2019, as cited in the study). The data collection techniques used are the recording method and the prompting method. Interview data is collected through recording, as well as the prompting method, where the researcher endeavors to prompt informants to participate in discussions related to the research topic.

Data processing in this research employs the methodology of content analysis, following these stages: (i) data acquisition, which involves determining units, selecting samples, recording, and noting; (ii) data reduction, which includes selecting, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming raw data; (iii) inference, which involves drawing conclusions from the sorted data; and (iv) analysis, for extracting content and meaning.

4. Results and Discussion

The Kutai tribe is one of the ethnic groups residing in the East Kalimantan province. The current population in East Kalimantan is estimated to comprise around 10% of the total number of ethnic groups present in the region. The Kutai tribe's community is distributed across Kutai Kertanegara Regency, Kutai Timur Regency, Kutai Barat Regency, and Samarinda. However, the majority of the Kutai tribe resides in Kutai Kertanegara Regency. As part of the wider Malay ethnic group, nearly 100% of the community members of the Kutai tribe practice Islam. Interestingly, despite this, historical records reveal that the dominant religion in the Kutai region during the 4th century was Hinduism, as evidenced by the Purnawarman inscriptions discovered in the Kutai area.

As a distinct collective, the Kutai tribe naturally possesses its own unique characteristics that set it apart from other ethnic groups within Indonesia. This is closely linked to its geographical location, place of residence, means of livelihood, and daily dietary habits. The Kutai tribe has a plethora of cultural traditions, akin to other ethnic groups in Indonesia. One cultural tradition that continues to thrive within their community is the *Tawar Pengobatan* cultural tradition.

In the Kutai tribe, "*Tawar*" is closely associated with healing. The term "*Tawar*" in the Kutai language means that "*something*" is "*unfelt*" or akin to "plain water," indicating it has no taste or smell. Therefore, in the context of the healing tradition of the Kutai tribe, the essence of "*Tawar*" signifies an individual who initially experiences pain, but after undergoing the *Tawar ritual*, no longer feels pain. The Healing *Tawar* Tradition of the Kutai Tribe can be found among the Kutai communities residing in Samarinda, Tenggarong (Kutai Kertanegara Regency), the Muara Bengkal sub-district (Kutai Timur Regency), and Kutai Barat Regency.

The *Tawar* tradition of the Kutai tribe is categorized into two forms: (i) oral form, and (ii) oral tradition form. The oral form implies that the *Tawar* tradition is not accompanied by ritualistic physical movements and instruments. On the other hand, the second form is the oral tradition of *Tawar*, which is accompanied by ritualistic physical movements and ceremonial instruments. However, both forms of *Tawar* serve as cultural methods to heal the sick.

According to the informants, the oral form of *Tawar* typically serves as a method of healing for mild illnesses such as high fever, toothache, stomachache, "*sugang*" (a local condition related to wind), "*ketulangan*" (swallowing fishbone), and other ailments. Below is an example of *Tawar* being used to treat stomachaches.

*Dak cempedak,
titi sela batang padi
Turun bisa awak anak kedadak,
Turun dari dalam hati.*

This *Tawar* is typically recited or spoken by the Healer for a child suffering from a stomachache. While reciting the *Tawar*, the Healer places their hand on the child's stomach. The recitation is repeated three times, and at the end of each recitation, the Healer moves their hand from the child's stomach to the floor or wall, while flicking their fingers towards the surface. This action is performed with the intention of transferring the sensation of stomachache from the child to the floor or wall.

Another type of *Tawar* is the *Sugang Tawar*, commonly known as "*Angin Duduk*" (wind-related condition). Below is the recitation of the *Sugang Tawar*:

*Bismilahirrobmanirohim
Simak kesimakan
Kanak kekanaan
Aku tahu nama anak awaq kepala tenteng
Kun kata Allah fayakun kata Muhammad*

The *Sugang Tawar* is utilized to treat individuals afflicted by the condition known as "*Angin Duduk*," in which there is a sensation of piercing within the body. This condition could potentially be fatal, as the piercing sensation may directly affect the heart. However, this ailment can be alleviated through the application of the *Sugang* or "*Angin Duduk*" *Tawar*. At times, the healer employs a betel leaf and slaked lime as a medium for this ritual.

The method involves applying slaked lime to the front part of a betel leaf, then reciting the *Sugang Tawar* three times while blowing onto the leaf after each recitation. Subsequently, the betel leaf section with the slaked lime application is attached to the area of the body experiencing discomfort. Some also use soursop leaves as an alternative medium. The procedure is almost identical to using betel leaves. The *Tawar* recitation is read and blown onto a soursop leaf that has been coated with slaked lime. Then the soursop leaf is rubbed onto the aching body until it becomes damaged or torn, and finally discarded.

Unlike *Tawar*, which involves ritualistic movements and the use of instruments, typically conducted to treat illnesses caused by sorcery or supernatural entities, there is a distinct approach. This approach is commonly employed to address afflictions believed to result from sorcery or be attributed to supernatural beings. One of these treatment traditions is referred to as "*Kenjongan*," also known as "*Bekenjong*." The *Kenjongan* healing tradition is known to persist within the Kutai community in the Muara Bengkal sub-district, East Kutai Regency. *Kenjongan* shares similarities with the healing tradition of the Dayak tribe, commonly referred to as "*Belian*." However, what sets *Kenjongan* apart is its amalgamation of Islamic and animistic elements within its tradition.

"*Kenjongan*" is typically conducted to treat individuals who are suffering from ailments associated with supernatural causes, or what is locally known as "*penyakit kiriman*," or *sovrery*. This type of sorcery-related illness includes conditions referred to as "*Panah Terong*" and "*Parang Maya*". Additionally, *Kenjongan* might be performed for other purposes, such as initiating someone into the role of a *Pawang* or Shaman, and occasionally, to locate lost items. Thus, the practice of *Kenjongan* is tailored to meet the specific needs of the community.

The implementation of the *Kenjongan* tradition can last for up to two or three days, in accordance with the demands of the treatment or the lineage's requirements (referred to as "*dallam*" in the Kutai language; "*purusnya*" in standard Indonesian). In the *Kenjongan* tradition, there are two roles fulfilled by shamans or healers: *Pengenjong* and *Pengampi*. *Pengenjong* is a shaman who specializes in *Kenjongan* practices. On the other hand, *Pengampi* is an individual capable of communicating with *Pengenjong* while being possessed by ancestral spirits (in a state of trance). The media or tools utilized include: "*perapen*" (incense burner), yellow rice, agarwood, slaked lime, scented water, and coconut leaves fashioned as incense sprinklers.

The *Kenjongan* or *Bekenjong* tradition involves 10 stages in its execution, namely: (i) *Besawai* to invite supernatural entities from water, land, and the skies; (ii) *Besawai* to acknowledge all mistakes; (iii) Summons for the *Rob Papan Dewa* (Swinging Spirit); (iv) Summons for the *Rob Ayunan Perpati Bongso* (Bird); (v) Worship of the *Pinang Ayu*; (vi) Summons for the *Rob Gong*; (vii) Worship of the *Balai Panen Tabunan* (Annual Harvest Pavilion); (viii) Summons for the *Rob Ancak*; (ix) Worship of the *Rob Jamuan di Tanah* (Ground Feast Spirit); (x) Worship of the *Patung Tinjan Ari* (Statue of *Tinjan Ari*). These ten stages give rise to ten mantras within the *Kenjongan* ritual. One of the mantras recited by the *Pengenjong* is as follows.

Auzubillabhiminassyaitonirrozim
Bismillahirrohmanirrohim
Astaghfirullahal'adzim 3x
Alladdzi lailabaillahuwalbhayyulqoyyumu waatubuilahi Labanlawalakuataillabillabhalilyiladzim
Asybadu an la ilahailla Allah
Waasyhadu anna muhammadarRasulullah
Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahiwabarakatub
Wahai penguasa yang ada di aer, tanah dengan kayangan,
Kami mengundang kita segala supaya datang malam ni,
Dalam jamuan kenjongan,
Artinya kita segalanya kami undang untuk menikmati makanan dan jua jamuan yang dah kami sediakan dalam jamuan ni.
Artinya kami mengundang kita dalam artian ndak bayar janji karna dah lawas hik beri kita makan,
Disini jua kami ndak minta tedobkan penyakit Si Anu ni entah kena anu aer, tanah atau pun kena anu di langit
artinya tedobkan penyakit anak cucu kita ni,
Kita segala kami sediakan banyak makanan dan dah kami lengkapi jua syaratnya yang kita endaki di dalam jamuan,
datang ba kita segalanya kesini.
Kuurrrrrrrrs semengat.

The mantra is the initial invocation recited by the *Pengenjong* to summon supernatural entities from water, land, and the skies. Through the recitation of this mantra, it becomes evident that the beginning of the mantra is imbued with Islamic religious context. Here is the recitation of *Besawai* within the framework of Islam:

Auzubillabhiminassyaitonirrozim
Bismillahirrohmanirrohim
Astaghfirullahal'adzim 3x
Alladdzi lailabaillahuwalbhayyulqoyyumu waatubuilahi Labanlawalakuataillabillabhalilyiladzim
Asybadu an la ilahailla Allah
Waasyhadu anna muhammadarRasulullah
Assalamu'alaikumwarahmatullahiwabarakatub

In the subsequent recitation of *Besawai*, the background shifts to animism, which involves beliefs in spirits.

Wahai penguasa yang ada di aer, tanah ngan kayangan,
Kami mengundang kita segala supaya datang malam ni,
Dalam jamuan kenjongan

It is evident from the recitations or mantras within the *Kenjongan* tradition that they encompass both Islamic religious elements and beliefs rooted in animism. This can be attributed to the fact that the Kutai community is predominantly Islamic; however, they still hold reverence for their ancestral traditions that were once based on animistic perspectives.

The recitations of the *Tamar* healing tradition, when analyzed from the perspective of mantra structure, can be categorized as mantras. Here is the analysis based on the first characteristic of a mantra, which is end rhyme. This end rhyme aspect infuses the words within the mantra with a mystical tonal rhythm.

Bismillahirrohmanirrohim
Aku tabu asal racun
Anak elat asam racun
Seri manik yang menawar
Jin Semlut yang punya tawar
Berkat Laillabaillallah hu Muhammadarrasullullah

The end rhyme in the recitation of "Tawar Racun" or "Bisa" is evident in the first line with the word "racun". The same word "racun" is reiterated in the second line, establishing an end rhyme. Consequently, the sound "un" serves as the end rhyme in both the first and second lines. Moving to the third and fourth lines, the words "menawar" and "tawar" are used, signifying that the end rhyme in these lines features the sound "war."

Internal rhyme also exists within the composition. It's found in the word "asal" in the first line, and in the second line, it's present with the word "asam." Similarly, in the third and fourth lines, the repetition of the word "yang" demonstrates the presence of internal rhyme.

The repeated word "racun" and the phrase "tawar and menawar" are examples of words that contain rhyme. The sounds created by these repetitions are among the characteristics of a mantra, the meaning of which holds mystical value.

The second characteristic is that the meaning of the word contains persuasion or a threat. The following is a quote from *Tawar's* speech, which includes both persuasion and a threat. *Tawar* containing words of enticement or challenge is usually employed to heal individuals who are possessed. For instance, possession by spirits or "Hantu Urang" (in the Kutai language) or "Hantu Kayang" (in the Banjar language). Even though these types of spirits originate from humans, their souls can also enter the bodies of other humans. On the other hand, in the case of commands, *Tawar* is generally utilized for healing caused by wind or similar factors. The following is an example of *Tawar* that contains commands.

Ablunlunauludin
Turun bisamu, naek tawarku
Lepi bisamu, naek sekalian tawarku
Aku kawa menawar, kawa doaku

The quoted *Tawar* speech excerpt for individuals stung by scorpions is as follows: In the third line, the phrase 'lepi bisamu' in the Kutai language translates to 'lepaskan bisa kamu' in English, which means 'release your venom'. The term 'lepi bisamu' functions as a command to the scorpion's venom or poison, urging it to dissipate or vanish. According to *Penawar* (The Healer), the scorpion's venom comprehends what is spoken by *Penawar*. In the fourth line, the phrase 'Aku kawa menawar, kawa doaku' which translates to 'I can offer, I can also pray' carries threatening implications directed towards the scorpion's venom or poison.

The third characteristic of a mantra is the utilization of carefully selected words believed to possess mystical or supernatural power. This is also evident in '*Tawar*.' Here is a quoted excerpt from a *Tawar* speech for the ailment '*Polong*,' where the words contain mystical or supernatural strength. The '*Polong*' ailment is almost similar to '*Tawar Sugang*,' albeit more dangerous, and it is perceived as being caused by witchcraft (black magic).

Bismilahirrohmanirrohim
Besi putih waja Rasulallah
Awaq kejadian polong tembalan
Awaq melangkah awaq mati
Awaq menyerodok awaq mati
Jika awaq makan rembagan Adam, awaq kubancurkan tega habu andalas
Allabummabalikia, summa balik, summadia
Barang siapa sifat durhaka kepada umat Nabi Muhammad durbakalah
kepada Allah
Tabu aku asal mulamu jadi urimah raja gangsa dating daripada Nabi
Allah Sulaiman
Berkat Lailabaillallah Muhammadurrasullullah

In this '*Tawar Polong*', the words believed to possess mystical power are primarily found in the opening and closing statements of the offering, namely: "*Bismilahirrohmanirrohim*" and "*Berkat Lailabaillallah Muhammadurrasullullah*". Additionally, the words '*Allabummabalikia, summa balik, summadia*' are also present.

All these words are distinctly rooted in the Islamic religion, and within the Islamic community, they are indeed believed to hold inherent strength. Additionally, there are words considered to possess inherent power, such as the phrase '*Besi putih waja Rasulullah, rembagan Adam, aku asal mulamu jadi urimah raja gangsa dating daripada Nabi Allah Sulaiman*'. All these words are believed to carry mystical significance.

Among these three characteristics of incantations, all utterances within the healing offering tradition possess them. Hence, it can be concluded that the healing offering practice of the Kutai ethnic group falls under the category of incantatory forms.

The practice of offering (*Tawar*) within the Kutai society continues to serve a purpose up to the present day, particularly among Kutai communities residing in rural areas or villages distant from urban centers. The practical approach of offering as a remedy for minor illnesses keeps this tradition alive within the community. The oral form of offering that persists within the society predominantly carries an Islamic religious background. Therefore, its utilization remains relevant in treating minor illnesses within the community, as there is no conflict inherent in its practice. This is in contrast to the healing offering ritual accompanied by cultural traditions like '*Kenjongan*' or '*Bekenjong*' which involve a blend of Islamic religion and animism. The presence of animistic beliefs in these traditions has led to a decline in the practice of the *Kenjongan* or *Bekenjong* healing traditions, particularly among the Kutai community members who possess a solid understanding of the Islamic faith.

On the other hand, healthcare services within the community have shown improvement and become more accessible. Health centers (*Puskesmas*) are abundant throughout the area, and there is also a significant number of doctors operating private practices. As a result, healthcare services have become readily available to the population. Naturally, this development has led to a reduction in the number of individuals within the community seeking treatment through the traditional offering method.

5. Closing

The discourse of the healing offering ritual of the Kutai ethnic group represents a form of incantation within ancient Indonesian poetry. The characteristics inherent to incantations are also present in the discourse of the traditional offering tradition, including end rhymes, content comprising entreaties or commands, and the inclusion of words believed to possess mystical power. The healing offering ritual of the Kutai ethnic group is conducted to treat mild illnesses and supernatural ailments, such as headaches, stomachaches, toothaches, high fevers, '*angin duduk*' (a traditional concept of trapped wind causing discomfort), bites from venomous creatures, and cases of malevolent sorcery or witchcraft.

The traditional healing offering of the Kutai ethnic group represents one of the choices embraced by the Kutai community to deal with the ailments they encounter. This inclination does not primarily result from the lower level of education among the Kutai people. Instead, their decisions originate from the fact that this healing offering is a cultural legacy passed down from their forebears. Coincidentally, certain aspects of this offering tradition align with their practiced religion, Islam. Therefore, as long as these traditional offering practices do not contradict their beliefs or religion, they will persist. Unlike *Kenjongan* or *Bekenjong*, the tradition of offering (*Tawar*) derives its form from the amalgamation of underlying beliefs and the Islamic faith. The execution of this practice has declined, or it could be stated that it is rarely performed. Nevertheless, whether in the form of oral renditions without traditional instruments or offerings accompanied by cultural rituals, it still retains significance within Kutai society. This remains valid for the Kutai communities residing in Kutai Kartanegara Regency, Kutai Timur Regency, as well as Kutai Barat Regency. The tradition of offerings continues to be active within their society.

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