

Cultural Expressions of Purity through Religious and Traditional Symbols in Sarawak's Ethnic Heritage

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the pivotal role of purity in ritual practices among the ethnic communities of Sarawak, emphasising how these practices shape symbolic expressions and foster social cohesion. Grounded in the theory of purity, the research examines how rituals utilise symbols such as unblemished rice, white cloths, and sacrificial animals to bridge the human-spiritual divide. A qualitative ethnographic approach was employed, involving in-depth interviews with forty cultural practitioners from various groups, including the Iban, Salako, Kadayan, Malay, and Penan. Data collection also included participant observation and direct documentation of rituals within these communities. The findings demonstrate that purity functions as a unifying motif across diverse ritual contexts, facilitating divine favour, reinforcing cultural identities, and alleviating social tensions. Specific rituals such as the Kadayan (*Makan Tahun*), Salako (*Nyangahant*), Penan (*Pakan*), Malay (*Tepung Tawar*), and Iban (*Sabak Bebuah*) illustrate how the emphasis on pure offerings underscores the belief that spiritual harmony depends on symbolic perfection. This research contributes to the development of a culturally grounded framework referred to as the theory of purity that explicates how rituals sustain cultural identity and promote social harmony. It underscores the importance of understanding symbolic systems, ritual performance, and indigenous practices within anthropological scholarship, especially in the context of cultural resilience amid modern challenges. The paper concludes with a call for further research into the impact of modernisation on traditional rituals across Southeast Asia.

Keywords: Divine, ritual, symbols, Sarawak culture, traditional and religious

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INTRODUCTION

Since ancient times, rituals have served as sacred practices that celebrate and reinforce the religious and cultural identities of societies. Rituals encompass a sequence of words, gestures, and actions

performed in a prescribed order, tailored to specific occasions. (Turner, 1967) also defines “rituals” as ceremonial acts where customary actions are systematically enacted, emphasising their role in social and religious frameworks. These practices vary widely, encompassing types such as worship rites, funerals, marriages, coronations, and rites of passage, each carrying distinct symbols that convey meaning within a community. The regional rituals are determined by social traditions, which are also influenced by a religious society. In culture and social anthropology, rituals are understood as expressions of collective values, cosmological systems, and mechanisms for maintaining societal balance (Ahmed, 2022). For example, various ethnic groups in Sarawak include medicinal plants in their traditional healing practices and incorporate these rituals into their cultural heritage (Bakar et al., 2023). These various types of ritual, whether social, religious, or involving offerings, dance, or sacred objects, act as a channel of spiritual and communal significance. Understanding the symbols is crucial to interpreting the meaning and purpose of rituals, which is most significant among different types of rituals. During worship rituals, symbols such as altars or incense frequently signify divine connection. Meanwhile, in funerary rituals, items such as white cloths or specific foods signify purity and the transition to the afterlife (Turner, 1980). However, rings or woven mats symbolise unity and commitment in marriage ceremonies; the rituals of passage serve as an opening ritual,

with objects such as masks and tattoos marking the transition to a new stage of belonging.

In Sarawak, the ethnic diversity of groups such as Iban, Bidayuh, and Melanau is reflected in symbols like rice, pigs, and dance movements that represent local beliefs and traditions (Chong et al., 2017). Researchers such as Rossano (2012) and Magiman (2011), asserts that symbols inspire gratitude, promote community unity, and represent spiritual energies, bringing practitioners closer to their cultural and cosmological roots. Throughout these various types of rituals, symbols play a vital role in providing valuable insights into the religious, social, and historical backgrounds of traditional communities. This study examines the role of purity in Sarawak’s rituals, aiming to explore how divine, religious, and traditional concepts, framed by the theory of purity, shape the practices of ethnic groups and their significance for community cohesion and identity preservation, based on a decade of ethnographic research.

Rituals in Sarawak

Sarawak, one of Malaysia’s largest states, is home to nearly 34 indigenous ethnic groups, each contributing to a rich tapestry of cultural and ritual diversity. The diversity emerges from socialisation processes that intertwine ethnic traditions with broader societal norms. Data for this study were gathered over a decade of observing rituals among major groups like the Malay, Melanau, Iban, and Bidayuh, as well as smaller communities

such as the Penan, Salako, and Kadayan. Christianity predominates as the largest religion in Sarawak, yet indigenous rituals remain deeply symbolic, interconnected, and reliant on objects or actions that carry significant meaning.

Theory of Purity

The theory of Symbolic Purity was developed based on the earlier studies of Turner (1957, 1967, and 1969) and Douglas (2023). Turner conceptualised rituals as social processes essential for maintaining social structure, socialising individuals, and resolving conflicts to ensure communal well-being. Douglas, meanwhile, examined symbols within ritual practices, interpreting them as rules that signify cleanliness and impurity. Based on these studies, Magiman (2013) identified gaps that required further exploration, particularly in research on ethnic minorities in Sarawak. These gaps pertained to contemporary lifestyle patterns and the cultural understandings reflected in their rituals. To address them, the theory of Symbolic Purity was introduced, emphasizing the forms of purity in ritual practices, with particular attention to execution methods and the equipment used. This theory highlights a supplementary element overlooked by Turner and Douglas, who primarily viewed rituals as social dramas embedded with symbols. It thus represents a logical extension of their concepts, as evidenced by the presence of elements of symbolic purity in every ritual. Furthermore, it encompasses all aspects of ritual practice, from material preparation to

implementation, ensuring that each ritual successfully mediates and resolves social conflicts while reinforcing cultural values and maintaining social cohesion.

After a decade of research, Magiman et al. (2020b) introduced the theory of purity, building upon Turner's theories (1957, 1967, & 1969) and extending the purity symbol model first developed in 2012. Turner and Abrahams (1995) described rituals as dramatic social processes essential for survival, whereas Magiman, and Yatim (2012) built upon Turner's (1967) ritual structure, emphasising the role of meaningful symbols. The theory of purity claims that symbols used in rituals must be flawless and free of defects or impurities to secure divine blessings. For example, in the Salako's *Nyangahant* ritual, a pig offered as a sacrifice must be visually perfect and disease-free. Similarly, in Kadayan's *Makan Tahun* ritual, the rice used symbolically must be harvested from the designated year of the ritual. Although the practices differ, both groups perform them to obtain God's blessings, believing that purity provides the solution to every problem. According to Magiman et al. (2020b), every problem and crisis can be resolved by seeking God's peace through performing rituals guided by the concept of purity. Moreover, many rituals symbolise purity and are interconnected, with their symbols closely reflecting this concept. The theory is structured around three key components, as shown in Figure 1. Animism reflects the concept of deities and religious beliefs. Magiman further explained that its components are

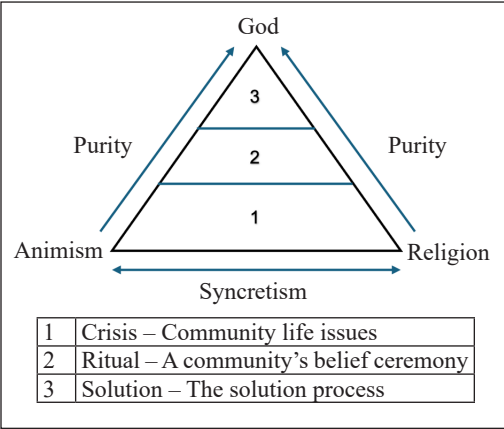


Figure 1. Theory of purity symbols (Adnan, et al, 2023)

divided into divinity, traditional beliefs, and religion. This theory emphasises a cycle of crisis, ritual performance, and resolution, in which purity-based practices help address social tensions and restore harmony.

Divinity

Divinity, a core component of the theory of purity, centers on the concept of a supreme deity underpinning all rituals. In Sarawak’s Iban community, the *Gawai Antu* ritual honours ancestral spirits in favor of *Petara*, the supreme god. Offerings like rice and chicken must be meticulously prepared to ensure purity, reflecting the belief that divine acceptance hinges on flawless execution Langub (2023). Recent studies, such as Paranjothy (2024) and Smith, (2024), emphasize how divinity in rituals globally reinforces communal trust in a higher power, aligning with the Iban’s practices and extending to groups like the Bidayuh and Orang Ulu, who share similar reverence for purity despite differing deity names.

Traditional Beliefs

The role of top-down belief Irving et al. (2024) in fostering social cohesion and managing anxiety during naturally occurring collective ritual is a central focus. These beliefs, often rooted in cultural or societal norms, influence individuals’ behaviors and emotional responses during such rituals. Traditional beliefs passed down from ancestors create an intangible yet enduring foundation for Sarawak’s rituals, motivating communities to engage in practices that cultivate divine peace and blessings throughout their lives. Recent studies (Smith & Johnson, 2023) have demonstrated how these ancestral traditions preserve cultural identity worldwide, echoing Sarawakian practices where rituals connect the past and present through symbolic continuity.

Religion

Religion influences rituals as a foundation for the afterlife or to achieve well-being in the present, fostering harmony within communities that place a strong emphasis on divine rewards for good deeds. Christianity and indigenous faiths coexist in Sarawak, and everyone reinforces the concept of purity through structured practices. Recent research by Patel (2014) highlights how rituals foster moral unity around the world, a principle that is evident in Sarawak’s diverse yet cohesive ritual landscape.

Although the community acknowledges the importance of intention and spiritual honesty, the theory of purity places a strong emphasis on the integrity of ritual components. During difficult times, such as

illness, financial difficulties, or a pandemic, regulations can be loosened while still being deemed sufficient if they are applied with genuine zeal. The spirit of the sacred is preserved in some communities through symbolic sacrifices, rather than actual ones. Because of this adaptability, rituals are less inflexible and more inclusive of changing populations.

METHODS

Research Design

This study employs a qualitative method grounded in ethnography, an approach that examines human behavior within its social and cultural context. It facilitates an in-depth exploration of people's experiences in everyday life, making it ideal for analysing the concept of purity in Iban cultural rituals. The researcher gathered data through a combination of in-depth interviews and participant observation, which enabled close observation of rituals and captured subtle details in actions, symbols, and meanings.

The Selection of Research

Participants were chosen through a purposive sampling, focussing on cultural practitioners directly involved in ritual performance across Sarawak's diverse ethnic groups, including Malay, Melanau, Iban, Bidayuh, Penan, Salako, and Kadayan. These individuals, often referred to as leaders in rituals, elders, or traditional healers, were aged between 30 and 75 years and comprised both men and women, reflecting the diverse roles within their communities. Selection criteria based on the

in-depth knowledge of their group's rituals, ensuring the relevance of the data. In this study, 40 participants were interviewed, ensuring representation from each of the major ethnic groups. Additionally, the researcher observed ritual ceremonies across these communities, documenting practices such as offerings, dances, and purification rites to supplement the interview data.

Through the Interview Method

In this study, most data were collected through in-depth, semi-structured interviews, with additional insights gained from participant observation over twelve to fifteen years. Interviews were conducted at the participants' convenience, often in community settings such as longhouses or during ritual events, with durations ranging from one to three hours. Using a semi-structured approach allowed the researcher to tailor questions to each group's distinct practices, enabling a deeper exploration of the researcher's rationale for practitioners' experiences, beliefs, and the symbolic significance of rituals. For instance, practitioners from Iban were questioned about the *Gawai Antu*, whereas Salako participants discussed the sacrificial elements of the *Nyangahant* ritual. Multiple interviews were conducted within the same ethnic group to account for variations in practice and perspective, with immediate post-interview recordings (via audio and detailed notes) ensuring accuracy. Observations spanned multiple ceremonies per group, providing a longitudinal view of ritual consistency and change. This

prolonged engagement, averaging two or three years per major ethnic group, enriched the dataset and supported its use for future academic reference.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was guided by the theory of purity, which frames rituals as acts seeking divine peace and well-being using symbolically pure elements. In this study, thematic analysis was used to identify, organise, and interpret the data. Initially, transcripts of the interview were systematically coded to emphasise recurring themes, such as divinity, purity, and community harmony. For example, references to flawless sacrificial animals or specific rice types were grouped under “purity symbols.” Second, these themes were cross-checked against the theoretical framework to assess their alignment with practitioners’ intentions and beliefs. To ensure authenticity, data were triangulated by comparing interview responses with observation findings and, where possible, validated through discussion with another practitioner from the same group. Gained a more profound understanding of the underlying meaning of the ritual performance and how purity is central to its spiritual and social significance through this iterative process.

Duration of Study

This study follows a phased research timeline of twelve to fifteen years, reflecting an organised approach to the research process. The initial years (2008-2013)

focussed on building trust with communities, conducting preliminary observations, and identifying key informants. The subsequent phases (2014-2020) involved intensive data collection, with the researcher spending 6-12 months each year in Sarawak, rotating among different ethnic groups. For instance, two years were dedicated to the Iban, which included multiple *Gawai Antu* observations, while shorter periods of 6 to 8 months sufficed for smaller ethnic groups, such as the Penan. The final years (2021-2023) refined data through follow-up interviews and analysis, ensuring comprehensive coverage across groups.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical integrity was paramount, given the study’s focus on Indigenous communities and their spiritual practices. Before commencing fieldwork, approval was obtained from the Institutional Ethics Review Board affiliated with the researcher’s academic Institution. Informed consent was secured from all participants, and verbal and written explanations were provided in the local languages, Malay and Iban, to ensure comprehension. Participants were informed of the study’s purpose, their right to withdraw, and the intended use of data, including the potential for publication, while sensitive content was excluded unless approved. Cultural sensitivity was maintained by respecting ritual protocols, such as refraining from interrupting ceremonies and adhering to community dress codes, thus ensuring the research honoured participants’ traditions and beliefs.

RESULTS

This study, spanning a decade of ethnographic research by Mohamad Maulana, examines the rituals of Sarawak's diverse ethnic groups: Penan and Salako, Iban, Melanau, Kadayan, and Malay, through the lens of the theory of purity. In Sarawak, 34 indigenous groups showcase a rich tapestry of rituals intertwined with social traditions and religious beliefs, predominantly Christianity, yet rooted in indigenous cosmologies. The theory of purity, developed by Magiman (2023), posits that rituals hinge on flawless symbols to secure divine blessing, resolving crises and fostering communal harmony. Findings reveal three interconnected elements: divine, religious, and traditional, underpinning these elements, analysing their social, spiritual, and cultural functions, drawing comparative insights, and culminating in a synthesis of symbols' roles.

The Divine Element

The divine element reflects a universal belief in a supreme deity transcending human comprehension, shaping rituals across Sarawak's ethnic groups. Practitioners view divinity as a source of protection and well-being, with rituals designed to align with god's will. Just as Keane (2003) highlights the semiotic importance of material objects in ritual as carriers of social and spiritual meanings, in Borneo, these tangible artifacts are vital in reinforcing religious belief and societal values. For the Kadayan, the *Makan Tahun* ritual involves rice distribution accompanied by *Yasin* recitations, seeking

Allah SWT's blessings for economic stability. A Kadayan elder explained, "the rice must be from this year's harvest, pure and untouched to carry out prayers to god". Similarly, the Melanau Likow's Serarang ritual (Figure 2) invokes *Ipok*, a sea-protecting deity, through offerings at sacred coastal sites, ensuring abundant catches for fishermen. The Iban's *Gawai Antu* honors *Petara* via purified offerings like rice and chicken, as an ap practitioner noted, "*Petara* only accepts what is clean; it's our way to stay blessed".

Comparatively, the Salako's *Nyangahant* (Figure 3) and Penan's *Pakan* (Figure 4) use animal sacrifices, pigs and chickens slaughtered with precision to maintain purity, appealing to *Jubata* and *Ratalak*, respectively. Unlike monotheistic Kadayan practices, these polytheistic rituals reflect a broader Southeast Asian pattern, akin to Dayak rituals in Kalimantan, where multiple deities govern specific domains (Turner, 1967). The theory of purity applies here as a framework: flawless symbols (disease-free animals) bridge the human-divine divide, reinforcing spiritual authority and communal resilience against crises like famine or storms.

Religious Elements

Religious elements in Sarawak's rituals blend indigenous beliefs with organized faiths, adapting to community needs like marriage, illness, or death. (Casey, 2021) Notes religion's fluidity, a view echoed by (Shokeran & Magiman, 2019), who highlight how penan rituals prioritise

performance over texts, unlike Islamic practices among the Kadayan. The Malay *Tepung Tawar* (Figure 5) at weddings exemplifies this, with *Pak Imam* reciting

prayers over flour mixed with flowers and gold (Figure 5), symbolising purity for marital longevity. A Malay official stated, “The flour must be untainted; it carries



(a)



(b)

Figure 2. Melanau Likaw (Serarang): (a) Delivery from Serarang to Ipok; and (b) Kubo Beliseng is the sacred house for Ipok



(a)



(b)

Figure 3. Salako (Nyangahant): (a) Tuha Adat is reciting a mantra to invoke Jubata; and (b) Tuha Adat assistant is reciting apply for permission to use the area to perform the Nyangahant ritual



Figure 4. Penan (*Pakan*): (a) Presentation to *Ratalak*; and (b) the traditional chief reads the *Mentera* as an offering to *Ratalak*



Figure 5. Malay (*Tepung Tawar*): (a) Flowers are used as an ingredient in plain flour; and (b) finished unsalted flour

our hopes to Allah”. In contrast, the Iban’s *Sabak Bebuah* ritual uses white cloth (Figure 6) to purify the deceased’s spirit, easing its heavenly journey, a practice rooted in animism yet influenced by Christianity’s emphasis on sanctity (Geertz, 1973).

These rituals show how ancient belief systems and modern religions continue to interact. For example, Malay *Tepung Tawar* keeps some animist traditions, like using fresh flour and flower petals, but also includes Islamic blessings. Similarly, the Iban *Sabak Bebuah* ceremony uses white cloth to purify the spirit, combining traditional knowledge

of spiritual transformation with Christian ideas of sanctity. This blend of traditions highlights how rituals can bring together older and newer beliefs.

Comparatively, Kadayan *Makan Tahun* and Malay *Tepung Tawar* align with Islamic purity norms, while Iban and Salako rituals retain pre-Christian animistic cores, paralleling Sulawesi’s Toraja funeral rites, where purity ensures spiritual passage (Magiman et al., 2020). The theory of purity illuminates how religious leaders, whether *Ustaz* or *Tuha Adat*, enforce ritual standards, mediating divine favour to



Figure 6. Iban (*Sabak Bebuah*) : (a) *Tukang Sabak* is reciting a mantra to invoke *Petara*; and (b) The ceremony to pay last respect in *Sabak Bebuah* ceremony

address social needs, from marital stability to communal mourning.

Symbolic purity is considered essential for ritual efficacy, which is why untainted items such as flour, coconut, and white cloths are emphasised. Practitioners believe these components serve as spiritual currency, conveying sincerity to the deity. The notion that purity is not only aesthetically pleasing but also vital for divine interaction is supported by the fact that failing to meet these standards is often seen as disrespectful and spiritually meaningless, to highlight the importance of purity in fostering meaningful divine engagement (Whitehouse, 2024).

Traditional Elements

Traditional elements anchor Sarawak's rituals in inherited customs, promoting peace amid environmental and social challenges. The Salako *Nyangahant* (Figure 7) uses

pigs and chickens, slaughtered uniquely without severing arteries, as offerings to *Jubata*, symbolising purity and gratitude. A Salako practitioner remarked, "The chicken's life is given whole to *Jubata*; it must be perfect" (Interview, 2018). Dishes such as chicken prepared perfectly in the *Nyangahant* ritual serve as a nonverbal symbol of purity and gratitude, reinforcing communal bonds (Chelum et al., 2023). However, the Iban *Sabak Bebuah* employs *sapat* (white cloth) and animal leaps over corpses for purification. At the same time, the Kadayan's *Makan Tahun* (Figure 8) uses rice-based *kelupis* to signify sincerity (Keti et al., 2019). The Penan's *Pakan* incorporates grated coconut (Salleh et al., 2020), reflecting purity of intent.

These practices mirror broader Bornean traditions, such as the Bidayuh's use of rice in cleansing rites, yet differ in their execution. Salako's bloodless slaughter



Figure 7. Salako (*Nyangahant*): (a) Uses pigs; and (b) chickens in the ritual



Figure 8. Kadayan (*Makan Tahun*): *Kelupis* to signify sincerity

contrasts with Iban’s visceral offerings. The theory of purity ties these to social cohesion: pure symbols resolve conflicts like land disputes by invoking divine oversight, aligning with (Magiman & Nordin, 2021), the View of cultural norms as communal stabilisers.

Discussion of Symbols

Symbols in Sarawak’s rituals, such as rice, animals, cloth, and flour, transcend mere objects, embodying purity as a conduit to the divine, religious, and traditional realms. Rice in *Makan Tahun* (Kadayan) and

coconut in *Pakan* (Penan) signify sincerity, paralleling Southeast Asian rice cults where crops link humans to gods (Douglas, 2003). Animals in *Nyangahant* (Salako) and *Gawai Antu* (Iban) signify sacrifice, their perfection ensuring acceptance, a motif shared with Balinese Hindu offerings. Cloth in *Sabak Bebuah* (Iban) and flour in *Tepung Tawar* (Malay) purify the transitions between death and marriage, reflecting the role of purity in life cycle rites across the region. Politically, these symbols reinforce authority, as seen in *Tuha Adat*’s role, while spiritually, they mediate crises, aligning with (Ahmed, 2022) Cosmic symbolism. Leaders of the Salako customary group, such as *Tuha Adat*, uphold the purity of *Nyangahant* symbols through the management of rituals, ensuring cultural continuity. Their consistent requirement for purity underscores a universal intent: to secure blessings, protection, and harmony, while validating the theory that purity has analytical power.

Modern and Continuity

Rituals continue to evolve in Sarawak, remaining relevant as communities adapt

to modern life. Certain ethnic groups have begun using videos or in-person appearances at cultural festivals to document their rituals. Schools, colleges, and universities enable their young people to host seminars on traditional beliefs. Rituals such as the *Sabak Bebuah* of the Iban and the *Makan Tahun* are preserved and remain accessible in a modern setting due to this adoption. Such innovations demonstrate the ongoing significance of rituals. Rice, flour, and white cloth exemplify symbols that serve more than merely ceremonial purposes; they also help to codify social identity and generational memory. Frequently crafted by hand and cherished within families, the fabrics used in Iban funerals function as both tangible artifacts and cultural narratives. In *Makan Tahun*, rice is more than just a food item; it is harvested ceremoniously and embodies communal and seasonal cycles. In an era of rapid modernisation, these artifacts maintain spiritual continuity and foster a sense of belonging.

CONCLUSION

This study has illuminated the central role of purity in shaping the rituals of Sarawak's ethnic groups, demonstrating how divine, religious, and traditional elements, framed by the theory of purity, underpin their practices and significance. Over a decade of ethnographic research reveals that purity, embodied in flawless symbols like rice in the Kadayan *Makan Tahun*, pigs in Salako *Nyangahant*, and white cloths in the Iban *Sabak Bebuah*, serves as a conduit for divine blessings, religious adaptation, and

traditional continuity. These rituals align with Turner's view of ceremonial acts as social mediators and Geertz's interpretation of symbols as cultural expressions, resolving crises and reinforcing community cohesion across Sarawak's 34 indigenous groups.

The findings show that divine elements, such as *Petara's* favour in the Iban *Gawai Antu*, hinge on pure offerings to ensure protection, while religious elements, like the Malay *Tepung Tawar's* untainted flour, adapt purity to Islamic norms for marital stability. Traditional elements, exemplified by the Penan's coconut in *Pakan*, anchor rituals in ancestral customs and promote harmony amid challenges. The theory of purity unifies these dimensions, highlighting how impeccable symbols bridge human and spiritual realms, fostering identity preservation by documenting Sarawak's ritual heritage and sustainability against the threats of modernisation (Rozaimie et al., 2023) and scholarship by enriching ritual studies with a localised yet regionally resonant framework. Future research could compare Sarawak's purity-driven rituals with those of other Southeast Asian Indigenous groups, such as the Toraja, or utilise quantitative methods to assess the impact of participation on cohesion. Investigating the effects of globalisation on these practices could enhance their vitality in the future. The changing roles of spiritual leaders, such as *Tuah Adat*, the *Pak Imam*, and the ritual elder, have dual roles as both religious authorities and cultural guardians, as indicated by their evolving roles in Sarawak. They now have responsibilities to

extend beyond ceremonial enforcement and encompass the protection of the collective identity. As spiritual leaders, they continue to conduct rituals such as *Makan Tahun* within the Kadayan community, where their profound spiritual understanding ensures that they adhere to the divine precepts. They also serve as stewards of cultural continuity, conserving sacred artefacts such as Iban *Pua Kumbu* along with oral traditions, songs, and ritual knowledge that have been passed down through the ages. By adapting rituals to today's religious pluralism and promoting syncretic practices that both uphold tradition and embrace contemporary contexts, these leaders are actively engaged in educating the new generation. Despite obstacles such as migration, resource scarcity, and generational divides, their work remains vital. They are essential for maintaining the rich ritual and ethnic heritage of Sarawak in a rapidly changing cultural landscape, provided that they receive institutional support.

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Author Contributions

Conceptualisation, M.M.M. and A.K.M.; methodology, M.M.M.; software, A.K.M. and M.M.M.; validation, M.M.M., A.K.M. and F.A.B.; formal analysis, M.M.M. and A.K.M.; investigation, M.M.M. and A.K.M.;

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Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest. The funders had no role in the design of the study; in the collection, analyses, or interpretation of data; in the writing of the manuscript; or in the decision to publish the results”.

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