

PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt / Egyptology

TABOO AND ITS VIOLATIONS: THE DYNAMICS OF INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS OF MA'ANYAN DAYAK SOCIETY IN TWO FOLKTALES

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Katharina Dike Sovia Luci, Suminto A. Sayuti, Suwarsih Madya, Taboo And Its Violations: The Dynamics Of Intercultural Relations Of Ma'anyan Dayak Society In Two Folktales – Palarch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology 17(9) (2020). ISSN 1567-214X.

Keywords: Folktale, Intercultural Sensitivity, Ethnocentric, Ethnorelative, Taboo

ABSTRACT:

The purpose of this paper is to find out the patterns of cultural interaction between the Ma'anyan Dayak ethnic group and other ethnic groups as revealed in the folktales of the Ma'anyan Dayaks. Bennett et al.'s theory of the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) is used as a research framework to observe the stages of intercultural relations, namely the ethnocentric stages and the ethnorelative stages. The field study method used to collect data where the author goes to the field to meet the informants of the native Ma'anyan Dayaks to record, transcribe, and translate the folktales. The method used to analyze the data is in the form of qualitative analysis with the subject of the study of the Ma'anyan Dayak, Banjar, and Javanese ethnic groups. The results of this study indicate that in the history of their early civilization, the Ma'anyan Dayak faced problems in intercultural relations with other ethnicities. There is a historical phase in which the relationship encountered severe resistance at the ethnocentric stage because of the strong "*padi*" prohibitions or taboos relating to infidelity. However, at another historical phase, the Ma'anyan Dayak ethnic group could enter the ethnorelative stages that can accept the presence of other ethnicities. Nevertheless, we note that the "*padi*" and taboo remain firmly rooted in the souls of the Ma'anyan Dayaks. The second message of the folktales is that there are always boundaries (taboos) that should not be violated.

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a pluralistic country, consisting of various ethnicities, religions, tribes, races, and groups of people, which are spread from Sabang to Merauke. In the 2005 UNESCO convention, namely the Convention on The Protection and Promotion of The Diversity of Cultural Expressions, it was stated that cultural diversity is a cultural wealth that reveals the differences in expression that exist in the cultural groups of society (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2005). Indonesia is like a garden overgrown with various colorful flowers. However, if this diversity is not managed properly, conflicts will easily break out (Dike et al., 2020). Strengthening ethnic consciousness in many countries can have destructive

consequences, namely resistance to the domination of the state or other ethnic groups. Millions of lives have been lost and many people have suffered as a result of these battles, including the clash of civilizations (Taum, 2016).

The Dayak ethnic is one of the major ethnicities in Indonesia, known as the indigenous people of Kalimantan Island. Based on the similarity of customary law, J. Mallinckrodt classifies the Dayak ethnic into six groups, which are: the Iban family, the Apokayan family (i.e. the Kayan Dayak, Kenyah, and Bahau), the Ot Danum-Ngaju family, the Murut family, the Punan family, and the last is Kalimantan family (Lontaan, 1975). The Dayak ethnic groups have similar cultural characteristics, including longhouses, material cultural items such as pottery, *mandau* 'Dayak sword', blowpipe, *beliung* 'Dayak ax', views of nature, livelihoods (i.e. traditional swidden agriculture) and dance, although they are divided into several groups and around 405 sub-groups (Luci et al., 2020). They also share one indigenous religion, that is, Kaharingan (Hidayat, 2019).

The Ma'anyan Dayak ethnic group is part of the Ot Danum-Ngaju family, which inhabits all regions of the Dayaks in Central Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, Southern East Kalimantan, and Southeast West Kalimantan (Sellato & Soriente, 2015; Hamjen, 2015). However, the Ma'anyan Dayak mostly inhabits the area of East Barito Regency, Central Kalimantan Province of Indonesia. Based on the names of the big rivers where the Dayak groups lived, Bernard Sellato classifies the Ma'anyan Dayak into the Barito family (Sellato, 1989). Some studies prove that the Ma'anyan Dayak is a formidable seafarer, even able to sail as far as Madagascar in Africa. The study also proved the similarity of language between Malagasy and Ma'anyan Dayaks (Suriansyah, 2004).

Historical facts show that cultural diversity often builds blocks that can cause tension, conflict, and even war. This is because people tend to be divided into a primordial bond. Primordial bonds are fundamentally rooted in the basic identities possessed by members of an ethnic group, such as physical appearance, name, language and customs, religion or belief, history, and origin. This basic identity is a source of reference for members of an ethnic group in their social interactions. Therefore, basic identity is a very basic and general reference and becomes the basic framework for the realization of an ethnic group (Issacs, 1993). In this interaction, actors from various ethnic groups will realize that there are group differences between them. The basic identity then becomes a differentiator between the various ethnic groups that are interacting.

In its history, the Dayaks have repeatedly faced problems related to intercultural relations or inter-ethnic relations. The most terrible event and took the most victims occurred in 1967, which is called the *Peristiwa Mangkok Merah 1967*, "Red Bowl Incident 1967." During this incident, the Dayak ethnic group attacked, killed, and expelled the settlement of ethnic Chinese in the interior of West Kalimantan. This incident is a very big human tragedy in the history of the Dayaks (Superman, 2017).

The Dayaks people joined the military forces claiming they wanted to eradicate *Pasukan Gerilya Rakyat Sarawak* (PGRS), meaning the Sarawak People's Guerrilla Forces movement and *Pasukan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara* (Paraku), meaning North Kalimantan People's Forces whose members are predominantly communist Chinese. It should be noted that PGRS-Paraku was originally an

opposition movement to launch *Ganyang Malaysia*, "Beat Malaysia". This indicates political motivation after the 1965 Tragedy.

In 2001, riots between Dayak and Madurese ethnics started in Sampit city in East Kotawaringin regency and then spread throughout the Central Kalimantan province, including the provincial capital of Palangka Raya. Recorded 500 people were killed and 100,000 people were displaced. This inter-ethnics war was motivated by economic and political problems. In this Sampit conflict, a phenomenal *Panglima Burung* is a legendary mythical figure who is believed to be the protector and unifier of the Dayaks that appeared among the Dayak ethnic groups (Retno, 2020).

Furthermore, in 2007, the conflict between Dayak and Bugis ethnics occurred in Nunukan, East Kalimantan province. The Dayak - Bugis conflict was triggered by a problem in the implementation of project tenders within the Nunukan Public Works Office. The Dayak ethnic group, who feel insulted by the Bugis ethnic group, demands that the Bugis pay a fine of 100 cows following the customary law of the Tidung Dayak (Siahaan, 2017). This inter-ethnic conflict was triggered by the struggle for economic access.

The number of conflicts, riots, and wars between the Dayak ethnic groups and other ethnic groups in the history of the Dayaks raises three questions. 1) How are the indications and patterns of intercultural interactions between Dayak ethnic groups and ethnicities from outside? 2) What are the stages that are passed in the intercultural interaction process? 3) How do the models and patterns of intercultural relations change? To answer these questions, this study will examine the indications of local wisdom of the Ma'anyan Dayaks in two folktales, namely the story of Putri Mayang and the story of Nansarunai. From the two folktales, the patterns of intercultural relations and the stages that are passed in the process of inter-ethnic interaction will be examined. From these answers, it will be analyzed the changes in the modes and patterns of intercultural relations between Dayak ethnic groups and other ethnicities.

THEORY AND METHOD

Traditional societies carry out *adat* (customary law) as the main social institution. The *adat* is a determining factor in the social life of traditional people. Mechanisms of the *adat* play an important role in regulating interactions among society members, both internally within an ethnic group and externally with other ethnic groups (Susan, 2014). The societies, especially those who have a multi-ethnic and multi-religious character, need to explore their local wisdom insights to understand the uniqueness of their culture and avoid intercultural tensions.

One of the crucial issues in traditional social life is the difference and even conflict between the *adat* customary institutions of one ethnicity with another. The encounter between one ethnicity and another can carry risks and consequences that are not small, especially because other ethnic groups have different *adat* institutions, philosophies, and values. The question is, how do traditional societies deal with differences in intercultural communication? What is the attitude of the indigenous people towards the presence of other ethnic groups? If there are differences in *adat* customary institutions between two opposite cultures, which customary institution should be followed? How can conflicts and differences be reconciled?

Due to this context, in light of Bennett et al., the stages of intercultural communication involve two main stages, namely the ethnocentric stages and the ethnorelative stages (Bennett et al., 1999). At the ethnocentrism confrontation stages, there are three attitudes in dealing with outside culture, which is: *denial*, *defense*, and *minimisation* (see figure 1). In the *denial* stage, the indigenous population has not yet developed a conceptual category of cultural differences. When indigenous people can realize cultural differences, efforts emerge to maintain their own culture or try to reduce glaring differences and find basic similarity in humans, both in the physical and transcendent realms.

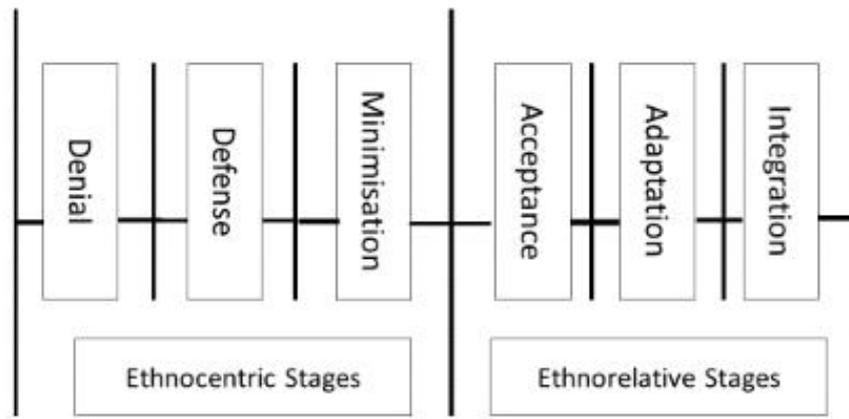


Figure 1. The Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity
Source: Bennett et al. (1999)

At the ethnorelative stages, there are processes of *acceptance*, *adaptation*, and *integration* that dissolves cultural differences. In the acceptance stage, indigenous people develop an understanding of their cultural context so that they can accept the presence of different cultures. Indigenous people can even adapt to outside cultures, if they out of their cultural frameworks and consciously accept outside cultural perspectives. At the peak of its development, cultural integration occurred if the indigenous people developed the ability to accept outside cultures as part of their own identity.

This process shows that humans are not biological beings like other animal species. Humans are cultural beings. As "homo culturalists", humans are a species of the meaning seeker who leads them to discover myth, art, rite, language, science, and all other cultural phenomena (Danesi, 1999). In Driyarkara's words, the world of humans is a world of meanings, a world of relationships, a world of values. Human beings' awareness of themselves, nature, and all reality gives them meaning: a life that lives the physical world (Driyarkara, 2006). Humans are human beings and in that humanity the world has participation. The difference between humans and other animal species lies in the patterns of ideas, values, and character of the society (Benedict, 1959).

The concepts and values of *adat* customary institutions are often revealed in folktales. It can even be said that folktales are part of the traditional social life system that stores the philosophy and cultural values of indigenous people. Folklore and folktale are the most honest projections of society's manifestations (Taum, 2011). Therefore, revealing the philosophy and cultural values of society through folktale is a very important and useful mode of study.

This research method includes the data collection method and data analysis method. In principle, this study uses the qualitative research method in data collection and data analysis. At the data collection stage, the author conducted a field study by collecting data in the form of recorded folktales of the Ma'anyan Dayaks. The author also conducts observations and in-depth interviews with the informants to reveal life experiences, cultural emotions or behaviors, and the meaning of folktales in the range of native speakers' lives and thoughts. This helps in enabling researchers to gain a better understanding of complex concepts, social interactions, or cultural phenomena. In the data analysis stage, the researcher explores how or why something happened, interprets folktales to reveal new information, or creates a deeper understanding of taboos and their violations. Therefore, the researcher used Bennett et al.'s theory and method of The Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity as a research framework to observe the stages of intercultural communication, namely the ethnocentric stages and the ethnorelative stages.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The conflict between the Dayak and Javanese ethnicities is revealed in the folktale of "*Nansarunai*," while the conflict between the Dayak and the Banjar ethnicities is narrated in the folktale "*Putri Mayang*." In these two folktales, there is a pattern or motive that we quickly and easily recognize, namely the "taboo" and "taboo violation" motives.

The term and idea of a "taboo" are derived from a Polynesian language. Taboo is characterized as an aspect of all circumstances in which attitudes towards values are expressed in terms of violent behavior. A taboo has anything to do with "sacredness," anything that could be "forbidden," it can refer to a "person" or an "object," and it can describe things that are "elements" or "devoted" (Essel, 2018).

Ethnocentric Stages: Taboo and the Fall of Nansarunai Kingdom

The story of "Nansarunai" is told about Nansarunai as an ancient kingdom in South Kalimantan. This kingdom belongs to the Ma'anyan Dayaks was led by Raden Anyan who had the title Datu Tantaran Wulau Raden Bapangkat Amas. He was the owner of Mount Pangun Raun. His wife was named Diang Janah with the title Dara Gansa Agung Paur Langit. King Raden Anyan was able to lead the Nansarunai Kingdom well so that the people of his kingdom lived a prosperous and tranquil life. Raden Anyan has great power and strength, like being able to make a drought for 100 years. Drought for 100 years caused the earth to dry up, this happened in *tumpuk Jawa* (Javanese village in literal translation). After her husband Tuan Panayar went sailing, a woman from the Javanese village named Samuning Batu went to the Nansarunai kingdom to look for water.

In the spring, there was a 'physical relationship' between Raden Anyan and Samuning Batu. Samuning Batu gave up her honor as a ransom for her mistake in entering the king's bath in Nansarunai. From that relationship, a baby girl was born who was later named Singkar. Knowing that his wife was in an affair with Raden Anyan until she had a child, Tuan Panayar was furious. Tuan Panayar assisted by a demon king named Tuan Tampirau attacked the Nansarunai Kingdom. The king, queen, and all the inhabitants were killed. Not only that, all traditional equipment and heirlooms were brought to the Javanese village. This image of destruction is called the Nansarunai apocalypse.

A specific study on the Nansarunai story has been conducted (Katharina Dike Sovia Luci, 2020). The characters in the Nansarunai story involve people from the Ma'anyan Dayak and Javanese ethnic groups. The intercultural relations between the main characters of the story can be seen in figure 2 below.

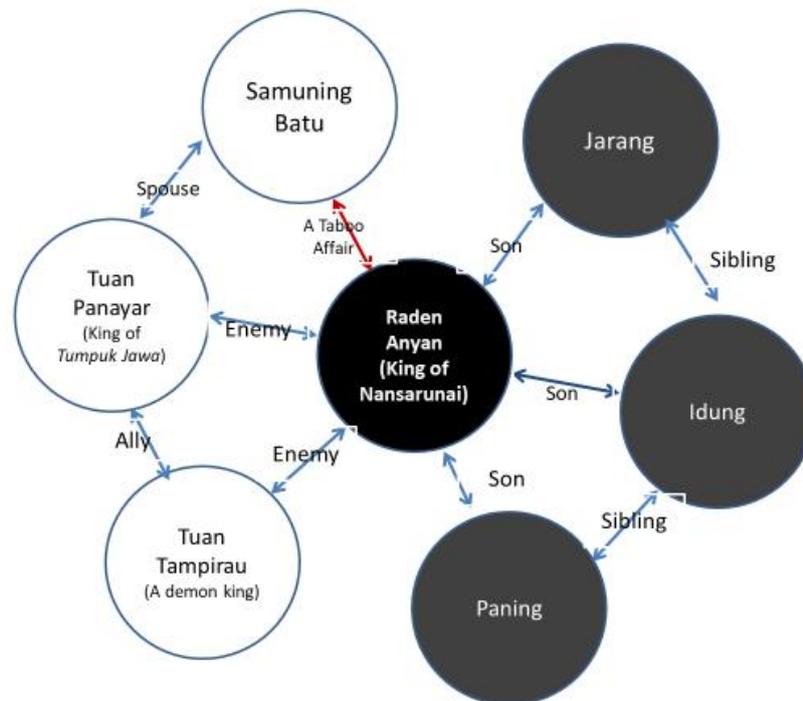


Figure 2. Intercultural Relations of Main Characters in Nansarunai Folktale

The Ma'anyan Dayak people have an informal customary system known as "*padi*". The term "*padi*" is the same as the Malagasy term "*fady*" as explained by Jones et al. (Jones et al., 2008). For the record, in the book *A Bibliography of The Languages of Borneo (and Madagascar)*, Robert Blust and Alexander D. Smith said that Malagasy is a subgroup of the Ma'anyan language (Blust & Smith, 2014). The oral tradition of the Ma'anyan Dayak also states that some of the children of Amah Jarang or Raden Anyan - the king of Nansarunai Kingdom moved to Madagascar. Although the study of taboos in Ma'anyan society has never been carried out, the "*padi* or *fady*" system in Madagascar society can be an important reference because they both have the same meaning and function. The *padi* is a religious prohibition or taboo that is against *adat* customary law. The *padi* is very important in Malagasy culture (Van Gennep, 1904) and (Ruud, 1960), and of course in Ma'anyan society.

The *padi* system includes a variety of prohibitions, and the word can refer to simple acts such as violations of courtesy that are socially punished for being opposed to *adat*, to severe taboos that invite supernatural retaliation if they are violated (Jones et al, 2008). The *padi* is not only an "abstract concept" but also a "real being" capable of rewarding humans if the taboo is violated. The prohibition related to adultery includes severe taboos which are believed to be severely punished by the *adat* customary law in the Ma'anyan Dayak society.

Copulation is a universal phenomenon. In traditional societies, sexual congress is often seen as something sacred. For Igbo society in southeastern Nigeria, the penalty for adultery is slavery or death (Okonkwo, 2019). So sacred is the honor of the marriage bed that adultery in the Igbo tribe is punishable by the

death penalty. The Igbos believed that fornication and also adultery are violations of *Ala* (earth god) and against their ancestors.

Sexuality can have many meanings. According to Okonkwo, sexuality can be used as a means of negotiating political, social, and economic status (Okonkwo, 2019). This view can be applied to the intercultural reaction of the Ma'anyan Dayak people. The interaction between the Ma'anyan Dayak and the Javanese ethnic groups (in oral tradition text is called the Javanese village) occurs through the sexual relationship. The kingdom of Nansarunai, which is *gemah ripah low jinawi, toto tentrem kerta raharja* (Javanese proverb) that means being such an affluent society, never wanting or needing anything people often come, legally or not in search of a better life or to conquer it even if it means waging war.

A married woman, named Samuning Batu, also came from Java to Nansarunai to bathe and get water because where she came from there was a 100-year drought. Samuning Batu's mistake was to enter someone else's kingdom without permission and bathed in the bathing place of the king, Raden Anyan.

The presence of Samuning Batu provoked a strong reaction from Raden Anyan. He even threatened to kill Samuning Batu. This shows the model of intercultural relations between Dayak and Javanese ethnicities at the Ethnocentric Stages level, especially in *denial* and *defense* stages against foreigners. Attention to the *denial* attitude in the following text of Nansarunai's story.

Ime kisah katampalau amah Jarang tulak ngarasa tapian ru palus lepuh mandrus. Dami hanye ninung ewah kusay hene anak gunung hang iring pampang, bulu hanye ninung ma tapian bulu kahaba wila wulu amau. Kunu ni hiyesa ulun mandrus muneng hang tapian ku iti, hampe sa ewah kusay haut hene anak gunung.

Dam! Wungun ni, sedang Samuning Batu hawi ma sumur yiru lepuh mandrus, amah Jarang bulu kaluar. Hanye sangit ngunu ka'i muni' matei hi Samuning Batu daya ngalat mandrus hang tapian ni. (Original transcription in Ma'anyan).

At last, it was unusual amah Jarang went to the spring intending to bathe. When he saw the remain of natural hair shampoo that had built up in the bath. Then he also found a very long hair there and wondered who had used his bathing place leaving all these remnants of natural hair shampoo.

Amah Jarang was so curious, he hid waiting hoping to see who would come. Then Samuning Batu arrived at the spring to bathe and amah Jarang quickly came out of hiding. He was furious and thought of killing Samuning Batu because she dared to bathe in his spring. (English Translation)

Facing this rejection and even death threat, the intruder negotiated sexual politics. It seemed that the negotiation worked. Therefore, intercultural interaction due to sexual politics enters a minimisation stage. This can be seen in the text of the Nansarunai story.

“Ada hampe nawunu matei, ekat aku tasarah hawe eyau nu”, eyau Samuning Batu ilaku ma amah Jarang. Hang yiru bulu Samuning Batu idapa andri hi amah Jarang. Sادang hi Samuning Batu meha wuntung, bagena wawei, ulah ni

ngaran iya iru hi Singkar, bulu anak iru haut hante. (Original transcription in Ma'anyan)

"Don't kill me, whatever you want, but don't kill me", Samuning Batu begged. Since then, Samuning Batu had been in a secret love affair with Amah Jarang. As a result of that affair, Samuning Batu was pregnant, giving birth to a daughter named Singkar, the child grew up to become a beautiful little girl. (English Translation)

The Ethnocentric Stages can be passed well because 'sexual-political negotiation' has minimized alienation. However, in Nansarunai's story, the intercultural interaction cannot continue to the second stage, namely: Ethnorelative Stages. This intercultural relationship ended very tragically because sexual-political negotiations constituted a serious violation of the *adat* customary law. The punishment was very severe and devastating, that is, King Raden Anyan and the Kingdom of Nansarunai were burned down by Samuning Batu's husband, Tuan Panayar who was assisted by a demon king. The destruction of the Nansarunai kingdom is remembered by the Ma'anyan Dayak people in the following text and verse.

When Tuan Panayar and his troops annihilated Nansarunai, all religious heritage was destroyed, the great village turned into a lake. In the *Pangun Raun* (an ancient language of Ma'anyan) this incident is called the apocalypse in Nansarunai which is expressed in the verse below.

- *Tumpuk hante galis jari danau*
- *Bumi randrung jarujakan ruyu galis rakit apui, galis sia tutung*
- *Lawi siwu ala rampan bahan ma nyantaliau langit*
- *Kawangun mayalangai utuk, ra'ang guna galis inung rirei*
- *Riu rensau jari pauneng ewung*
- *Lawi niui galis rakit apui, pusuk pinang gin sia tutung*
- *Bulu latu ala ewung manik galis tummung tuwung*
- *Habu innu' jari tamung wakai*
- *Lehung gansa galis inampek suei*
- *Tingal windrat walu*
- *Pusaka agama galis (Original transcription in Ma'anyan)*

- The big village was turned into a lake
- The beautiful place was burned completely
- From the houses' poles till the rooftop scattered into the sky
- The body was glued on the earth, speechless
- The eyes glared
- Crowded hissing piles of ash
- Coconut stumps burned out of the fire
- Areca nut leaves also had no trace
- The ash of beads piled up poignantly
- Ashes of hope became rotten roots
- The rhythmical mortar smashed into nine pieces
- There were only left widow and widower
- All religious treasures disappeared. (English Translation)

The story of Nansarunai shows the primordial level of the Ma'anyan Dayak ethnic group, who are very strong in defending and teaching taboo to their

people. This story shows that violations of *adat* customary institutions receive enormous sanctions that disturb intercultural relations with other ethnicities. In this case, the Ma'anyan Dayak ethnic society persists in the stages of ethnocentrism.

Ethnorelative Stages: Taboo and Cultural Adaptation

In the oral tradition of the Ma'anyan Dayak people, the story of "Putri Mayang" is believed to be a continuation of the story "Nansarunai". It can be seen from the continuity of this story that there has been a transformation of values and behavior in society as a result of the traumatic experience of the collapse of the Nansarunai kingdom. Pay attention to the speech of the following informants.

Udi tumpuk Nansarunai haut mulek kala mula, anak tukui amah Jarang bulu bapisah ngulah tumpuk raerai-raerai. Ina naan tanuhui ne'u tumpuk Sangarasi. Tumpuk ina nategei Uria Biring bagalar Damung Ului Undru. (Original transcription in Ma'anyan)

After Nansarunai Kingdom regained its glory, Amah Jarang's descendants dispersed to establish their own regions. Each region was led by one *uria* (a region head). This story is about Sangarasi region that was led by Uria Biring, with the title Damung Ului Undru. (English Translation)

The story of Putri Mayang was begun in the village of Sangarasi which was inhabited by the descendants of Amah Jarang (Raden Anyan, the king of Nansarunai). Sangarasi village was led by Uria Biring. This story can be seen in the following excerpt from the folktale.

Uria Biring na'an rueh anak upu ngaran ni Uria Mapas andri Uria Rinyan. Uria Mapas ti ulun ni kawangka nelang mape maleh, dami ani ni hi Uria Rinyan ulun ni manuwu nelang segah, pintar ba'akal andri maeh wangun kia karaja ni. Kawanwawei mawinei hene sa rapui sini Uria Rinyan. Jaman iru hang kerajaan Kayutangi hang daerah Banyar, bakuasa raja Mata Habang sa bagalar Sultan Suriansyah. (Original transcription in Ma'anyan)

Uria Biring has two sons named Uria Mapas and Uria Rinyan. The eldest, Uria Mapas, was a capable and brave man, while his younger brother, Uria Rinyan, was a handsome, smart, and well-mannered young man. Uria Rinyan was adored by many beautiful girls. At that time, the Banjar Sultanate, also known as Kayutangi Kingdom was ruled by King Mata Habang, whose title was Sultan Suriansyah. (English Translation)

The news about the glory and prosperity of Sangarasi village, which was led by the two sons of Uria Biring, also reached the neighboring country, namely the Kayutangi kingdom, which was inhabited by people from the Banjar ethnic group with its king named Mata Habang. He sent an envoy to Sangarasi carrying a *patuk bakaka* (symbol of peace) that invited them to cooperate in trade, but in fact, King Mata Habang had a hidden agenda. He wanted to expand his power to Sangarasi. Actually he wanted to put Sangarasi under the soles of feet so he could force them to pay a tribute to him. Uria Mapas and his brother discussed the invitation to cooperation. They wanted to give a good impression to Kayutangi Kingdom. The decision was made and Uria Rinyan would leave for Kayutangi Kingdom to meet up the King of Banjar. Then, Uria Rinyan left for Banjar Sultanate. In the Kayutangi kingdom, it turned out that

there was a forbidden relationship between Uria Riyan and the king's consort named Ratu Intan. Notice the story in the folklore as follows.

Raja katuju ma kapintaren andri ulah gawi Uria Rinyan. Lawah kalawahan hanye bulu jari tangan kawan raja, katuluh urusan kerajaan gaha mitah hanye. Daya yeru Uria Rinyan gaha kakulek ma kerajaan Kayutangi. Angekat raja, katuluh ulun hang istana ru katuju ma hanye. Hang yeru hanye bulu gaha kahaba permainsuri raja sa bagalar Ratu Intan, bulu darangan raja ru nyini Uria Rinyan. Ime saritahere rueh ru bulu idapa. (Original transcription in Ma'anyan)

Banjar King was amazed by Uria Rinyan's intelligence and manner. At last, he became the right-hand man of the king. He handled mostly all of royal affairs. This caused Uria Rinyan did some round-trip to Kayutangi Kingdom. Not only the king, but everyone in the palace also liked him. In the kingdom, he often met the king's consort who was titled Ratu Intan, who felt in love with Uria Rinyan. Eventually, they involved in a forbidden relationship. (English Translation)

Knowing Uria Rinyan's forbidden relationship with Ratu Intan, King Mata Habang (Sultan Suriansyah) killed the queen. Uria Riyan was summoned to the palace and killed too. The death of his younger brother made his brother Uria Mapas furious. He was meditating for nine nights and nine days, looking for certainty of what happened to Uria Rinyan. In his meditation, he was certain that Uria Rinyan had been killed by King Mata Habang. The folktale text tells with the following.

Bulu batatap Uria Mapas ka'i maleh sangkin ma kerajaan Kayutangi. Hanye ngulah lanting teka kumpai, bulu itaping tah hungei Sirau hampe Barito. Hanye haut bakahanak hang awe hanye tarie hanye bulu nuntut balas pampatei ani ni. Hanye ngeni rape' hanyeyeru alu 100 kawila, turi barong andri mannau sa bagalar Lansar Tewumea sa kakan ira andri atei. (Original transcription in Ma'anyan)

Then, Uria Mapas prepared to claim revenge in Kayutangi Kingdom. He made *lanting* (rafting) from grass, then drifted away the *lanting* through the Sirau river to Barito river. He was determined wherever the *lanting* stopped, that's where he began to demand revenge for his brother's death. He carried some weapons with him; 100 pestles, *barong* knife, and a magical *mandau* (Dayaks' traditional sword) with the title *Lansar Tewumea* that are hungry for meat and thirsty for blood. (English Translation)

His *lanting* was then caught in a drift net in the Marabahan area. Uria Mapas began to rampage using the pestles that he brought; everyone he met was killed. Many warriors sent by Kayutangi Kingdom against him all lost; no one was able to defeat him. Then someone gave a message to King Mata Habang that they were no longer able to fight Uria Mapas.

Unable to fight against Uria Mapas supernatural power, King Mata Habang made sexual-political negotiation by handing over his daughter as a substitute for Uria Mapas's brother whom he had killed. This can be seen in the following excerpt from the folktale.

Dami here panalu, raja Mata Habang ngaku hanye munu ani ni hi Uria Rinyan, hanye sini nyarah anak ni sa wawei hanyeyeru Putri Mayang ma Uria Mapas mak ganti ani ni hi Uria Rinyan. Putri Mayang ri anak wawei isa-isa ni Raja Mata Habang baya darangan karueh ni sa bangaran Putri Nurhayati. (Original transcription in Ma'anyan).

When they met, King Mata Habang confessed that he was the one who killed his younger brother Uria Rinyan. He wanted to hand over his daughter named Princess Mayang to Uria Mapas instead of his younger brother Uria Rinyan. Princess Mayang was the only daughter of King Mata Habang from his second wife named Princess Nurhayati. (English Translation).

The condition for giving her daughter was that Uria Mapas must treat her as a younger sister and not as a wife. In reality, Uria Mapas and Putri Mayang fell in love with each other and had a forbidden relationship. As a result, Putri Mayang was killed by King Mata Habang. The intercultural relationship between the main characters of the story can be seen in Figure 3 below.

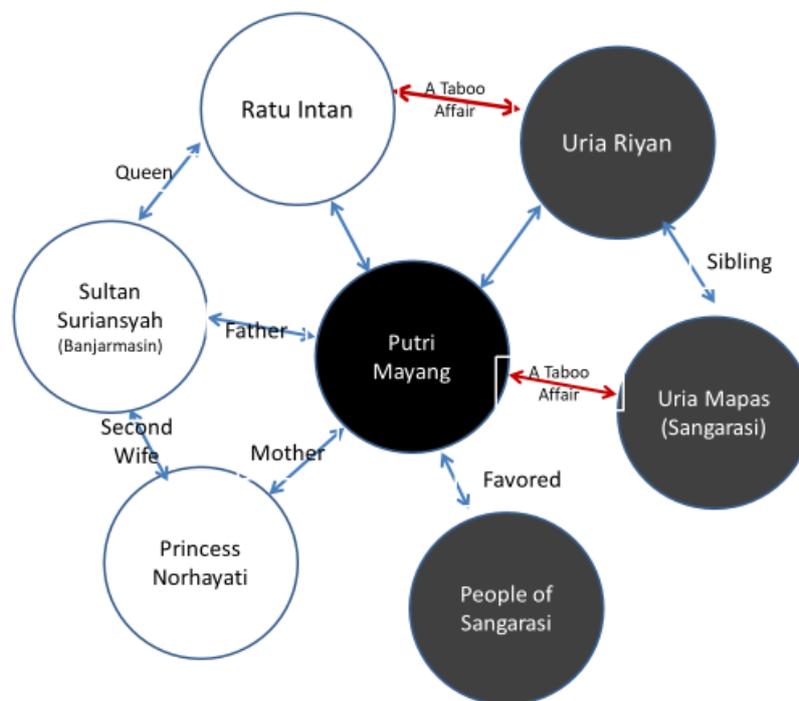


Figure 3. Intercultural Relations of Main Characters in Putri Mayang Folktales

In this folktale, three persons were victims of murder for violating the taboo or having a taboo affair, they were: Ratu Intan, Uria Riyan, and Putri Mayang. However, this folktale shows a very clear pattern from the beginning, which are: the openness and acceptance of the Ma'anyan Dayak people to the presence of an outside ethnicity, namely the Banjar ethnic group. In light of Bennett et al., it appears that the Dayak society is already in the Ethnorelative Stages. When the invitation for "economic cooperation" came out from Sultan Suriansyah, Uria Rinyan and his younger brother Uria Mapas from the Ma'anyan Dayak ethnic group welcomed him well. This is the process of *acceptance* stage in the Bennett et al. category.

Furthermore, obstacles in the process of intercultural relations occurred, namely taboo violations with the occurrence of forbidden relationships between Uria

Riyan and Queen Intan. This incident almost ended the intercultural relations between the Dayak and Banjar ethnic groups with extreme anger from his brother, Uria Mapas, who was very powerful. However, sexual political negotiations returned and became a consecration for these intercultural relations.

At first Uria Mapas accepted Princess Mayang as his younger sister, then considered her to be his wife, and likewise. In this stage, there is an *adaptation* process in the Bennett et al. category. They loved each other and felt so fond of each other. This is revealed in the following text.

Kude daya isa upu isa wawei hari-hari baya, nelang Putri Mayang ti raja mawinei, wulu ni ammau tu'u, amun hanye mandrus teka Lubuk Kajang hampe lewu magun hanye mait wulu ni. Amun here takia ma tumpuk Ma'anyan lain ni Putri Mayang ri natandu bulu wulu ni naampasuk ma wuang tampawan uwei sa nabingkai amas.

Lawah kalawahan here rueh bulu timul atei pangasini labih teka ipulaksanai. (Original transcription in Ma'anyan).

Uria Mapas and Princes Mayang were always together every day. Princess Mayang was very beautiful and had very long hair. When she took a bath to Kajang river her hair was flowing from the river to the palace. When they visited other Ma'anyan villages, Princess Mayang was stretched and then her hair was put in a rattan basket which is framed in gold.

Their always being together from time to time caused the seeds of love in their hearts to blossom, more than the love of brother and sister. (English Translation).

Finally, they also had a husband-wife relationship that showed the depth of their relationship, even if it was forbidden. The violation of the taboo in the beliefs of the Dayak people always causes "*padi*" anger. Putri Mayang was killed. Did the Dayak - Banjar relationship end with the death of Putri Mayang? Not. It is said that the Ma'anyan Dayak people love Putri Mayang. Notice the description in the following folktale text.

Dami Putri Mayang matei, watang tenga ni naenei bakuliling ma katuluh tumpuk Ma'anyan sa suah nakia ni salawah hanye welum, daya hanye ru nasintaulun hang katuluh tumpuk Ma'anyan. Udi hiye hanye napasari hang Sangarasi.

Udi tanan Putri Mayang matei Uria Mapas welum raerai ngaan narangan, nampalus negei tumpuk Sangarasi hampe hanye matei. Yau kawan ulun matueh sadi, sabujurni Uria Mapas ri ngaan matei biasa, kude hanye matei gaib, isamawai baya tenga ni, jaripanjaga tumpuk Sangarasi, hanye iyuh naheraw amun naan kahanangen hang wuangtumpuk Sangarasi. (Original transcription in Ma'anyan).

When Princess Mayang died, her body was carried around the entire Ma'anyan villages that she had previously visited as a last tribute. This was done because she was loved by people throughout Ma'anyan villages. After that, she was buried in Sangarasi.

After Putri Mayang died, Uria Mapas lived alone and not married, continuing to lead Sangarasi until he died. The old man said, actually Uria Mapas did not die normally, but he was *moksa*, disappeared with his body, became a

guardian of the village of Sangarasi; he could be called back if there was anxiety in Sangarasi. (English Translation).

The text above shows vividly that Putri Mayang - who comes from the Banjar ethnic group - is truly accepted and loved by the entire Ma'anyan Dayak society. As evidence until now, Princess Mayang's grave is still often visited and well maintained by Ma'anyan Dayak people. (ntmcpolri.info, 2020).

CONCLUSION

The two folktales studied in this paper, namely "Nansarunai" and "Putri Mayang", show the dynamics of the intercultural relations between the Ma'anyan Dayak ethnic group and other ethnicities, namely the Javanese and the Banjar ethnic groups. If both folktales are viewed in a continuum, it is clear that the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS), starting from the Ethnocentric Stages (in the Nansarunai story which shows the processes of denial, defense, and minimisation) to the Ethnorelative Stages stages (in the folktale of Putri Mayang, which goes through a process of acceptance, adaptation, and integration). This corresponds to Bannett et al's category on the sensitivity of intercultural relations (See Table 1).

Table 1. Taboo and Violations

No	Violators of Taboo	Intercultural Relations Stages	Result
1	<i>Samuning Batu – Raden Anyan</i>	<i>Ethnocentric Stages (Javanese –Ma'anyan ethnic groups)</i>	<i>The fall of Nansarunai Kingdom</i>
2	<i>Ratu Intan – Uria Rinyan Putri Mayang – Uria Mapas</i>	<i>Ethnorelative Stages (Banjar– Ma'anyan ethnic groups)</i>	<i>The rise of Nansarunai Kingdom</i>

The intercultural interactions of the Ma'anyan Dayak society are marked by one main characteristic, namely taboo and its violations. Taboo is represented by the existence of a "forbidden relationship" that occurs between two different cultures. This forbidden relationship had serious consequences. In the story of "Nansarunai", a forbidden relationship that was a violation of "*padi*" resulted in a war that destroyed the Nansarunai kingdom.

In the story "Putri Mayang", the forbidden relationship happened twice. First, between Ratu Intan (queen of Banjar Kingdom) and Uria Rinyan (from Sangarasi) which resulted in Uria Rinyan being killed. The second forbidden relationship occurred between Putri Mayang and Uria Mapas, Uria Rinyan's brother who was very powerful and could not be conquered. Sultan Suriansyah gave him, his daughter Putri Mayang to be Uria Mapas's sister. However, because the two of them loved each other and had a forbidden relationship, Putri Mayang was killed by the second wife of the king of Banjar who sent the seeds of disease.

These two folktales show that culturally the Dayak ethnicity is now open to accepting and living together with other ethnicities in an integrative society. The values of openness, friendship, and living in peace with other ethnicities are a long lesson learned from an uneasy historical process. However, the message of these two folktales is also very clear: there is always a taboo in intercultural relations that can bring punishment from *adat* customary law if

someone violates *padi*. Therefore, improper models of relationships, including malicious intent, adultery, and fornication, must not be allowed.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research work was supported in part by Local Government of Tabalong Regency, the Indonesian province of South Kalimantan. We wish to thank the Ma'anyan Dayak society from the *Kademangan* (*adat* regions) of Banua Lima, Paju Epat, and Paju Sapuluh especially the informants, they are: the *mantirs* (*adat* experts), Poenes, Rudek Udir, and Haniah Boesai; the *wadian* (shaman), Shamin. Finally, special thanks to Dr. Yoseph Yapi Taum, M.Hum for helpful comments on an early draft.

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