

THE MEANING OF *MANDAU* IN DAYAK TUNJUNG-BENUAQ TRIBE IN EAST KALIMANTAN

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Abstract

The writer is interested to explore *Mandau* as the traditional weapon in East Kalimantan, especially in Tunjung-Benuaq. *Mandau* is the identity of Dayak tribes who inhabit in Kalimantan Island. The writer would like to describe about components and the process of making *Mandau* and the meaning of the symbols in *Mandau* in Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribes. The writer finds at least five kinds of accessories in a *Mandau*, they are a small knife, a woven rattan, a belt rope, hair and beads. Actually, not all the accessories in *Mandau* have a meaning or a symbol, but only a woven rattan and hairs on the sheath of a *Mandau* has symbol and a meaning according to local beliefs in a Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe. Accessories like a small knife, a woven rattan, a rope belt and beaded are only added to the beauty purpose or for aesthetic. A small knife has a function as a carving tool and as back up weapon. That knife is put at the inside of the sheath. The woven rattan has a function as a belt to drape *Mandau* on waist. The woven rattan motif has a shape like circle. This circle means a balance of nature (based on the interview with Simon Malat). The last accessory is hairs on the hilt of a *Mandau*. According to local beliefs, the accessories mean bravery. The hair on the hilt of a *Mandau* symbolizes the bravery level of the owner. The people with a lot of hair in his *Mandau* will be more respected in society because the hair, a long time ago, was used on the hilt of a *Mandau* that came from *mengayau* ceremony.

Key words: Mandau, Tunjung-Benuaq, symbolism, accessory, traditional weapon

Introduction

Borneo is the name for the Island of Kalimantan. The name was given by the Dutch colonialists. Kalimantan is one of the five major islands in Indonesia. In this paper, the writer does not use the "Borneo" word but "Kalimantan." This is to honor the history of Kalimantan and Prince Tamjidillah. In his letter to the Dutch government in 1857, he called "The Island Kalimantan" not Borneo. Kalimantan Island is also one of the biggest islands in the world. People in Kalimantan live in diversity, and the diversity is the portrait of Kalimantan people's life from the past until now. There are many tribes in Kalimantan; some of the major tribes are

Punan, Kenyah, Bentian, Kayan, Merap, Abai, Tegalan, Brusu, Oheng, Bahau Saq, and Tunjung-Benuaq.

According to Lahajir in his book entitled Etnoekologi Perladangan Orang Dayak Tunjung Linggang: Etnografi Lingkungan Hidup di Dataran Tinggi Tunjung, Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe is well-known as Tonyooy-Rentenekung, but now the community is called "Tunjung-Benuaq" because they are one in identity (34). In addition, Sendawar in his book entitled Adat Kematian Suku Dayak Benuaq says that Tunjung-Benuaq people live along Kadang Pahu River. They come from Lawangan which is in Central Kalimantan. They come from Korau and Ayu rivers across the Mountains in East Kalimantan through the Lawa River (10).

In addition, Madrah on his book entitled Adat Sukat Dayak Benuaq dan Tonyooi, adds:

Pada sector ekonomi, masyarakat Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq bekerja sebagai petani, pemburu, nelayan di sungai. Mereka hidup berkoloni di dalam satu rumah besar bernama Louu. Louu terlihat seperti rumah panggung dan biasanya berlokasi di pinggir sungai.

(In economic sectors, community of Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq work as farmers, hunters, and fisherman in rivers. They live as colony in one huge house called *Louu*. *Louu* looks like a stage and is usually located on the edge of the river) (7).

The community of Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe is familiar with *Sukat* tradition. The *Sukat* tradition becomes the rules and orientation or problem solver for the community of Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe if there is any problem taking place. This tradition still becomes the faith of the whole community of Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe, including those who live away from their homes. They still adhere to their ancestral beliefs. They believe in forest spirit, the mountain spirit, sea spirit, wood spirit, and in other spirits that inhabit the objects in the universe. According to Madrah, the community of Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe is also faithful to the social stratification system such as *mantiiq/hajiiq* (nobility as hereditary) *pengawa-pengadikng* (under nobility), *angeeq-ungaaq* (poor and uneducated people), *ripatn-bataak* (slavery), *bataak-siaa* (hereditary slavery), *bataakng-ulutn* (people for trafficking and threading like animal), *bataakng ulutn ayampm* (people who were born then became slavery because they were *bataakng-ulutn* hereditary).

Basically the social stratification system becomes the society rules in general for Dayak community in Kalimantan Island. But they are different from one community of Dayak tribe to another Dayak tribe in Kalimantan Island. Thus, Kalimantan is dominated by Dayak tribes as the major and they are the native of Kalimantan.

The traditional weapon of Kalimantan is called *Mandau*. According to Bastumi in a book entitled Wawasan Seni, *Mandau* is a manifestation of the



practiced by the ancestors in the past. The traditional form of the *Mandau* weapon of Dayak tribe was originated from West Kalimantan. Dayak tribes live and settle in the island of Borneo. Dayak tribe is regarded as the original inhabitants of the island of Borneo. The tribes use Mandau to fight against their enemies (23). *Mandau* is one of the Indonesian traditional weapons, and it is a privilege heritage that must be preserved by Dayak tribes from one generation to next generation as the identity, and it is the precious heritage that cannot be found in other places (6753). For Dayak tribes, *Mandau* cannot be separated from their local faith because it is related with their ancestor's spirit and force of nature because they have strong relationship in one another for centuries. This is because in the past *Mandau* was used to fight against the enemy, to hunt, and was also used for local celebrations, and as the equipment of traditional dance.

Dayak tribes believe that *Mandau* has supernatural power and it is regarded as a sacred weapon. Therefore, they use it carefully. If they cannot use it carefully, they will get misfortune; they even will end with death. At present, the function of *Mandau* has changed. *Mandau* is used only for display and sale. As the function has changed, the materials which are used are now different. In the past, material used was steel of the best quality as the symbol of bravery in killing the enemies and for social status. Now the material used is common iron whose quality is not as good as steel. Therefore, its meaning and function dwindle. It is now used for cutting the grass, tress, or as parts of house equipment.

According to Susilo his article "Senjata Tradisional dari Kalimantan," "*Mandau*" is believed to have supernatural power. The power is not only derived from the manufacturing through certain rituals, but it is also from the tradition of headhunting (beheading the opponents). Before the 20th century, the more the number of people who were successfully killed by a mandau, the more powerful a *Mandau* became. Usually, half of hair of the victim was used to decorate the handle of *Mandau*. They believed that the people who were killed by *Mandau* would inhabit in it, and it would become more powerful.

A *Mandau* is made of wroughted iron plates which are formed into a flat-like machetes and long nose pliers (to resemble the top or half of the grooved flat). One side of the *Mandau* is thin and sharp, while the other side is a little thick and blunt. There are several types of materials that can be used to make a *Mandau*, which mostly are tempered metals, with exquisite vineworks and inlaid brass. The hilt is made of animal horns, such as the horns of deer, yet some variations are made of human bones and fragrant wood. Both the hilt and scabbard are elaborately carved and plumed. Details of carvings vary from tribe to tribe, but they mostly depict creatures.

The original *Mandau* has *Penyang*. *Penyang* is the compilation of Dayak tribe's knowledge which is obtained from meditation or guidance from the Dayak tribe's ancestors who used to go in to a war. *Penyang* will make someone more

powerful, more sacred, and stronger against the enemies. However *Mandau* and *Penyang* are a unity that cannot be separated from generation to generation.

Mandau nowadays tends to be used as business commodity, kitchen equipment, or souvenir for families, or visitors who visit Kalimantan Island. Although *Mandau* has changed its function, not as a weapon for war anymore, it is still viewed as the identity of Dayak tribes and a precious cultural work which is preserved from generation to generation.

Tunjung tribe or the tribe of Dayak Tunjung resides in the district of Kutai Kartanegara and West Kutai, East Kalimantan. Tonyoy-Benuaq is another name for Tunjung-Benuaq. Both of these Dayak tribes are inseparable in terms of social and cultural relationship, yet they are often mentioned separately as Dayak Tunjung and Dayak Benuaq.

From the short explanation of the background above, the writer is interested to explore more about *Mandau* as the traditional weapon in East Kalimantan, especially in Tujung-Benuaq, because *Mandau* is the identity of Dayak tribes who inhabit in Kalimantan Island, such as Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq. Therefore, the writer would like to describe about components and the process of making *Mandau* and the meaning of the symbols in *Mandau* in Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribes.

Method

The writer collected data through observations, library research, and interviews. Firstly, the writer did observation for 2 (two) weeks at the district of Sendawar. Sendawar was located in the district of West Kutai in East Kalimantan. To reach the location, the writer used travel bus about 9 hours from Balikpapan, East Kalimantan. There, the writer asked to the people in Sendawar about the location of blacksmith, the council of custom, the government of cultural, central library. These informations were compiled as the data to help the writer wrote his final paper.

Secondly, the writer did library research. The writer tried to find the data in the form of printed information which is found in books, internet, articles, newspapers, and magazines that have correlation with *Mandau*.

The last step was to do interviews with stakeholders who did know about *Mandau*. By their explanation, these information would be used to support his writing. The first informan was gained from Mr. Munthi, the former of Dayak Tunjung – Benuaq tribe, Mr Wissel, the council of custom in law, Mr. Wilhemmus, the head of UPT Taman Budaya, Sendawar at the sub – district Barong Tongkok. Then the next informan was Mr. Motop, the blacksmith, he lived at the village of Sekolaq Joleq.

The writer intends to explore more about *Mandau* through the interviews with local leaders of Dayak tribes, the stakeholders who do know about *Mandau*, as well as with the head of tourism boards in East Kalimantan.

Discussion

Components and Process of Making *Mandau* in Tunjung-Benuaq Dayak Tribe

In this chapter, the writer discusses the components of *Mandau* and the process of making it. According to Komandoko in his book entitled *Ensiklopedia Pelajar dan Umum* (184), *Mandau* is a traditional weapon from Kalimantan. There are two kinds of *Mandau*; they are as a war weapon and for a ceremony sacred tradition. This kind of *Mandau* has some accessories from engang hair in the top of *Mandau* hilt. Since *Mandau* is usually used for daily activities for farm, this kind of *Mandau* does not use any accessories.

Component of *Mandau* of Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq Tribe

The components of *Mandau* consist of knife blade (*bilah Mandau*), hilt (*gagang Mandau*), sheath (*sarung Mandau*), and accessories.

Knife Blade of Mandau (Bilah Mandau)

Basically, knife blade of *Mandau (Bilah Mandau)* at Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe has a similiar shape with *bilah Mandau* from other Dayak tribes in Kalimantan Island. Even, *Mandau* knife blade of Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe is similar with that of all swords around the world. The knife blade in *Mandau* and knife blade in all swords have a flatted shape, elongated and sharp at the bottom. The knife blade in *Mandau* and knife blade in all swords also have a tapered shape at the end and notch at the top.

The tapered shape at the end is obviously used by owners of *Mandau* to draw something, such as; twigs, animals or even humans. Two notch at the top is used as patterns to distinguish *Mandau* with other tradional weapons. Two notch at the top also has a special meaning, magical meaning. In outline, the function and shape *Mandau* knife blade of Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq Tribe is similar with those of other Dayak tribes in Kalimantan Island.

In it functional terms, there are many differences between the function of knife blade in *Mandau* that is used for the usual activities and the *Mandau* that is used for sacred purpose. A *Mandau* knife blade which is used for war, hunting, or cutting woods in the forest certainly sharper and shiner, but it does not use best material (iron). *Mandau* knife blade used for sacred activities is blunter, but it is believed that it has some supernatural power. The supranatural power in a *Mandau* is usually inherited from the first owner and passed to their son and grandchildren as a legacy.

Hilt of Mandau (Gagang Mandau)

In Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe, there are two types of hilt of a *Mandau (Gagang Mandau)*. The first one is made of wood and the second is made of deer antlers. The hilt from wood material is usually only for regular *Mandau* and it is used for daily activities. The hilt from wood material is made for a functional purpose. Because of that, the hilt with a functional purpose does not use beauty principles. But, the hilt from wood materials with selling purposes has beauty ornaments.

The second type of hilt is made of deer antlers. The difference from the one made of wood is that hilt made of deer antlers is used for a sacred ceremony. But in this time, the traditional makers in Kalimantan Island also sell this kind of *Mandau* to both international and local tourists. Hilt the *Mandau* using the deer antlers for selling purpose is more expensive than the others. Usually, the made of hilt with deer antlers is decorated with typical carvings of Kalimantan.

Sheath of Mandau (Sarung Mandau)

The sheath of *Mandau (Sarung Mandau)* in Dayak Tunjung Benuaq tribe is usually made of wood materials. The hilt of *Mandau* which is used for daily activities and for a sacred ceremony has different carving. The hilt of *Mandau* which is used for daily activities (farming and hunting) does not have any carving at all because *Mandau* for hunting and farming does not need much decoration. The hilt of *Mandau* which is used for a sacred ceremony uses a lot of Kalimantan carving patterns. This kind of *Mandau* becomes a wealth legacy. Because of that reason, *Mandau* which is used for sacred activities needs beauty carving patterns. To make this *Mandau*, the traditional makers work carefully to create perfect carving patterns.

Mandau for souvenirs also has a lot of Kalimantan carving patterns, but the details are different from *Mandau* for sacred ceremonies. The carving patterns in general are wild animals, head of person, and symmetrical motifs. But, the carving patterns in *Mandau* for souvenirs are just to attract more tourists. *Mandau* for souvenirs has a similar carving pattern with *Mandau* for a sacred ceremony. The difference is that *Mandau* for a sacred ceremony is full of magic and spell.

Accessories

The last component in *Mandau* is accessories. *Mandau* in Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe also needs accessories. Accessories in *Mandau* are separated by the types, functions, and the owners of *Mandau*. Accessories of *Mandau* used for daily activities are only a belt strap in order to put the *Mandau* on the waist. Simple stuffs, such as a small knife, hair and beads can be used for accessories in *Mandau*. We can also find the accessories in *Mandau* that is used for a sacred ceremony and souvenirs. But, the difference of *Mandau* accessories for a sacred ceremony is that the *Mandau* has a magical side on the feathers. By naked eyes, we cannot find the difference between accessories in *Mandau* for souvenirs and

Mandau for sacred ceremonies. But, if we see them closer, we can find the difference. In *Mandau* for a sacred ceremony, the accessories are not too many. We can see that in *Mandau* that belongs to the tribe head of Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq. The *Mandau* only has a few accessories, such as rattan plaited mats (on its sheath and hilt) and these accessories are also functioned for *Mandau* at the waist. The other accessories are a small knife as a second weapon and hair as an amulet (*jimat*).

The difference of *Mandau* used for selling or souvenirs that it uses many accessories like planted multicolored beads (usually white, red, green, and black). The accessories used in the *Mandau* can make tourists interested in the *Mandau*. Tourists love *Mandau* with accessories because it can be used for wall decorations and collections. To make *Mandau* looks more attractive, traditional makers add some animal hairs on the tip of the hilt. *Mandau* with animal hairs looks stronger and sacred.

Production Stage of *Mandau* in Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq Tribe

To make a *Mandau*, the traditional makers should follow some stages. The stages of making *mandau* are as follows:

Production Stages of Knife Blade of Mandau (Bilah Mandau)

The main material of Knife Blade of *Mandau* is iron from mining, done in traditional way. The iron is shaped with a perfect thickness and rectangular. The thickness of the iron is usually made according to the feeling of *Mandau* traditional makers. That knife blades is made from the process which in general starts from selecting the iron materials. In this step, traditional makers choose the best iron for *Mandau*. The next step is heating and beating the iron materials. Heating and beating process takes more or less 3 hours. Heating and beating process depends on the neat level of a knife blade and sophisticated tools of *Mandau* makers. Another aspect is the quality of iron that is used for a knife blade that also affects the time of processing. Iron with a low quality takes less time than iron with a good quality.

In this modern time, in Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe, tools used to make *Mandau* are still very traditional, but they have been used by generations to generations. Although using traditional tools, the *Mandau* makers still make a lot of *Mandaus*. The tools include traditional heating with manual pump, iron lump for beating foundation, hammer to hit, pliers clamp, tubs, and stone for *Mandau* eyes smoothing. To make a perfect *Mandau* eye, the eye of the *Mandau* should be smoothed longer.

Production Stages of a Hilt of Mandau (Gagang Mandau)

The differences of *Mandau* hilt making process can be seen from the materials and the purpose of *Mandau*. In materials aspects, hilt of *Mandau* usually uses

deer antlers and wood materials. The hilt of *Mandau* with deer antlers takes longer time to make it than the hilt of *Mandau* with wood materials. In Dayak tribe tradition, choosing deer antlers needs a special ceremony. They usually choose male deers to make the hilt. The antlers of male deer are chosen because that material has a meaning of masculinity.

The writer did some interviews to get information about the reason why male deer antlers and woods were chosen as materials. Based on the interviews, the writer knows the steps to make the hilt of *Mandau*. After getting the male deers, the Dayak tribe does a number of processions or ceremonies. After that, the antlers will be chopped off. After that, the next process is drying-burning or naturally heated and the antlers will be carved and shaped with animal head patterns. The animal head patterns can be eagle heads, dragon heads or others. After the carving, the antlers will be burned until they are perfect to use. The last step is smoothing the materials with abrasive clothes. In this modern time, *Mandau* makers use sandpaper for smoothing the materials.

The process of making hilt from wood material is easier to make than deer antlers. To make a hilt of *Mandau*, traditional *Mandau* makers should choose one perfect wood from the forest that is used for hilt material because the wood is hard and strong. The first step is cutting the wood and matching the size of the hilt in general. After that, the drying or heating of the wood until the wood fibers are evaded from water and shaping the handle with a shape knife until the wood gets the perfect shape.

The *Mandau* hilt from wood is usually used for daily activities. The hilt on this *Mandau* is made without carving patterns. In this *Mandau*, the shape of the hilt is just as simple as the sword hilt in general. Different from the hilt from deer antlers, the hilt from this material is usually used for a sacred ceremony and it has carving patterns. That is all the explanation about the process of making hilt of *Mandau* from the different materials. The most important thing is that the tools to make the hilt are only simple traditional tools, such as saws, carving knives, smoothing clothes or sandpapers, and heating furnaces

Production Stages of Sheath of Mandau (Sarung Mandau)

The main material to make sheath of *Mandau* is a special wood called Sungkai wood that is strong and long-lasting wood. Sungkai wood is the kind of the tree which grows at the tropical region and it grows at the riverbanks. This wood is widely available in east Kalimantan. The price of this wood is not costly, therefore it can be used as the main material and it is also supported by the good value of decorative. After choosing the wood, *Mandau* makers also make a board from the *Sungkai* wood. The process is begins from two difference sides (back side and front side). From the inside, the wood is facing each other and its shape is like a curve, elongated and the size is the same as *Mandau* knife blade.

After the decision about the size of cavity that matches with knife blade, the next step is gluing the two sides of the sheath. After the glue dries, the makers shape and carve it from the outside to get the perfect shape by sticking and using small nails and glue. But, long time ago, the glue that is used came from natural rubber trees.

The sheath also uses carving patterns. But in *Mandau* for daily activities, the sheath does not use carving patterns but it is just as simple as it looks. And it is different from Mandau for heirloom weapons and collection. From this kind of sheath, *Mandau* makers work very careful, the carving patterns put in the outside of the sheath are full of Kalimantan motifs. The motifs are made by orders. If the buyers are people in Tunjung-Benuaq, they usually choose dragon motifs, slugs, or leaves. But, Mandau makers also accept the other motifs.

To make a sheath, a Mandau maker and others have different skills. Some *Mandau* makers only need a day to create a sheath. The other Mandau makers take three days or more. Interestingly, the majority of Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe make the carved only with simple tools like machetes and saws to cut wood up to be a board, and sandpapers for a smoothing process.

Ornamenting with accessories

The last step is giving the accessories. In this case, common accessories for *Mandau* are rattan. Rattan is usually used at the hilt and the sheath of *Mandau*. The other accessories are beads, woven rattan ropes and animal hairs or fleece. The beads are used as accessories in the sheath of *Mandau*. The woven rattan is used as belt and fleece in the hilt of *Mandau*. All the accessories of *Mandau* are usually only for a decoration. But, a woven rattan has a function as a belt, not only for a decoration. Because of the functional reason, a woven rattan is used in almost every kind of *Mandau* as accessories.

Little knife includes one of important elements and accessories of Mandau. Actually, this little knife is also used in the process of making Mandau to carve in hilt and sheath. Side as the carving knife, it can be used to cut the small things, such as small root, branch etc.

Talking about rattan accessories, the writer will explain about the process of making rope with rattan materials. At first time, a rattan is chosen, cut, cleaned the branches and thorns are cleaned, and then it is dried naturally. After the drying process, the shape of the rattan's skin is enlarged to the level of thickness which is about 2 millimeters to 5 millimeters. The next step is wrapping the rattan's rope at both ends and the middle of the sheath by using simple motifs woven. In some kinds of *Mandau* sheath, two parts are wrapped at the tip and base courses are usually used. Typically, the motifs used are very simple, such as crisscrossed like woven mats and protrusion motifs like circle-see attachment pictures.

A woven rattan is also found in the hilt of *Mandau*, but the thickness and the width of the rattan rope is different from the sheath. The thickness level ranges from 1 millimeter to 3 millimeters. The motifs in the hilt are simpler than motifs in the sheath. *Mandau* makers usually take 3 hours to work a rattan woven on the sheath and the hilt of *Mandau*. In this part, it does not need skills at all in the process of making a woven rattan.

Besides woven rattans, the beads can make a *Mandau* more beautiful. The first step is stringing the granular beads with nylon rope or fishing line. In this process, different colors are applied and added to get beautiful motifs. These accessories are not always used in every *Mandau*. Generally, a *Mandau* for souvenirs uses beads as accessories to make it more beautiful. If a *Mandau* looks beautiful, all tourists will be interested to buy it for a souvenir or a collection. The beads are usually put on the sheath that closes to woven rattan or to change woven rattan. The process of attachment and assembly of beads will take two hours.

The process of making a woven rattan rope as a belt is simpler than that of beads accessories. To make a belt for 60 cm of this size only takes less than an hour. Even, if it is done by beginner people, it will take only two hours because a woven rattan only consists of three strands of rattan and simple crossed motifs like hair braid.

The last or the unique accessories is sheep hairs. This accessory is usually found on the tip of the hilt. Putting this unique accessory is very easy and simple. Cutting the accessory and some sheep's hairs are with the same size and putting the hairs at the end of the hilt. Long time ago, the addition of hair accessories used by the owner of *Mandau* was done after chopping people's heads. So, a few of hairs came from a chopped head. In this time, the tradition of chopping heads off is forbidden. Now, *Mandau* makers use sheep hairs to change human hairs taken from chopped heads *ceremony* which in Dayak tribes called "*Mengayau*."

Meaning of *Mandau* Symbols

Meaning of Symbol in a Knife Blade of Mandau (Bilah Mandau)

The writer will start from a knife blade of *Mandau*. On the top side of a knife blade has a tapered sharp. The tapered sharp means "courage" and "determination", as the main purpose. The symbol is that all Dayak tribes are the people with power, strong spirit and steadfast personality. In hunting, they are a fighter and they are not easy to surrender because of animal attacks, even though the animals are bigger than them. They also never surrender in a war since they are real warriors.

A knife blade of *Mandau* usually has two curves in front of it, but sometimes only a few of *Mandau* has one curve. There is no explanation about the relationship of curve with classification, between the ordinary people and the nobility, but the meaning of upside curve is the power of God. The meaning of downside curve is to respect mother of earth and the universe. Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq is close to God and the universe. They are people with gratefulness and full of respect to God, the earth, the universe and human being.

Meaning of Symbol in a Hilt of Mandau (Gagang Mandau)

There are two kinds of carving found on the hilt of a *Mandau*. The first one is an Enggang bird's head and the second type is a wild boar (*babi hutan*) head. Both of them obviously represent different meanings. The meaning does not show explicitly the social stratification or social states, but in fact, people of a high social state choose the Enggang bird's head. But there is no rule and then, the nobility or the ordinary people are free to choose the carve they want as like.

An Enggang bird's head motif symbolizes that Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe respect warrior souls. According to the observation result, the writer finds that Enggang bird motif that is used on the hilt of *Mandau* belongs to a chief of Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe and also his the family. But, *Mandau* belongs to ordinary people and *Mandau* for sale or souvenirs also uses Burung Enggang motif.

Why do people choose Burung Enggang motif? According to a story in Kalimantan Island, an Enggang Bird perches at the top of highest tree. The Enggang bird only land at the top of a mountain or a hill to take a rest. People in Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe never see an Enggang Bird standing on low places, especially in mainland. That's why people Dayak Tunjung –Benuaq tribe respect courage and bravery of an Enggang bird. For people of Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe, this bird is a symbol of strength, courage, bravery and nobility. That is because the bird is able to fly long and land in certain places.

The second motive is a pig or a wild boar head. Basically, Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe keeps a wild boar at a backyard as a livestock. Basically the type of wild boars lives in the wilderness. As a livestock, a wild boar is very beneficial to humans. That's why, people choose wild boar motifs. The interpretation of the Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe about wild boar motifs is a symbol of perseverance and workhorse (according to the interview with Simon Malat).

According to the writer's observation, the use of an Enggang Bird's head and boar's head on a Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq community also reflects the personality of the owners. According to people who choose an Enggang bird's head, they want to give impression that they are a powerful and high person.

According to people who choose wild boar's head, they want to give impression that they are a hard worker.

The reflection is also used in a social stratification of a Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq community. The nobility probably is more interested in motifs of Enggang bird's head than motifs of wild boar's head. Ordinary people usually choose motifs of wild boar's head. This analysis is not applied in general, but according to the preference of DayakTunjung-Benuaq society, this kind of analysis is normal.

Meaning of Symbols in a Sheath of Mandau (Sarung Mandau)

Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq community has three carving motifs on the sheath of a *Mandau*, they are dragons, slugs (*pacet*), and woods with the leaves. Although, there are three carving motifs but the other motifs are only used as beauty or aesthetics reason. It does not matter if some communities in Dayak Tunjung Benuaq love uncommon and unique motifs. There are no rules in all Dayak tribes even in Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq that concern with the selection motifs on the sheath of a *Mandau*. Because of that, the writer only describes the symbols of three carving motifs which are used and believed in a Dayak Tunjung Benuaq tribe for centuries, they are dragons, slug (*pacet*), and woods.

In a Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe, dragon motifs on the sheath of a *Mandau* mean savagery or fierceness (interview with Simon Malat). In this case, the owner of a *Mandau* wants everyone to know that the owners are brave and they have a dangerous weapon. It is the same as the usual meaning of a Dragon symbol. In general, as the writer knows, a dragon are a mythology animal. This myth is universally known and it almost exists in all civilization on the earth. Since antiquity dragon is meant or interpreted as\ "a scary big snake", "a mystical animal" and "full of supranatural power".

The *pacet* or slug motif, has a savage meaning. Basically, slugs are firmly close with 'blood'. The slug is a sucked animal (Interview with Simon Malat). Because of that, the owners of a *Mandau* use this motif because they want to give a suggestion that they are beast. The owners also want everyone to know that the *Mandau* which belongs to them is a rare and a dangerous weapon. According to the interview with Simon Malat, the slug is a blood sucker animal. It is hard to release it when slug starts to suck the humans' blood. They use of slug motifs in the sheath means that a *Mandau* has the same characteristic as slug, that it is "hard to release". If a *Mandau* is released from the sheath, the blood shed must happen.

The last motif is a wood motif. There is the sheath of a *Mandau* that belongs to a chief of Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe. According to the writer's observation in location, a *Mandau* belongs to a chief of Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe that has as an extensive and protrude carving than the others. A wood carving is also huge and looking stiff. The carve usually has a characteristic of

Kalimantan's wood. Different from *Mandau* that belongs to ordinary people, the motif of the wood is thinner.

The sheath of the *Mandau* of the chief of Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe and ordinary people has different wood motifs, but they have the same meaning. The symbol or the meaning of wood is concerned with the forests as the heart of the earth, and it is very important for all Dayak communities as live sources. A Dayak community respects the forests because they and their daily activities are connected with the forests.

Meaning of Symbols in Accessories of Mandau

According to the observation result in a location, the writer found at least five kinds of accessories in a *Mandau*, they are a small knife, a woven rattan, a belt rope, hair and beads. Actually, not all the accessories in *Mandau* have a meaning or a symbol, but only a woven rattan and hairs on the sheath of a *Mandau* has symbol and a meaning according to local beliefs in a Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe. Accessories like a small knife, a woven rattan, a rope belt and beaded are only added to the beauty purpose or for aesthetic.

Some accessories are also functional for the owners of a *Mandau*; but there are only small knives with long handle and woven rattan. A small knife has a function as a carving tool and as back up weapon. That knife is put at the inside of the sheath. The woven rattan has a function as a belt to drape *Mandau* on waist. The woven rattan motif has a shape like circle. This circle means a balance of nature (based on the interview with Simon Malat). Based on the shape, a woven rattan is made carefully and the circle shape with point a view in center is gotten. From that center point, a woven rattan is crossed until it has similar pattern with Tionghoa's culture that is "Ying Yang" pattern. "Yin Yang" pattern has a circle form with a curved line in the middle to separate a left side and a right side. Usually, "Yin Yang" pattern has two colors, they are black and white as a balanced symbol. In *Mandau*, the pattern does not use any colors.

There are similarities between the shape and the meaning of a circular woven rattan on the sheath of *Mandau* and Ying-Yang patterns. But, the writer cannot explain what the meaning and what the reason is. The writer only knows from Dayak community that the circle in woven rattan means balancing between nature and human aspects that must be maintained and preserved.

The last accessory is hairs on the hilt of a *Mandau*. According to local beliefs, the accessories mean bravery. The hair on the hilt of a *Mandau* symbolizes the bravery level of the owner. The people with a lot of hair in his *Mandau* will be more respected in society because the hair, a long time ago, was used on the hilt of a *Mandau* that came from *mengayau* ceremony. A *mengayau* ceremony is killing people or animal and chopping their head off. *Mengayau* was a normal activity of Dayak tribes at that time. People with a lot of human hair are brave and they also get admiration from the others. In this time, the hair on the

hilt of a *Mandau* is got from animals hunted in forests, not from *mengayau* ceremony anymore. Although a *Mandau* is only for sale, the hair in the hilt is meaningless, only for a beauty reason.

Conclusion

Many symbols can be found on *Mandau*. A knife blade of *Mandau* usually has two curves in front of it. The meaning of upside curve is the power of God. The meaning of downside curve is to respect mother of earth and the universe.

Other than that on sheath of *Mandau*, many symbols can be found such as; dragons, slugs (*pacet*), and woods with the leaves. Dragon motifs on the sheath of a *Mandau* mean savagery or fierceness. The owners of a *Mandau* use slug (*pacet*) motif because they want to give a suggestion that they are beast. The owners also want everyone to know that the *Mandau* which belongs to them is a rare and a dangerous weapon. The symbol or the meaning of wood is concerned with the forests as the heart of the earth, and it is very important for all Dayak communities as live sources. A Dayak community respects the forests because they and their daily activities are connected with the forests.

On hilt of *Mandau*, there are many symbols too like Enggang bird and wild boar. An Enggang bird's head motif symbolizes that Dayak Tunjung-Benuaq tribe respect warrior souls. A wild boar motif is a symbol of perseverance and workhorse.

For the last part, accessories of *Mandau*, the woven rattan motif has a shape like circle. This circle means a balance of nature and the hair symbolizes the bravery level of the owner.

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