

THE ORAL TRADITION OF *SANSANA BANDAR* OF DAYAK NGAJU IN KAPUAS WATERSHED OF CENTRAL KALIMANTAN

TRADISI LISAN SANSANA BANDAR DAYAK NGAJU DI DAS KAPUAS KALIMANTAN TENGAH

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Abstract

Sansana Bandar is one of the oral traditions of the Dayak Ngaju people of Central Kalimantan in the form of a story about Bandar. This study aims to examine the narrative of the Bandar by contextualizing all aspects of the story to the socio-cultural history of the Dayak ethnic group. This study used an ethnographic approach. Data collection techniques used were library research, interviews, staging, recording, and transcription. The data obtained were then analyzed semiotically. The results show that *Sansana Bandar* is still maintained by the Dayak Ngaju community in the Kapuas Regency. The purpose of staging *Sansana Bandar* is so that one's ideals can be achieved. *Sansana Bandar* staging requires requirements and is carried out from afternoon to morning. *Sansana Bandar*'s text analysis shows the influence of cultures outside the island of Kalimantan in the life of the Ngaju Dayak community.

Keywords: oral tradition, *Sansana Bandar*, Dayak Ngaju, Kapuas watershed, Central Kalimantan

Abstrak

Sansana Bandar adalah salah satu tradisi lisan masyarakat Dayak Ngaju Kalimantan Tengah yaitu berupa cerita tentang seorang tokoh bernama Bandar. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis narasicerita Bandar melalui seluruh aspek cerita yang dikaitkan dengan konteks social historis dan social budaya suku Dayak Ngaju. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan etnografi. Teknik pengambilan data yang dilakukan adalah penelusuran pustaka, wawancara, pementasan, perekaman, dan transkripsi. Data yang diperoleh kemudian dianalisis secara semiotik. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa *Sansana Bandar* masih dipertahankan oleh masyarakat Dayak Ngaju di wilayah Kabupaten Kapuas. Tujuan pementasan *Sansana Bandar* bagi tuan rumah adalah supaya cita-cita berhajat dapat tercapai. *Sansana Bandar* dipentaskan memerlukan persyaratan dan dilakukan pada waktu sore sampai pagi hari. Analisis teks cerita *Sansana Bandar* menunjukkan adanya pengaruh kebudayaan luar pulau Kalimantan dalam kehidupan masyarakat Dayak Ngaju.

Kata kunci: tradisi lisan, *Sansana Bandar*, Dayak Ngaju, DAS Kapuas, Kalimantan Tengah

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INTRODUCTION

Dayak ethnic group is one of the native inhabitants of Kalimantan Island, the biggest island in Indonesia. The term 'Dayak', according

to Dayakology Institute, is an exonym because it is a term given by the colonial government (the Dutch) to the inhabitants living in Kalimantan Island. The natives actually have other terms

that are more typical to refer to themselves. These terms usually come from geographic names such as the name of the rivers or hills where they live. For example, people living in the region of the Kahayan river will refer to themselves as Kahayan people, and so on (Siyok and Yankris, 2013, p. 1). Collectively, the term “Dayak” refers to non-Muslims or non-Malays who are residents of Kalimantan in general (van Klinken, 2006, p. 28).

Study about Dayak society as a traditional ethnic community characterized by living in longhouses (*betang*), having a habit of hunting head (*kayau*), and nomadic (Maunati, 2006, p. 61). Several studies on Dayak ethnicity have also been carried out (Staal, 1940; Hilss, 1955; King, 1982a; King, 1982b; King, 1985; King, 2001; Chee Beng, 1997; Sellato, 2017). These studies describe Dayaks more as a unique ethnic group in their past lives.

Apart from a variety of traditional impressions about Dayak, Dayak people especially Dayak Ngaju of Central Kalimantan are people who have a wealth of oral traditions that are so diverse both in terms of types and numbers. Oral traditions become an inseparable part of their lives. The strong tradition of orality in the lives of the Dayak people of Central Kalimantan is marked by the absence of any script that shows the absence of written tradition in the past. Riwut (2007, p. 528) argues that in the life of the Dayak community in the past only knew *totok bakaka* (Dayak letters) which could not be categorized as a character. *Totok bakaka* is more of a symbol used as a communication tool. Messages delivered through *totok bakaka* are usually specific and specific messages such as the desire to propose a girl, news of the dangers of *asang* (war), and various other messages.

Dayak Ngaju is one of the sub-ethnic Dayak who inhabit the region of Central Kalimantan. Sunarningsih (2018, p. 23--38) states that “ngaju” is one of the original tribes inhabiting the island of Borneo, precisely in the four major river basins in south-east Kalimantan, namely the Barito river, the Kapuas river, the Kahayan

river, and the Katingan river. Ngaju people live in the river along with other tribes, like Maanyan and Lawangan on the Barito river, or Danum on the Kapuas river, the Kahayan river, and the Katingan river. Those ethnic groups use different languages in their daily lives, whose names are attached according to the names of their tribes.

The Dayak Ngaju people known today are called *biaju*. The term *biaju* can be found in several literatures that talk about Dayak such as *Hikayat Banjar* written by Ras (1990, p. 34). The term *biaju* does not originate from the Ngaju people but comes from Bakumpai which is ontologically a colloquial form of *bi* and *aju* which means “from upstream” or “from the bumpkin”. Bakumpai people who live in the Barito watershed refer to the Dayak Ngaju people as *biaju* (Csharer, 1963, p. 1), which means people who live in and from the upper reaches of the river. Other literature states that the people referred to as “ngaju” people is the Central Kalimantan Dayak people who live along the Kapuas river, the Kahayan river, the Katingan river, and the Mentaya river (Schiller, 1996, p. 409--417).

Oral traditions that are still carried out by the Dayak Ngaju community are *Karungut* and *Sansana Bandar*. *Karungut* is a poem that can be likened to a poem that has certain rules and rhyming patterns as well as in a poem (Arnisyah 2018, p. 25). *Sansana Bandar* is part of the *sansana* oral tradition which contains stories about the life of a Bandar figure. Meanwhile, *karungut* and *sansana* are sometimes also described as the same type of oral tradition (Lestari and Najmudin, 2018, p. 1). The character named Bandar who is told in *Sansana Bandar* is a great figure. He is described as an intellectual and modern figure. Bandar is positioned as a great figure who lived in the past but the greatness is still being received by the peoples until now (Lestari and Najmudin, 2018). Another study of *sansana* has been carried out by Asi (Asi, 2016) but is not specifically discussing *Sansana Bandar*. This study explains the history of *sansana*, the types

of *sansana*, the performance of *Sansana Bandar* and the description of the story of *Sansana Bandar* in a sociohistorical context.

METHOD

This research was conducted in Kapuas Regency, Central Kalimantan Province. The research method used is the ethnographic method by searching literature on *sansana Bandar*, interviews with community leaders, and staging of *sansana Bandar* followed by transcription into written form and language translation. Literature search was carried out on the literature on the types of *sansana* and the position of *sansana* in the Ngaju Dayak community. Literature search results are used as basic material to create questions that will be used to ask the Ngaju Dayak community about *sansana*. The next research stage is the staging of *Sansana Bandar*. *Sansana* staging covers 2 things, namely: (1) preparation covering various types of property used (2) *pangasana* (*pangasana* requirements); (3) the staging consists of time, audience and duration of the staging and (4) the end of the staging. The results of the performance were recorded and then transcribed into writing and analyzed text. The study also recorded the *Sansana Bandar* program which was then transcribed into text and translated into languages. Text transcription in the two languages is then used as study data in this study. The analytical model used in this study is a semiotic analysis in accordance with the Peirce semiotic concept. One of the most basic concepts in Peirce's view is the existence of trichotomy between icons, indexes, and symbols (Budiman, 2005). Trichotomy will be used as a basis for analyzing data in this study.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Sansana Bandar in the Life of the Dayak Ethnic Group

One genre of oral tradition of the Central Kalimantan Dayak community is *Sansana Bandar*. *Sansana Bandar* was created in the life of the Dayak Ngaju people. *Sansana Bandar* as part of the oral tradition of Dayak

Ngaju people is an oral tradition in the form of *sansana* that specifically tells the story of a figure named Bandar. *Sansana* is a tribal tale, saga, epic, that is enchanted like Karungut and is legendary (Mihing, 1977, p. 60; Bingan and Ibrahim, 2005, p. 355). In general, there are four genres of *sansana* that can still be found in Kapuas Regency. According to Mr. Sulatin (community leader of Hindu Kaharingan in Kapuas Regency) said that *sansana* is divided into four types. The four types of *sansana* are: *Sansana Bandar*, *Sansana Bagundik*, *Sansana Kayau* and *Sansana Liau*. Every type of *sansana* has a different function among the life of the Dayak ethnic group.

Sansana Bandar is quite well-known among Dayak people, especially those who live in Kapuas Regency. *Sansana Bandar* is used as a religious ritual to achieve the ideals or the intentions. Dayak people in Kapuas Regency believes that by holding *Sansana Bandar*, their ideals or intentions will come true. As the name implies, *Sansana Bandar* is a *sansana* that contains the story of Bandar figure. Bandar is a great figure, handsome, and a leader who is famous for his ability in solving various problems. Bandar figure who is told in *Sansana Bandar* is one of the ancestral figures of Dayak people who is considered a legend (actually exist). *Sansana Bandar* can only be delivered by a *pangasana* who understands the story of Bandar. Thus, not everyone can become a *pangasana* of *sansana Bandar*. *Sansana Bandar* performance is always equipped with several types of offerings as well as some other requirements that must be fulfilled before going on.

Of the four types of *sansana*, *sansana Bandar* is the only *sansana* that still survive until today in the life of Dayak Ngaju people, especially in the region of Kapuas Regency. The three other genres of *sansana* cannot be found anymore. There are many titles or versions of stories about Bandar that can be delivered by the speaker (*pangasana*) in *sansana Bandar*. An informant in the region of the Kapuas Regency said there were 41 stories of Bandar that could

be delivered by the *pangasana*. In carrying out *sansana Bandar*, *pangasana* will deliver a version or a title of the story about Bandar. All versions of the story have a common pattern of story, that is, about the life of a figure of Bandar from his birth to his adulthood.

Sansana Bandar in today's life, generally, is carried out if the people have ideals, for example, when they are going to build a house, when the family member is going to leave home for making a living in another place, when they are marrying off a child, when the child is going to take school exams, when they have the intention for certain positions, and various other ideals. Based on their belief, all of these ideals will be achieved if they have performed *Sansana Bandar*. *Sansana Bandar* is also often carried out only as a means to treat longing for past traditions. In this occasion, the ideals or hopes that can be made at the performance of *Sansana Bandar* are more general such as asking for health and safety for all family members who are gathering.

***Sansana Bandar*: Preparation and Performance**

Preparation of *Sansana Bandar*
Sansana Bandar is staged from afternoon to morning. *Sansana Bandar*'s staging locations can be held inside the house or also in the yard. The audience who watched *sansana Bandar* consisted of children, adults, and parents, both men and women. According to Mr. Sulatin and Mr. Garutak (a *pangasana* from Mantangai District, Kapuas Regency), the staging of *sansana Bandar* included two steps, the preparation and the staging. The preparation phase includes the following. First, a *pangasana* also has to know well all materials required for offerings that must be prepared during *sansana Bandar* performance. Second, before carrying out *sansana Bandar*, a *pangasana* must perform a *panduk* ritual in a ceremony called *tampung tawar* so that *sansana Bandar* can be performed well without any problem (Figure 1). Third, for holding the performance, the host must prepare several items and equipment for the offerings that must

be provided for the process of the performance. Every item for the offering has certain symbol and meaning. Four, before the performance, *pangasana* asks the host about the goals or the wishes to be offered in *sansana Bandar*. The next question is whether the host will be willing to hold *sansana Bandar* after their goals are achieved. *Sansana Bandar* is a pair of events that is carried out to convey the goals. When the goals have been successfully achieved, it should be held again as a thanksgiving for the granted goals or wishes. However, there are no standard sanctions or penalties if the host refuses to hold the second *sansana Bandar* even though his wishes have been granted. So, the performance of *sansana Bandar* entirely depends on the request.

Figure 1
***Pangasana* must carry out a ritual called *tawar rumpang* so that *sansana Bandar* can be performed well without any problem**



The following are some equipment and offerings that must be available when carrying out *sansana Bandar*. First, *mangkok sambau*: A small bowl containing white sticky rice and a chicken egg on top of it. Second, *panduduk*: an old coconut. This coconut is used as a symbol of the seat that will be occupied by the spirit

of Bandar during the performance of *sansana Bandar*. People believe that spirit will come to attend it. Third, *Pulau Kambang*: A bowl (a container that resembles a basin) filled with rice and inside the rice there is a bundle of *hambaruan* (seven grains of rice bundled in a small white cloth), *singguh hambaruan* (several pieces of coins), everything needed for chewing betel and cigarettes (*panginangan* and *rokon tarahan*). At the top of the rice it is placed *kabun kambang* consisting of various kinds of fresh flowers that have been arranged. There are two sets of *Pulau Kambang* with the same content in the performance of *sansana Bandar*. Four, *tampung tawar*, this is used before and after the performance as the opening and the closing of *sansana Bandar*. Fifth, *behas tawur* (yellow rice to sow). *Pangansana* will sow *behas tawur* several times over a series of offerings during the performance of *sansana Bandar*.

Performance of *Sansana Bandar*

Sansana Bandar's staging includes two things, the staging atmosphere and the Bandar's story material delivered by the *pangasana*. *Sansana Bandar* is delivered by a *pangasana* without any music. However, he narrates the story in a special rhythm like singing a song. The audience can watch *sansana Bandar* in relaxing way by sitting around the *pangasana*. During the process of *sansana Bandar*, the *pangasana* sometimes pauses narrating the story to drink or eat when necessary. The language used in *sansana Bandar* is Dayak Ngaju language interspersed with the languages of Sangiang, Banjar, and Malay. In the process of narrating the story, the *pangasana* can slip humor that makes the audiences laugh. The audience is also allowed to comment directly on the story delivered by the *pangasana*. Comments expressed by the audience are usually responses to the humor made by the *pangasana*. Humor can make the ambience feel alive and fresh. During the performance, the audiences are also allowed to eat, drink or smoke in a relaxing manner.

During the *sansana Bandar* performances, a person sometimes experiences a state of possession trance. This Dayak people believe that this person in the state induced by the spirit of Bandar forcefully entering into the body that creates the human self-awareness. If this happens, the *pangasana* immediately calms the audience with *tampung tawar* until the ambience returns to normal.

The story material delivered by *pangasana* in the staging of *sansana Bandar* is one of the stories about a person named Bandar from birth to adulthood. This research also conducted a staging of *sansana Bandar* on March 3, 2018 which was carried out in Kapuas District. *Pangasana* of the event was Mr. Garutak from Mantangai, Kapuas Regency. He conveyed a Bandar story entitled "*Sansana Bandar Busu Hanyut*."

In summary, it can be concluded that *Sansana Bandar Busu Hanyut* tells the story of the life of a Bandar character from his birth to his adulthood. Bandar was the son of a leader named Tamanggung from Kampung Lowok Dalam Batawi. He was described as a leader who was rich, wise, and had the ability to lead well. Bandar got a very good education since childhood thanked to his father. The skills in the field of trade were able to be mastered by Bandar at a young age. Bandar dared to make a big decision, which was to make a living by trade to a very far place. Innovation and creativity were also carried out by Bandar in the field of trade. This was evident when Bandar brought various forest products outside his hometown. The idea was a new breakthrough because it had never been done by people before Bandar. The boat used by Bandar was a very large boat that was capable of transporting a large amount of the forest products. The following excerpts are from the story text that illustrates the ability of Bandar in the field of trade.

*Hayak palus kea mamuat mapin kare panting,
hangkang ije bulan tanggar langit, ji iyoh ampin
"Bandar anak Tamanggung" hindai jadi leteng
palapah pisang, hindai bewei puat papan ruhai*

pangan kuan kutak anak Tamanggung oloh Lewu Lowok Batawi.

Tege tinai oloh hulu batang Danum mimbit patung hangkang dia urehmu kare Tempu, Iyoh kuan kutak oloh jipen tabela are, jaka imili atawa dia tunah Tempu?

Era sampai nangkalau oh kuan kutak Bandar amun tege oloh bajual jaka pantung, hangkang.

Translate:

Together with all the shipload of *jelutung* sap, it was also loaded the *nyatu* sap which took a full month, he saw by his own eyes, Bandar the son of Tamanggung, the load still did not sink the banana leaf midrib, there were many more large boat loads, said the son of Tamanggung of Kampung Lowok Dalam Batawi.

There were people upstream of the river coming with *jelutung* sap and *nyatu* sap in a huge amount, Bandar's men asked, will it all be bought, Sir?

Bandar said, if there are people who sell *jelutung* sap and *nyatu* sap not to be missed, all must be bought.

In the development of the story it was portrayed the overseas story of Bandar to the lands of Banjar and Betawi. After successfully trading in Banjar, Bandar still felt unsatisfied, he wanted a bigger challenge and then decided to trade to a more distant place, namely Betawi. Both in Banjar and Betawi, Bandar showed honesty and good cooperation in the trade process. He then gained the trust of the wider community not only in terms of trade but also in other matters. Bandar got the trust of the people to solve the various problems. He became a kind of "judge" in the community. Many conflicts between community members could be resolved properly. The following are excerpts from the story text that illustrates the ability of Bandar to solve various kinds of community problems.

Jadi mamutus je ayun jete, keleh nyambung tinai mamutus pakara ji beken, handak jatun malayan tandak saritan ayun Bandar melai kantor basara.

Iyoh ampin Bandar anak tamanggung matei lepah karaman jatha. Ya ken dia lalangen

kapintar kaharatim mu aken. Pintar jatun ati alan tumun lo saritae.

"Amun aku mamam saudagar tanah banjar bahut bilak buang kantor basara, sana tege ikau melai kantor basara jatun ati buang leka aloh munduk".

Iyoh aken jaka bara aken tamam ayum pangrik lingu."

Translate:

One trial finished, another trial continued. There was almost no break at all for Bandar in the meeting room of the office.

Yes, this is it, Bandar the son of Tamanggung. He was an extraordinary son who had intelligence and skill that no one could match.

"As for me, the Banjar merchant whom you can call as your uncle, this office is usually empty. Now it becomes crowded once you are there".

Yes, I can call you a great nephew who has broad knowledge.

Furthermore it was told that Bandar later became a figure who was successful, respected, and loved by the wider community. Bandar had an abundance of wealth from trade and the ability to be a kind of "judge" in the community. Despite having achieved success in overseas lands, Bandar finally decided to return to his hometown and married a village girl named Sumbu Kurung.

The Signs in the Story Text of *Bandar Busu Hanyut*

All the stories about Bandar delivered by the *pangasana* in the performance of *sansana Bandar* including *Sansana Bandar Busu Hanyut* are believed by the Dayak Ngaju people as the stories that have historical and philosophical significance. The story of Bandar in *sansana Bandar* is believed by the people as a story about the life of a great figure in the past. He was not an ordinary fictional figure but a figure whose character had been striven to be alive by the people. The story of Bandar is also considered to have philosophical meaning because various events in the story contain philosophical values of life such as the

value of responsibility, loyalty, wisdom, and other values. These values are continuously endeavored by the people to remain in their life.

The word “bandar” which appears as the name of the main character in the story of Bandar becomes an important question to be examined more deeply. The word “bandar” as a self-name is not found in the concept of the Dayak Ngaju culture. Based on a lexical search and cultural history of Dayak Ngaju people, it can be concluded that the word “bandar” does not originate from the concept of the naming system of Dayak Ngaju people. It is not parallel with the word Dambung, Penyang, or other names that often appear in the naming system of Ngaju Dayak Ngaju people. The word “bandar” as a sign in the narrative text certainly does not stand alone. It has a connection with things or other signs in the text. In *sansana Bandar Busu Hanyut*, Bandar was said to have good abilities in terms of trade and shipping. It was said that he carried a very large load on a large boat. The following excerpts illustrate this.

Iyoh apang, jaka tuh nah apang 41 badayung papan ruhai pangun, manembak lela Mariam jaka kaput pijem jaka lewu Lowok Dalam Batawi katakanaan sandawa Mariam hai.

Translate:

Yes, Father, there are 41 rowers ready for this large boat. They then shot the cannon as a sign of departure so that the entire Lowok Dalam Batawi village was pitch black because of the puff of smoke.

Those excerpts illustrate Bandar had a fairly good ability in terms of trade and also shipping. He was described as brave in leading a large number of group to get out of his hometown with the aim of trading. Based on the events of the story, it can be seen that there is a correlation between the word “bandar” as the name of the character in the story with the meaning of the word “bandar” which means a port and a trading center. This assumption is reinforced by the next story that illustrates the departure of

Bandar to Betawi land by crossing the Java Sea. The purpose of Bandar to reach Betawi land was to trade, he also brought various kinds of Kalimantan forest products in large quantities to be sold at the place he was going.

The word “bandar” which appears as the name of a character becomes a kind of symbol for two things in the text namely trade and shipping. Meanwhile, according to the geographical conditions of Central Kalimantan, the main livelihood of Dayak people in the past was to find out and collect various kinds of forest products for their survival. According to the notes of an explorer, Schwaner, who traveled along the Kahayan river and the Kapuas river in 1854, saw many Ngaju people who depended their lives on searching for gold along the two rivers. The gold obtained was then sold to the traders downstream of the river (Sunarningsih, 2018, p. 32.). Schwaner’s notes imply there had been long contact between the Dayak community and the outside communities through trading activities.

Furthermore, archaeological traces show that the Ngaju people are people who had a fairly good standard of economic life in the past. The discovery of foreign ceramics and beads originating from outside the Dayak shows a trade relationship between the Dayak community and the outside community. The artifacts were found on residential sites (former houses), secondary graves, and in the form of community collection items that are kept hereditary. Ceramics found at the sites are more fragmentary than intact. The shape of ceramics is in the form of containers and mostly are Chinese ceramics from the Qing Dynasty (17--19th century), some others are Chinese ceramics from the Ming Dynasty (late 16th century), ceramics from Southeast Asia (Vietnam and Thailand) and European ceramics (Sunarningsih, 2018, p.33). Based on the archaeological traces, it is assumed that the word “bandar” which appears as the name of a character in the story of Bandar is very possible as a result of the influence of the contact between the Dayak people and culture

from outside through trading activities.

Another sign that is also important to note is the housing system that is told in *sansana Bandar*. The following are the excerpts of the story that illustrate the situation of the Bandar family's residence.

Andau halemei jadi Tamanggung Kapala, palus tetei mananjung sampai ranjang bakarawang. Palus menter kea ewen ndue Nyai, hayak bapander kutak sarita ewen ndue melai ranjang bakarawang.

Narai awi kue tuh nah Nyai kuan Tamanggung ji lagi jatun salundile uhi, bilang lumat lumpung. Pama are barang, pama tau kue kua, garantung, lalang, rangkang rumus, balanga, patin ringgit, ji gudang uemgije toko pasar, tanjung jandau dia baka tau lepah kua.

Jaka netei parung bagakumat hintan, tanjung jandau dia tau lepah

Iyoh ampin Tamanggung Kapala, jadi tahi batiruh ji peda belai.

Andau balawa Tamanggung Kapala, palus manekap gayung sabun ji palus mandui.

Jadi mandui Tamanggung Kapala sarita iye melai hete palus tetei tanjung eka papan karung lawang batiruh, eka lamari pakaian, palus mamasang baju kameja.

Iya ampin Tamanggung Kapala mamasang jaruji tangan, sinde mamasut balau auk sarita palus iye haguat.

Translate:

Because it was already late, Tamanggung Kapala then headed to the carved bed.

Tamanggung Kapala then laid down together with Nyai, his wife.

Tamanggung said to his wife that what they had been doing was no use because they had not had children.

Even though many assets have been obtained such as gongs, jars, money vaults, banks, and shops in the market.

It is all meaningless if there is no child as a substitute for me, said Tamanggung Kapala.

Tamanggung Kapala then fell asleep because he was bored.

It was already daytime, Tamanggung Kapala then took a dipper and soap for bathing.

After finishing bathing, Tamanggung Kapala immediately walked to the bedroom, where the wardrobe was, he immediately put on a shirt.

Yes so, Tamanggung Kapala then put on a watch, then smoothed her hair and departed.

The excerpts of the story text explain that the life of Tamanggung with his wife, Nyai, is not like the life of the Dayak people as described in the early literature on Dayak. The Dayak people in various classic anthropological literatures are described as a community that lives in groups (communal) and occupies longhouses (*betang*). Based on archeological traces (Sunarningsih, 2017, p. 77), it was found that there was *kuta* (a kind of fortress) that surrounded the longhouse. Longhouse as the main building in *kuta*, inhabited by many families. Ngaju is a community group that adopts a communal type of residence. Longhouses are still used in some Ngaju settlements along the Kahayan watershed. Schwaner, who went down the Kahayan river from 1843 to 1847, saw many settlements in the form of villages and *kuta*. According to Schwaner, the number of settlements in the downstream to upstream was quite a lot. He found around 60 *kutas* throughout his journey. The number of inhabitants of each *kuta* varied between 51 and 500 people

The archaeological research findings reinforce assumptions about the residential system of the Ngaju people in the past that was communal. Meanwhile, the dwelling of Tamanggung and Nyai described in the text of the story did not indicate a communal living system. It was described that they lived in an individual residence. There was absolutely no description relating to group dwelling in the text of the story. This could be seen from the appearance of the word bedroom, carved bed, and wardrobe which do not refer to the interior system in longhouses (*betang*). This description shows that the story of Bandar does not fully depict the original past life of the Dayak people. There are many details of life showing the influence of the culture from outside the Dayak.

Aside from being the leader of a village, Tamanggung is also described as being a kind

of “judge” in the community. Likewise with Bandar, in addition to being a big merchant, he is also portrayed as a kind of “judge” in the community. The text of the story depicts Tamanggung and Bandar dealing with many files they must complete every day. This picture seems paradoxical with the condition of the Dayak people in the past as illustrated by some literature on Dayak. Riwut (2007) described the Dayak people in the past did not have literacy and written tradition, they only knew *totok bakaka* as a communication tool. These conditions were very different from the life of Tamanggung and Bandar. They were both described as intellectuals who understand the written tradition well. This picture showed that not all events in the story of Bandar illustrated the reality of the people but it possibly only depicted the expectations.

Furthermore, in the excerpts of the story there was an event telling that Tamanggung was wearing a shirt and a watch. Both of these objects namely a shirt and a watch are symbols of modern life. This showed that the story of Bandar was not only influenced by the outside cultures but neither in accordance with his era. Other signs of modernity could also be seen by existence of the words money, bank and market. These signs reinforce the assumption that the Dayak people told in *sansana Bandar* were not traditional and primitive such as those which had been imaged about Dayak in some written literature. On the other hand, the Dayak people in *sansana Bandar* were modern people represented by the figures of Tamanggung and Bandar. In other words it can be said that the story of Bandar contains a picture of life that transcended the time when it was created.

Based on the description of these signs it can be found the existence of two views. Firstly, the story of Bandar character is strongly assumed to have been born and developed when the Dayak people (especially the Dayak Ngaju) were familiar with the trading system. Historically, Kalimantan’s trading system have developed well since the Kalimantan region was influenced by Majapahit power. The traces of

Majapahit power in the Kalimantan region can be found in some written statements. Ideham et al. (2015, p. 13) mention the existence of the Kingdom of Nan Sarunai in the past as the kingdom of the Dayak people in the Kalimantan region. The kingdom of Nan Sarunai was located near the current Amuntai region. The Kingdom of Nan Sarunai is mentioned as a primitive state, it is indicated by the absence of the royal administrative staff. The fundamental relationship that was created in the Kingdom of Nan Sarunai was based on a genealogical called *ipulaksanai* which means to be continued by the intestine. *Ipulaksanai* means relatives. Nan Sarunai Kingdom people were bound by family ties based on one descendant. Nan Sarunai is described as collapsing due to the Majapahit attack in the 13th century.

In several other written sources it is stated that the southern part of Kalimantan has been influenced by Hindu-Buddhism (since the 14th century AD). The archaeological data were found in the Barito river. The Hindu kingdom stood with the name Dipa and Daha as already mentioned in *Hikayat Banjar*. Archaeological data supporting the existence of the kingdom include the Agung Temple, the Laras Temple, Pematang Bata, and the remnants of ancient settlements in the flow of Sungai Negara. The kingdom was under Majapahit rule. The center of the kingdom was in Sungai Negara which is a tributary of the Barito river. Based on the results of archeological research in several rivers near Barito, such as Kapuas and Kahayan there are no monumental buildings found in Hinduism/Buddhism, but elements that show such influence remain, including the discovery of phallus-shaped artifacts and prospective statues stored by the community inside the *patahu* building (Sunarningsih, 2018, p. 35).

Meanwhile, so far history has noted that Majapahit is a kingdom that had sophistication in the field of maritime and trade as well. Pradhani (2017, p. 186--203) states that as a maritime kingdom, Majapahit had an advantage because of its ability to synergize the river shipping and agricultural traditions with

the maritime potential mastered through the Maritime tradition of Kediri. In other written sources it is mentioned that Majapahit built many ports as ports and trade centers. Based on these historical traces, the appearance of the word “bandar” shows the existence of contact between the culture of the Dayak people and the culture from outside, especially Majapahit culture in the past.

Secondly, the existence of several symbols of modernity that appears in the text of the story shows that the narrative text of *sansana Bandar* is always dynamic. It always experiences adjustments according to changing times. Symbols of modernity which among others emerged through the concept of individual dwelling, carved bed, shirt, watch, and money can be seen as the influence of colonial culture to the text. Dutch colonial as a symbol of western people are always synonymous with things that are modern while local people are traditional. Modernity in the story text of Bandar is represented by the presence of these objects. This shows that the story text of Bandar is not static but dynamic. He continues to perceive the changing times.

The outside cultural influences in the story text of Bandar as described above illustrate that Dayak people are people who have an open attitude. They do not close themselves to the culture from outside. This is in line with the cosmological concepts adopted by them. Mirim and Sudiman (2018, p. 1--11) that in the Dayak cosmological system, the creation of the universe and its contents as a result of a clash of fights between two hornbills namely male hornbill and female hornbill. Based on this description, the Dayak people have a cosmic insight that opposing and conflicting forces will form a new life. The Dayak people will always be open because they realize that the clash between the old values and culture with the new culture will produce a new and better order.

Based on the cosmological concept adopted by the Dayak people, it can be seen that the

inclusion of outside values or culture in the story of Bandar does not mean placing the story of Bandar as a non-Dayak story. It remains as a Dayak story that reflects the attitude of the openness of its people to a variety of cultures from outside. The story of Bandar figure also shows the attitude of people, that is, open and responsive to various changing situations. Through the story of Bandar figure, it is apparent that the Dayak people have hopes and ideals pertaining to the ideal situation both concerning the human character and the people.

Other written sources state that the life of the Dayak people is divided into four epochs, namely: (1) the time of *Sang “En”*, that is the condition of the age that tells what it is, at this time sacred teachings or revelations were conveyed using high languages or terms that were difficult to understand in human language. (2) The time of *Sang Hiang (Sangiang)*, that is, an era that shows the time of ancestors or in Dayak language known as *Tatu Hiang*, marked by the development of language into Sangiang language, which has now become the main language of the Dayak Ngaju language and the language in the Book of Panaturan. (3) The era of *tetek tatum* is an era marked by the style of language that describes the legend as in the story of Tambun and Bungai or Damang Batu which is then taken as a symbol of heroism. (4) The era of *Sansana Bandar* is an era that describes the ways in which parents develop and guide young people. During the *sansana Bandar* period there was a cultural assimilation so that the Dayak Ngaju language experienced syncretization, especially by the inclusion of other cultures in this case the entry of Dutch colonialism including Malay language in the region of Kalimantan. In this era, many languages were included in rhymes (Etika, 2017).

The Etika’s opinion implies two implications. First, *sansana Bandar* was born in the condition of the era indicating that there had been an intermingling between the Dayak culture and the culture outside Dayak. This condition is in

accordance with the reality in the story text of Sansana Bandar Busu Hanyut which shows the mixing of languages in the process of delivery and also the inclusion of signs in the story that refer to cultures outside of Dayak. Second, sansana Bandar has a pedagogical function, that is, as an educational tool which is conveyed through various symbols and parables.

CONCLUSION

Sansana is an oral tradition in the life of the Dayak Ngaju people in the Kapuas Regency of Central Kalimantan. There are four types, namely *Sansana Bandar*, *Sansana Bagundik*, *Sansana Kayau* and *Sansana Liau*. Sansana Bandar is a type of Sansana that can still be found in Dayak Ngaju people's lives today. *Sansana Bandar* is a story about Bandar in the Dayak Ngaju language which is conveyed by a speaker who is commonly referred to as the *pangasana*. *Sansana Bandar*'s staging is carried out by the host as a medium to make a wish or an ideal. There are requirements for staging *Sansana Bandar* in the form of offerings determined by the *pangasana*. Analysis of the text in the *Sansana Bandar* story found several symbols that indicate the influence of culture from outside the Dayak Ngaju people who entered the *sansana Bandar* story. It is very closely related to the socio-historical context of the Dayak Ngaju people who have had relations with people from outside the island of Borneo through trade routes.

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