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# ***Pukung pahewan*: The effort of natural resources conservation in Dayak Ngaju community**

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**Abstract.** In this article, I will discuss about *Pukung Pahewan*. It is a name of the prohibition area with certain terms and extents. *Pukung Pahewan* comes from the Ngaju Dayak language. *Pukung* means island or region, while *pahewan* means prohibition. The determination of *Pukung Pahewan* refers to certain objects such as trees, stones, and other objects that are sacred to a particular region, which should not be disturbed or destroyed, including the surrounding area. Moreover, *Pukung Pahewan* is determined by customary agreement with certain characteristics, i.e. the *Diwung/Handiwung* tree, *Lunuk/Banyan* tree or other large trees, the presence of sacred, and sometimes required by the Bird's Nest/*Antang*. The concept of *Pukung Pahewan* by the Dayak Ngaju community in many areas of Central Kalimantan proves to eliminate the notion that a shifting cultivation system can damage natural resources.

## **1. Introduction**

*Pukung Pahewan* is a name of prohibited area in Central Kalimantan. The name of *Pukung Pahewan* comes from Dayak Ngaju language, *Pukung* means Island (*pulau*) and *Pahewan* means prohibition (*larangan*). *Pukung Pahewan* is determined based on customary agreements with certain characteristics, including the presence of *Diwung/Handiwung* trees, *Lunuk/Beringin* trees or other large trees, the existence of *Keramat* and sometimes the existence of eagle / *Antang* bird nests. In the custom of Dayak Ngaju community who inhabit the Central Kalimantan, the establishment of the *Pukung Pahewan* area is usually in conjunction with the determination of the area for settlement and farming. At the time of searching for a new region more fertile for farming, the Dayak community always divide their territory into three zones, namely residential areas, cultivated areas, and *Pukung Pahewan*. The determination of the *Pukung Pahewan* area is intended as a place to relocate spirits that inhabit the forest, who's their residence has been made into settlements and fields. The spirits are moved to the area *Pukung Pahewan* with certain ceremonies and the area should not be disturbed by the community as well as sacred.

*Pukung Pahewan* is a form of local wisdom of Dayak community, especially on Dayak Ngaju to conserve nature and the environment. By the establishing of the *Pukung Pahewan* area, which is basically the implementation of the concept of zoning and relocation, the flora and fauna in the area are not disturbed by their habitat because they have been moved. The *Pukung Pahewan* concept applied by the Dayak Ngaju community in many regions of Central Kalimantan has proven to eliminate the assumption that a shifting cultivation system can damage natural resources. When the



forest is cleared for fields and settlements, there are still certain areas that are left as a prohibited area and sacred as a place of relocation. Furthermore, after the community moves to other more fertile areas, the fields and settlements that are left will become forest again, so that the flora and fauna that have been relocated in the *Pukung Pahewan* area and will get a wider area to develop again.

## 2. *Pukung Pahewan* and the Distribution of Resources

### 2.1. *The pattern of division of space between humans and other organisms in the tradition of the Dayak community*

The culture and traditions of the Dayak community cannot be separated from the context of the beliefs that they held i.e. *Kaharingan* belief or religion, or rather the *Hindu Kaharingan* religion. Most of the traditions of the Dayak community, derived from traditions in the *Hindu Kaharingan* e.g. variety of traditional rituals, clothes, and habits and abstinence or *pali*. Moreover, its weapon, has a religious meaning that is closely related to *Kaharingan*.

Dayak culture was originally based on *Kaharingan* culture that has known and encompasses the concepts of human relations with nature, and human relations with God called *Ranying Hatalla*. Furthermore, as a culture, *Kaharingan* has encompassed cultural system boundaries as stated by anthropologists Clyde and Florence Kluckhohn [1], i.e:

- Conception of the nature of human life
- Conception of the nature of human work
- Conception of human position in time and space
- Conception about human relations with the surrounding environment
- Conception of human relations with each other

According to Lewis KDR, a *Hindu Kaharingan* religious figure, the *Kaharingan* people had known the harmony and balance system since the beginning which was implanted through the three pillars supporting the life or existence and belief system called *Garing Hatungku Tungket Langit*. The three supporting pillars consist of *Ranying Hatalla* which represents the concept of divinity, *Kayu Erang Tingang* represents the concept of life with custom (*belum bahadat*), and *Kayu Kumpang Saribu* represents the concept of human intelligence. In the concept of *Hindu Kaharingan* religion, to achieve peace and prosperity of life in the world and the hereafter *Saran Danum Sangiang*, humans must be devoted to God, respect and uphold customs and live pursuing comprehensive intelligence (*harati*). Thus, the three concepts above must be carried out in a balanced and harmonious manner.

In the belief of the Dayak community, the universe consists of the upper world, and the underworld. The upper world, inhabited by *Ranying Hatalla*, who is the highest ruler. The rulers of nature, who argues by Hermogenes Ugang in Nila Riwut [2] called as God. This concept of God is similar to the divine concept in other religious systems and beliefs in the world. *Ranying Hatalla*, living in the sky, so it is often referred to as *Ranying Hatalla Langit*. In addition, the word of *langit* describes its position in the upper realm.

*Ranying Hatalla* lives in the upper realm called *Sangum Saran Danum*. This place is described as a place that is full of balance, peace, calm and prosperity, and has a harmonization of relationships between various elements and elements of nature, where the inhabitants share space and time in an interactive unity. This concept is similar to the concept of heaven or nirvana in other religions and beliefs in the world. The harmony and peace like heaven which *Ranying Hatalla* duplicates to the surface of the earth. Consequently, *Ranying Hatalla* send the first man, named *Raja Bunu* (King Bunu), to come down to earth.

*Raja Bunu* (King Bunu) and his family descended to the surface of the earth, which represented the underworld and called the *Saran Danum Kalunen*, bringing the main mission is to invite people to obey *Ranying Hatalla* to form a good and balanced community so that the harmonization of relations between humanity and nature is well preserved as happened to the world above. The ideal situation in the upper world, *Saran Danum Sangiang*, should be able to be replicated and recreated on the surface

of the earth. Furthermore, it is this philosophy that underlies the purpose of sending *Raja Bunu* (King Bunu) to earth, as the concept of sending Adam in the belief of the major religions in the world.

According to Nila Riwut [2], *Ranying Hatalla* has provided *Raja Bunu* (King Bunu) with a variety of rules and procedures for life, including procedures for humans to return to the upper realms or *Saran Danum Sangiang*. This concept also has many similarities with the concepts of the major religions in the world, namely in time when humans will return to the place where humans originally came from. To be able to return to *Saran Danum Sangiang* which everlasting. Therefore, humans must obey all the rules that have been set. Humans can also feel the pleasure of living in the underworld, *Saran Danum Kalunen*, if they are able to maintain harmony and balance of nature as happened in the *Saran Danum Sangiang*.

Thus, in the belief of the Dayak community, the earth and all its living systems must reflect the ideal system in the world above, which mean, if the system in the world is believed to be a well ordered and harmonious system, then the system on earth must be like that.

Furthermore, humans and the environment is something that cannot be separated and each others, e.g Humans who destroy the environment will effect to what they have done. Conversely, if humans treat the environment very well then it will get some good benefits for themselves. According to Law [3] which states that the environment is a unity of space with all objects, the power of circumstances and living things. In short, environmental science is called the biotic component and the abiotic component. Rachmad [4] also stated that humans are unique and different from other creatures because they get cultural heritage. Thus, Dayak community is having a culture to take care of the environment, namely its manifestation by protecting the environment.

This replication of philosophy, then underlies and influences the entire life system of the Dayak community. The emergence of a ban, *pali*, or *pamali* is the implementation of that philosophy, because the ban function is to maintain the balance and harmony of nature, so that the earth is maintained in harmony as harmony in the *Saran Danum Sangiang*.

According to Nila Riwut [2], the main mission of *Kaharingan* is to invite people to the right path by worshiping and glorying *Ranying Hatalla* in every attitude and deed, including the task of maintaining harmony in the universe.

The concept of replicating the situation in the *Saran Danum Sangiang*, which is the upper world also influences the pattern of the division of space between humans and other organisms in the Dayak community, because that is the situation in the *Saran Danum Kalunen*. The pattern of space distribution must refer to the harmony of relations, which by Tjilik Riwut [5], it can be divided into 3 types of relations, namely the relationship of the Dayaks with *Ranying Hatalla*, human relations with humans, and human relations with the surrounding environment.

Maintaining the balance of the relationship means maintaining the cosmic balance. It is also reflected in the balanced relationship between nature above the underworld, *Ranying Hatalla* who lives in the upper realms, and *Jata* who live in the lower realms, and the balance of human relations with nature.

Thus, for Dayak community, the obligation to share space with fellow human beings and other organisms in the natural environment is not just a cultural message, but rather a religious message, in order to maintain the quality of the relationship with *Ranying Hatalla*.

The way the Dayak community shares space with other organisms in the surrounding environment can be seen in various forms e.g. the existence of *pahewan* which are prohibited areas with certain conditions and areas. More specifically, the stipulation of *pukung pahewan* which referred to certain objects such as trees, stones, and other sacred objects, which must not be disturbed or damaged, including the surrounding area. It is illustrated the ability of the Dayak community to share space with other organisms in the natural surroundings.

In several places in Central Kalimantan, we can see the abilities of the Dayak community to maintain harmony with nature which symbolizes the concept of willingness to share space with other organisms that live in nature e.g. the placement of yellow flag and *ancak* or places of offerings on trees that grow on the outskirts of a lake or river. Therefore, the surrounding area will look haunted.

The haunted impression around the area will cause the community is avoiding the area. By the avoidance of the area from interaction of humans, it will give more space to the flora and fauna around the area to develop better.

### 3. *Pukung Pahewan* among human habitation needs

Central Kalimantan is the second largest province after Papua. With land that is still very large and a relatively smaller population compared to other regions in Indonesia, the relative need for development of land for housing does not experience problems in the past. However, with the increasing economic needs of the community, the need for additional land is not only aimed at expanding the land for housing, but more towards meeting economic needs, for example for farming, gardening, farming and business land. This causes the growth of opportunities for conflict between people and nature. The chances of this conflict are getting bigger in line with the rapid growth of oil palm plantations and the mining sector.

Consequently, as a result of the growing need for land for this economic sector, the area that was slowly allocated for *pukung pahewan* also experienced a reduction. In fact, the existing of *pukung pahewan* many of them were lost and displaced by land expansion e.g. the presence of *pukung pahewan* in the *Terusan* river area which is a tributary of *Kahayan* River, Banama Tingang sub-district, in Pulang Pisau district. Additionally, according to information from traditional leaders around the area, in the past there was a number of *pukung pahewan*, both stone and *Handiwung* trees, but since the year of 2000, the *pukung pahewan* has been lost because it was encroached on by the expansion of community-owned gardens and the presence of traditional mining.

Actually, the existence of *pukung pahewan* in the Dayak community was originally a direct or indirect local wisdom, aimed at preserving nature. With the existence of certain areas that are used as *pukung pahewan*, the area and its surroundings will be preserved. Thus, the placement of *pukung pahewan* can also be referred to as the Dayak community's efforts to share places with other organisms in an area. *pukung pahewan* positions are generally outside residential areas, not only because the *pukung pahewan* area is considered a haunted area and there is a waiting area, but also proves that the Dayak community in the past has known the concept of zoning.

The zoning system can be seen from the separation between the areas designated as safe zones for residence and farming, and other zones that cannot be penetrated for settlement and farming. Certain areas are haunted, generally because there are *Handiwung* trees and large trees such as *Beringin* trees which are considered inhabited by spirits, then set as *pukung pahewan*. The term "set" must not be formally interpreted, because in reality, the set of an area as a *pukung pahewan* is more of an informal consensus. While, other areas that are not considered haunted, can be used by the community for shelter and farming.

The *pukung pahewan* area is generally also established almost simultaneously when people open a new field or village. The opening of new fields and villages certainly requires a place, thus disrupting the balance of the ecosystem that already exists in the region. For this reason, the *pukung pahewan* area was established, which was intended as a place to conserve or protect new flora and fauna around the newly opened area. This sorting concept is a concept of zoning, namely where zones are for farming, and where zones are for nature conservation.

The choice of large trees as the *pukung pahewan* which gives meaning that the survival of the flora will be guaranteed, because large trees also produce seeds that are ready to grow again. Large trees in the *pukung pahewan* area also become fauna sanctuaries because their habitat has been used for farming or shelter.

The existence of prohibitions or *pali*, which is then continued by speaking and acting to posterity. The stories about the awesomeness of *pukung pahewan* are passed on from generation to generation, so the existence of *pukung pahewan* in a period of time is maintained. It helps to preserve the surrounding area of *pukung pahewan*. Sustainable conservation concepts are inadvertently inherited through the existence of *pukung pahewan*. Moreover, until the year 2000, we could see the existence of *pukung pahewan* in many places, which was marked by the large number of large trees still

standing around the area. After the year 2000, in line with the increasing need for land for economic activity, and the changing concept and perception of the public about the meaning of awesomeness in a place, then the existence of *pukung pahewan* slowly disappeared.

#### **4. Respect for the rights of other organisms in *Pukung Pahewan***

As explained above, *pukung pahewan* is a form of local wisdom of the Dayak community to conserve natural resources, one of which is through a zoning system. The existence of *pukung pahewan* is an effort to relocate evicted organisms due to increased land requirements for settlements and fields. Farming with a rotating system, requires a temporary relocation site for flora and fauna. Thus, that its sustainability is maintained. For this reason, certain zones are needed to relocate. When the field is abandoned to move to another location, the flora and fauna that were originally relocated in the *pukung pahewan* area, they can occupy the former fields that have become forest again.

The existence of restrictions for the community to disrupt and damage the flora and fauna in the *pukung pahewan* area is also evidence of respect for the rights of organisms. This is closely related to the Dayak community's belief system, that every organism has a spirit, has a soul, and has something to do with the supernatural. There are still many Dayak people who believe that the prey with certain types i.e. deer or *Karahau*, are often the incarnation of spirits so people must be careful before hunting them, which mean, don't kill animals that are actually spirits, especially animals that are in the vicinity of the sacred area like *pukung pahewan*.

The abundance of natural resources in the past with a small number of human populations, causes people to use natural resources wisely and sustainably. Based on parents' philosophy, first is not to use natural resources excessively, and take them as needed. This habit is evidence of respect for other organisms in the natural surroundings. Sometimes, due to considerations of access, the use of natural resources around the village and fields has increased, which has resulted in excessive utilization, the *pukung pahewan* concept is an alternative solution that is smart enough to preserve nature.

#### **5. *Pukung Pahewan* as part of the Zoning system**

##### *5.1. Determination of the area of *Pukung Pahewan**

As explained in the previous section, *pukung pahewan* can be interpreted as a sacred area, or a prohibited area because the place is considered sacred, haunted, and inhabited by spirits. *Pukung*, which in Dayak Ngaju language means island or archipelago, and *Pahewan* which means the area of prohibition.

The term of *pukung* in *pukung pahewan* is actually an assertiveness word, because it also means *Purak* which means island, thick, lots of dense forests. Word of *Pukung* or island in the context of language in Central and South Kalimantan, more towards the plural meaning, for example, if it is called a rubber island, it means the number of rubber trees that grow in the region.

Thus, *pukung pahewan* can also be interpreted as a place where there are many trees, objects, or similar organisms in certain areas, which are forbidden to be disturbed. Therefore, one of the characteristics of the *pukung pahewan* area is the large number of trees that live around it. Furthermore, if when we pass in an area, we see that there are many large trees that collect in a place, while in other places it is not like that, it can be assumed that the area is *pukung pahewan*.

Determination of an area as *pukung pahewan* does not follow a definite indicator, either from the terms, characteristics, or the determination process. In general, the main characteristics of the area that can be determined as *pukung pahewan* include:

- a. There are banyan trees or other large trees that are considered haunted, such as Durian trees, Kasturi trees, and so on. It is based on the belief of the Kaharingan community that large trees have a watchman or are inhabited by spirits. According to Nila Riwut [2] in the Kaharingan belief, there are gods (*ilah-ilah*) who are the subordinates of *Ranying Hatalla* and *Jata*, which are located between the heavens and the earth, and there are also gods that roam the earth and under the earth. These gods included inhabiting large trees and other places that were sacred.

Thus, the existence of a banyan tree or other large tree as a condition of *pukung pahewan*'s location, is more of a physical requirement, behind that condition there is a belief in the existence of a guardian god of the trees. In ancient times, large trees like this were also used as a place to hang of *Raung*, it is for *Kaharingan* coffin. Sometimes, there is a lot of *Raung* hanging on the branches of large trees. This of course will add to the magical atmosphere of the surrounding area.

- b. There are *Handiwung* wood. This tree is a kind of palm or palm tree with the Latin name *Oscosperma tigillarum*. The tree usually grows wild, grows clumped like bamboo, with 5-30 tillers. Tree trunk height can reach 30 meters, straight and thorny, with stems up to 20 cm in diameter. This tree also has spines on the leaves and stems. This tree trunk is hard, and can last hundreds of years. This tree grows on marshy land, especially in peat swamp areas.

In some areas, for example in Riau, this *Nibung* or *Handiwung* tree is considered a symbol of unity, because of its strength.

For Dayak community, especially inland and coastal communities, *Handiwung* is a sacred tree because it is considered capable of driving away various black magic, because it has a hard texture. The wood from *Handiwung* can also be used as arrows, spears, or small knives. There is trust in the Dayak community, that a person's immunity to a sharp weapon can be destroyed if he uses weapons from the *Handiwung* wood. The shamans and warlords of the past always kept weapons made of *Handiwun* trees.

Thus, *Handiwung*'s position is quite important in the culture of the Dayak community, consequently, its existence is sacred, and is used as an indicator of the need for the establishment of *pukung pahewan* in its growing areas. On the other hand, the entry of the *Handiwung* tree into the *pukung pahewan* area is an effort to preserve its sustainability.

- c. There is a *Tajahan Antang*. In the Indonesian Dayak Dictionary, the word of *manajah* means to call, while *tajah* means call. While *antang* means a bird in the air, which is always connoted as a powerful eagle and believed to come from an invisible human. This eagle usually gives a special sign when *manajah antang* ceremony is held. The Dayak community generally perform certain ceremonies to ask for instructions about something, and use the arrival of the *antang* as a messenger from *Ranying Hatalla*. The ceremony is called *manajah antang*, and the results, place, or mark obtained are called *Tajahan Antang*.

In general, when going to determine the location of a field or village, *manajah antang* ceremony is performed with certain rituals. At the time of the ceremony, there will be eagles or *antang* circling in a location, therefore, that is the location chosen as a farm (*malan*) or village.

Thus, the word *Tajahan Antang* in the context of the *pukung pahewan* location, it can be interpreted as a specific place designated or given by a magical eagle, which is worthy of being used as a *pukung pahewan*. Sometimes, in the *pukung pahewan* area, or the place that will be used as *pukung pahewan*, there is an eagle nest. The eagle's nest can also be referred to as *Tajahan Antang* and a sign that the area is worthy of being used as *pukung pahewan*.

The presence of *Tajahan Antang* in the physical sense, namely the presence of eagle nests around the *pukung pahewan* area is also marked by the existence of various living creatures around it. The Dayak community believe, if at any place there is *Tajahan Antang*, then the area is fertile, can be overgrown by large trees, and inhabited by various types of animals from worms, snakes, to bears.

- d. There is a *Karamat* (sacred) or *Karamat* place (sacred place). *Karamat* is a sign that the area is sacred, generally marked as a small house where offerings are offered.

*Karamat* locations are generally located in dense but haunted forests that are close to the settlement area, making it easier for residents to provide offerings. In order to preserve the *Karamat* location, a ban on cutting or destroying trees, hunting, and even utilizing and collecting forest products in the vicinity was made.

The existence of *Karamat* is not something absolute for the terms or characteristics of *Pukung Pahewan*, because sometimes the *Karamat* is not yet available when a place is designated as

*Pukung Pahewan*, it is mean, *Karamat* is sometimes built after a place is designated as *Pukung Pahewan*.

In other circumstances, it is often found that *Karamat* is already in place when people will open fields. The sacred place is the place where the previous people put up offerings, then left in line with the move of the village or the move of the people to another place.

This is as an evidence that the Dayak community has known how to farm with a moving rotation pattern. Old and abandoned fields will grow new vegetation, including fruit trees. This old field will return to forest, which the next generation finds and cultivates as a field. In such locations, old *Karamat* is often found.

Based on the characteristics above, the *Pukung Pahewan* area is set. Determination of *Pukung Pahewan* is based on the agreement of traditional leaders and the surrounding community because of the mystical experienced or the characteristics and conditions for determining the location as *Pukung Pahewan* have been fulfilled. Thus, the area of *Pukung Pahewan* also does not have a definite standard. *Pukung Pahewan* area can cover a large area if the area has the characteristics above e.g. in a large area there are many large and old trees that are considered sacred or inhabited by spirits. On the other hand, the area of *Pukung Pahewan* can also only cover a few large trees which are sacred.

However, the conditions above are not binding and absolute conditions for the establishment of *Pukung Pahewan* locations. In some cases, the determination of the *Pukung Pahewan* area is only based on phenomena, experiences, and events experienced by the community. Therefore, it's more nuanced of trust or mutual trust are experienced by each other e.g. if a person or several residents have experienced mystical events in a location, then they agree to establish the location as *Pukung Pahewan*.

Determination of an area as *Pukung Pahewan* spread by word of mouth and some mystical stories related to the region by people. In the end, the *Pukung Pahewan* area became a kind of prohibited area. Sometimes, in the *Pukung Pahewan* area it is also marked by the presence of ceremonial attributes such as *ancak* or offerings that are hung on tree branches which can add to the magical and haunted atmosphere around the area. Consequently, the *Pukung Pahewan* area is always preserved by its flora and fauna and it is characteristic of the area. The existence of large and tall trees, the growth of *Handiwung* trees, and the presence of several ceremonial attributes, the presence of *tajahan antang* and *karamat* are characteristic of the *Pukung Pahewan* area.

### 5.2. The position of *Pukung Pahewan* in customary forest areas

In 2012 Constitutional Court ruling, changing the definition of customary forests, as stated in article 1 paragraph 6 changes in Law No. 41/1999 concerning Forestry, which states that customary forests are forests within the territory of customary law communities. Customary forests refer to an area where a group of indigenous people live, in which the forest functions primarily to sustain the lives of indigenous peoples around the forest.

Customary forests are part of social forestry. According to Ministry of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number [6], it is affirmed that social forestry is a sustainable forest management system implemented in state forest areas or customary forest / forest rights carried out by local communities or customary law communities.

Furthermore, judging from the conditions an area can be referred to as a customary forest if there is an indigenous area which is mostly forest. In addition, there are customary law communities or customary rights in the area, which according to Ministry of Environment and Forestry Regulation [7], the *ulayat* rights have been recognized by the local government through regional legal products.

In Central Kalimantan Province, there are many areas that are recognized as customary forests by local indigenous people, the majority of whom are Dayaks. Examples are the *Tabalien* forest or *Ulin* wood in the Mungku Baru area, around the border of Palangka Raya city with the area of Gunung Mas Regency. It is covering an area of around 500 hectares. Another example, the Tumbang Bahanei customary forest in the West Rungan District, Gunung Mas Regency, which covers 8,900 hectares.



Conversely, community rights to customary forests are still formally recognized by the government. The Central Kalimantan Provincial Government through the Forestry Service targets to the establishment of around 1.7 million hectares of land as social forestry in 2019, although until 2018 not one hectare of customary forest areas have been established. The main obstacle is the lack of local government regulations on this matter. In addition, the lack of clarity in determining the area and customary forest area of indigenous peoples. By there is no formal recognition of customary forests in Central Kalimantan, the chances of customary forest encroachment by individuals and corporations will be even higher. It will also ultimately increase the potential for damage to the entire contents of the customary forest including the forests that are sacred and *pukung pahewan* in it.

An example is the customary forest area in Mungku Baru Village, Rakumpit Subdistrict, in Palangka Raya, which is overgrown by *Ulin* or *Tabalien* wood in Dayak Ngaju language. Until now, the *Ulin* forest is quite awake. It can be seen from the large number of *Ulin* wood trees. The *Ulin* forest area is recognized by the community as a customary forest area. Conversely, it has not received recognition from the government as social forestry. While in the vicinity of the forest area, there are logging companies operating, thus increasing the potential for conflicts of interest between companies and indigenous peoples.

*Ulin* forest area in Mungku Baru can be well maintained because of the traditional prohibition to cut down *Ulin* trees in that location. According to the information from the local community, there has always been a ban on cutting *Ulin* trees in the area. There is advice or *peteh* from ancestor that who enters the customary forest without permission or destroys the forest the guardian spirit of the forest will be devoured. The people who are known to violate the prohibition also imposed customary fines in the form of *kati*. One *kati* worth Rp. 100,000. The amount of the *kati* will be adjusted to the size of the prohibition ban.

The prohibition to destroy customary forests, as exemplified above, is another form of local wisdom of the Dayak community, even though not all regions are designated or referred to as *Pukung Pahewan*, or at least set as *Pahewan* area. There are several customary forest areas that do not have *Pukung Pahewan* in the explicit meaning, but it has same prohibition meaning. Generally, customary forests contain certain locations which are prohibited areas for certain activities, although not all regions are then called *Pukung Pahewan*.

It is not all of *Pukung Pahewan* are in the customary forest area owned by the Dayak community. We can see from the general conditions for the determination of the *Pukung Pahewan* area, there is no requirement that *Pukung Pahewan* be in a customary forest. There are *Pukung Pahewan* which located in customary forests, but some are outside the customary forest area. *Pukung Pahewan* area can cover a very large area, but can also cover only a few square meters, it is depending on the type of tree or object which is sacred.

In some locations, *Pukung Pahewan* is located in a forest area on the outskirts of a lake or river. It is related to Dayak pattern and life system that cannot be kept away from rivers or lakes.

The existence of *Pukung Pahewan* on the outskirts of rivers or lakes not only can help preserve the vegetation of rivers / lakes, but can help preserve aquatic organisms around the area. It has become a habit for Dayak fishermen to avoid catching fish on the banks of rivers or lakes that are found in *Pukung Pahewan*.

### 5.3. The type and stand composition of vegetation for *Pukung Pahewan*

In terms of vegetation, around of *Pukung Pahewan* area, there is a lot of vegetation. It is judging from the conditions for determining the *Pukung Pahewan* area as stated in the previous section, the types of vegetation in the *Pukung Pahewan* area are *Handiwung* trees and large trees such as Banyan (*beringin*) trees. The *Handiwung* tree symbolizes the power to resist reinforcements and antidotes to black magic, while large trees symbolize strength as well as a place for spirits to dwell. In *Kaharingan* religion, large trees are the place of gods, both good and evil.

## 6. The commitment to keep *Pukung Pahewan*

### 6.1. *The obligation of the Dayak community to Pukung Pahewan*

As a place that is sacred, then the *Pukung Pahewan* must be preserved. For this reason, the Dayak people who live around the *Pukung Pahewan* area have several obligations, including:

- a. Give offerings (*sajen*). The offerings were intended to the spirits in the *Pukung Pahewan* area did not disturb the people in the villages or fields around the area. Furthermore, offerings are sometimes also placed by someone as a thanksgiving for the achievement of their desires or vows.
- b. Maintain the surrounding area from interference from other parties. *Pukung Pahewan* is an area that is sacred, thus, that its sanctity must be maintained from human disturbances.
- c. Avoiding the *Pukung Pahewan* area when hunting, looking for wood, or looking for fish. Although *Pukung Pahewan* location is still not too far from fields and villages, the *Pukung Pahewan* area is considered a haunted area where spirits live. Because of its awesomeness, the area tends to be shunned from daily activities, unless there are special needs such as giving offerings.

### 6.2. *The prohibition imposed on Pukung Pahewan*

The prohibition that applies to a community is generally intended to maintain the preservation of tradition and custom in that community. Likewise, with the Dayak community.

As explained in the previous section, the Dayak community believes in the balance of relations in a harmonious unity of the system. The balance between the upper and lower realms, the balance of relations between fellow humans, and the balance of human and natural relations. Dayaks believe that if the balance of the relationship is damaged, a disaster will arise.

According to Tjilik Riwut [8], the Dayak people believe that natural disasters occur because of human error themselves, partly because they violate a prohibition on the place of fear, e.g. example, *pahewan* and other places that are considered to be residents.

The *Pali* concept was born from the belief that every organism has its watchmen. Thus, if we are breaking the *Pali* means disturbing the guardian spirit of the organism. According to Tjilik Riwut [8], Dayak people believe that everywhere there are *ilah-ilah* called by various names such as *gana* or watchmen who have their respective strengths and levels. Disturbing this *ilah* is breaking *Pali*.

*Pali* in *Dayak Ngaju*, or *Pamali*, which means prohibition, something that must not be violated or not allowed, if carried out would be disastrous for violators. If *Pali* is broken, it will break the balance of the various relationships in the universe. The Calamity received by *Pali* offenders, more as a rage and punishment from the rulers of the universe because humans have damaged the balance of the relationship. The implications of the *Pali* include, among others, the existence of community compliance in preserving the natural environment around it. Likewise, the *Pali* or ban that must be obeyed by the Dayak community against *Pukung Pahewan*.

There are several restrictions on *Pukung Pahewan*, namely:

- a. Communities are prohibited from damaging, cutting, or utilizing wood, plants or trees in the *Pukung Pahewan* area. In some cases, limited use is still permitted under the permission of the area's traditional guard elders. In urgent circumstances, permission can also be made by asking or saying permission to spirits who are believed to be waiting for the area. An example is, when we urinate near a large tree around the *Pukung Pahewan* area, we can convey the excuse word first before.

The Dayak community is strongly believe that every living organism and inanimate matter, such as places, villages, houses, timber trees (especially large ones), mountains, rocks, rivers and lakes, have their own waiting. All have spirits. That is, all living and inanimate objects have their respective values, have a certain role in the system of relationships in the universe, so that all must be respected and guarded.

- b. Communities are also prohibited from disturbing organisms around the *Pukung Pahewan* area, for example catching or killing animals that live in the vicinity. Some Dayaks believe that

animals that live in the vicinity of the sacred area, including the *Pukung Pahewan* area are the incarnation of the region's spirits, so that capturing let alone killing them is the same as disturbing the existence of these spirits. The Dayak community believe that disturbing the existence of spirits will result in anger and retaliation from them.

- c. Give offerings in the *Pukung Pahewan* area. The offerings can be hung using *ancak* in large trees or placed in *Karamat* around the *Pukung Pahewan* area. These offerings are intended as offerings to the spirits of the region's guardian spirits. Offerings are intended as a thank you, there is a vow that comes true, a request for something, or that spirits do not disturb humans. The contents of the offerings are also varied, depending on who the offer is intended. For spirits that are considered not too important, offerings can only contain eggs, *Cucur* cakes, sticky rice cakes, betel leaves, and a cup of coffee. But, for spirits that are considered important and of high status, offerings can even be in the form of a head, heart and a little pork or buffalo.

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