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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Antakng as a Unit of Value in the Life of Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi Community in West Kutai

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Abstract: This paper aims to explain the shift that has occurred in *antakng* as a customary value standard in the Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi community. Using a qualitative approach through in-depth interviews, observations, and document studies, this research was conducted in West Kutai Regency, East Kalimantan. The results showed that *antakng*, which has traditionally served as ceremonial object and used as a unit of value for Dayak people, and also functions as a standard of exchange, has now been replaced and converted into a unit of currency (rupiah). Currently, the value of 1 *antakng* is equivalent to IDR 400,000 (four hundred thousand rupiah). This transformation occurred due to the scarce availability of *antakng* (urns) and as a form of rational choice from the community to continue conducting economic transactions and maintaining customary practices in the midst of changing times. *Antakng* converted to money or rupiah is now used as the unit of value for paying wages and fines, and is applied in the settlement of cases in West Kutai. This research recommends the need for preservation efforts and the establishment of clear regulations regarding the use of *antakng* in the customary context, in order to preserve traditional values amid the challenges of modernization.

Keywords: *Antakng*, Commodity money, Customary fines, Customary law, Indigenous people

Abstrak: *Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan pergeseran yang terjadi pada antakng sebagai standar nilai adat di masyarakat Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi, dan studi dokumen, penelitian ini dilakukan di Kabupaten Kutai Barat, Kalimantan Timur. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa antakng yang secara tradisional berfungsi sebagai benda upacara dan digunakan sebagai satuan nilai bagi masyarakat Dayak, dan juga berfungsi sebagai standar nilai tukar, saat ini telah digantikan dan dikonversi menjadi satuan mata uang (rupiah). Saat ini, nilai 1 antakng setara dengan Rp 400.000,- (empat ratus ribu rupiah). Transformasi ini terjadi karena ketersediaan antakng (guci) yang semakin langka dan sebagai bentuk pilihan rasional dari masyarakat untuk tetap melakukan transaksi ekonomi dan mempertahankan praktik adat di tengah perubahan zaman. Antakng yang dikonversi menjadi uang atau rupiah kini digunakan sebagai satuan nilai untuk membayar upah dan denda, dan diterapkan dalam penyelesaian perkara di Kutai Barat. Penelitian ini merekomendasikan perlunya upaya pelestarian dan penetapan regulasi yang jelas mengenai penggunaan antakng dalam konteks adat, guna melestarikan nilai-nilai adat di tengah tantangan modernisasi.*

Kata kunci: *Antakng, Uang komoditas, Denda adat, Hukum adat, Masyarakat adat*

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1. Introduction

Antakng, which previously functioned as commodity money, has now been agreed to be replaced by cash as a unit of value in the life of Dayak Benuaq Tonyoii community. This shift is due to the scarce availability of the *antakng* (urns) and is the result of the community's rational choice to maintain cultural customs (M. I. Nahak et al., 2021). The scarcity of *antakng* as a traditional object that symbolizes wealth and social status causes people to seek for other alternative options, thereby allowing customary values to be preserved without destroying traditional values. This adjustment reflects the flexibility of Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi culture in adapting to changing times, through the integration of traditional values with modern economic systems without ignoring existing cultural roots (Rahmawati, 2015). Thus, the replacement of *antakng* with money not only reflects the community's adaptation to changing times, but is also an effort to preserve customs.

To date, many studies have addressed the adaptation and transfromation of custom in society. They are generally describe the changes that occur in custom system and practices as a result of modernity. Three main trends have emerged in the study of this issue. First, most relevant research focuses on indigenous peoples' responses to environmental change and modernity (Dadan et al., 2021; Huda & Fauzani, 2024; Salleh et al., 2024). Modernity affects customary practices and triggers adjustments. Second, some studies explore cultural hybridity, where the interaction between custom and outside influences results in unique and hybrid new forms (Khan et al., 2020; Mansyuroh et al., 2022; Shah, 2024). Third, there are studies that critically evaluate the impact of government and development policies on the survival of indigenous peoples (Hak et al., 2018; Kidlo, 2020; Yasin & Matsui, 2019). These studies generally highlight how such policies can marginalize indigenous communities and their efforts to defend traditional rights. From these three study patterns, it is evident that studies specifically addressing the availability of customary commodities as an important factor influencing change remains relatively scarce.

This research aims to complement previous studies on the changes in customary value standards within Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi community. The main focus of this research is on the evolving role of the traditional object *antakng* in the community economic transactions. Historically used as commodity money in the exchange system, *antakng* is now experiencing a shift towards being valued in currency units. This research aims to explain this transition by examining the historical conversion of *antakng* value into rupiah (cash) and investigating how its as a customary unit of value in conflict resolution has been preserved. *Antakng* continue to be used as a fine system in dispute resolution in the Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi community. By addressing these objectives, the research intends to provide a comprehensive explanation of both the changes and surviving aspects of *antakng*'s function as a unit of value in Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi community.

The argument in this reasearch is based on the reality that the scarcity of *antakng* (urns) has been the main catalyst for the transformation in its function within Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi community. In the past, *antakng* functioned as a customary standard of value that not only symbolized identity, but was also used as commodity money in transactions. As the availability of *antakng* became increasingly difficult, it began to be replaced by cash, which its nominal value adjusted to reflect the social value and practical function of *antakng*. This change has particularly affected the function of *antakng* in economic transactions, where the Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi community has now completely abandoned the barter system and converted the value of *antakng* into rupiah. This change has been influenced by intensive interaction with outside cultures and modernization. Despite its reduced role in the economic system, *antakng* continues to play an important role in customary affairs and conflict resolution, where it remains as the community's mandatory fine system.

2. Literature review

2.1. Commodity money

From the anthropological perspective, Appadurai (1986) explores the concept of value within exchange system by emphasizing that economic exchange generates value, which is reflected in commodities. Commodities, in this context, are considered to have a "social life," which explains their circulation and the creation of value, as well as the relationship between exchange and value that is political in nature (Appadurai, 1986). In simple terms, commodity money is defined as money with intrinsic value (Rudyansjah & Tihurua, 2019; Sorokina, 2019; Weeks, 2012). It can also be defined as the use of various commodities as a medium of exchange (Otani, 2018). Historically, commodities have served both as a form of money or a marker of money (Armstrong & Siddiqui, 2019; Nathali et al., 2023). Before the introduction of formal currencies, certain commodities were given value and used as a medium of exchange in society (Y. & U.A., 2022). Commodities commonly used as money include valuables materials such as gold and silver (Abdulhakeem & Qinmei, 2019; Kayapinar, 2021; Lane, 2021). However, the specific commodities used as money can vary across different societies, depending on their perceived exchange value and their capacity to fulfill the function of money.

Research on commodity money has been conducted by Harsin (2015) in his study entitled "Changes in the Practice of Boka Tradition in Buton Society". Harsin studied the transformation in the trading practices of the Buton Sultanate community from 1597 to 1631, specifically the change in exchange rate standards from *kampua* (a type of square cloth) and *boka*, as well as the shift towards the use of money in daily transactions. Similar research was conducted by Skre (2017), who examined the changing approach to money and monetization in Western Scandinavia in the early Middle Ages. In addition, Kuroda (2022) also conducted a study on transaction practices using commodity money in Africa and Asia, focusing on locally endogenous factors that influence the creation of currencies from commodities that suit the needs and practices of local communities. These studies show how various commodities utilized as units of value, reflecting the cultural and historical contexts of different societies (Mohad Sallehuddin, 2023; Sahlins & Graeber, 2017; Stirling & Sahlins, 1975).

2.2. Customary laws

Customary law evolves and is maintained based on the legal awarness of the community. It comprises rules and customs that develop and establish within a community or region, and are considered to have values that are upheld by the community (Abdillah et al., 2023; Angelika S et al., 2021; Hasan et al., 2022). As a heritage from the ancestors, customary law is generally unwritten and widely accepted by the community (Apriyani, 2018). Reflecting a range of cultural and social values, customary law originates from various regions and ethnic groups. As a dynamic and evolving legal framework, customary law plays an important role in regulating the lives of indigenous peoples (Mustafid et al., 2024; Warjiyati, 2018). Customs become institutionalized in community life through traditions and habits that control the behavior of its people (Jamir, 2023; Nofialdi & Rianti, 2024; Sukadana et al., 2021). This shows that customary law has an important role in maintaining and ensuring community stability.

In Indonesia, a country which is known for its multicultural society, customary law is an authentic part that must align with the national legal system (Pabbajah, 2021; Prasojo, 2015). Customary law can serve as a source of state law in order to achieve the perfection of legislation (Manullang, 2021), particularly in the function of customary law which more often accommodates the problem of efforts to maintain and preserve natural resources

(Dewi et al., 2024; Lanini, 2021; Soelistyowati, 2024). In the context of the Dayak community in West Kutai Regency, values and rules are naturally developed and passed down through generations, reflecting local wisdom and serving as guidelines in carrying out daily life activities. The customary law regulates relationships between humans, relationships with nature, and relationships with the "Creator". These relationships are manifested in the implementation of traditional ceremonies, customs and customary law (Johansen et al., 2019). The goal of customary law in West Kutai is to create peace and reconciliation between two parties with the help of customary institutions as neutral and wise arbiters.

3. Method

The Dayak community comprises various subtribes, including Dayak Tonyooi and Dayak Benuaq, which are part of Dayak Luwangan, a subtribe within the Stammenras Ot Danum in the Barito group that inhabits Central Kalimantan (Kalista & Rahman, 2018). Each subtribes possesses distinctive customs and local wisdom, one of which is the traditional *antakng* object. While publications on *antakng* remains limited, some previous studies have described it as a traditional urn-shaped object (Alya et al., 2024). *Antakng* serves as a standard of customary values in the community. In the past, *antakng* was used in economic transactions, but now its function has shifted to rupiah currency. Today, *antakng* serves as a medium of payment for customary wages and fines in the community. Therefore, the term *antakng* is also commonly used represent fines in the Dayak customary legal system (Alya et al., 2024; Zain et al., 2021)

This research focuses on the unit of analysis of *antakng* as a traditional object in Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi community, by examining the shift in its use. The selection if this issue is based on three main reasons. First, analyzing the shift of *antakng* from its original function as commodity money to a unit of value convertible into rupiah is important, as it provides an understanding into how communities with customary practices are adapting to change. This shift reflects a decline in the traditional economic system that requires explanation. Second, the ongoing function of *antakng* as a fine system for regulating and resolving of problems in the community demonstrates the preservation mechanisms undertaken by the Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi community to maintain *antakng* amidst its scarcity and the increasingly common application of the money system. Third, this research also aims to identify customary practices that remain relevant and require preservation or development, ensuring that the local traditions of indigenous peoples continue to receive the attention and protection they deserve.

This research employs a qualitative approach through a field study, where the data collection and analysis occur simultaneously in an interactive rather than linear manner. The research was conducted in the area of West Kutai Regency, East Kalimantan, specifically targeting villages with ethnic diversity, including but not limited to Dayak community. The informants were selected based on their frequent involvement with custom issues at the village or district level, as well as their direct engagement in custom activities and relations between local communities. The informants selected included two traditional chiefs, one historian and one elder with extensive life experience. Approaches were made to ensure that informants were willing to provide detailed and in-depth information. Given that the history of the Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi community is traditionally transmitted orally, there may be variations in the versions of the figures who convey historical stories. However, this study selected informants who were considered to have an in-depth understanding of the origins of Dayak Benuaq and Tonyooi in West Kutai, based on their prior studies with various experts, thus ensuring the validity of the information obtained.

The literature study or literature research method was carried out to broaden the understanding of the research object and to obtain the theoretical basis necessary for problem solving. The data obtained is the result of analysis from previous research journals that discuss topics such as customary law, commodity money, customary fines, inter-tribal disputes, and conflict resolution in the past. During the research process, interviews were recorded using an audio recorder. The data from the recorded interviews were subsequently transcribed into written format using Microsoft Word for further analysis and processing.

The data analysis process followed the framework outlined by Miles & Huberman (2014), which comprises four stages: data collection, data presentation, data reduction, and data inference/verification. Data were collected concerning research on *antakng* and conflicts in West Kutai that were resolved with *antakng* fines. The collected data later underwent a process of reduction and selection to focus the research so that the discussion would not overly broad. After the reduction process, the data was presented to identify patterns or possibilities that lead to certain conclusions. Data presentation serves to understand the problems at hand. The final stage is drawing conclusions based on the analyzed data.

4. Result

4.1. *Antakng* as an exchange rate (commodity money)

Historically, the Dayak Tonyooi Benuaq community used commodity money to meet their needs. Objects that function as commodity money are usually related to ritual objects. One of the traditional objects that function as commodity money is *antakng* (urn). In the Dayak Benuaq and Tonyooi ethnic groups, *antakng* (urn) has two meanings, it serves both as a traditional object and as a medium of exchange. As a traditional object, *antakng* is always present of both in life and death ceremonies along with other ritual necessities. The sizes and motifs of *antakng* vary, and each size affects its value when used as a unit of exchange. Most *antakng* are made of clay, although some are glazed like ceramic. *Antakng* models with flat bootoms are considered to have higher value are those with flat bottoms, whereas those with concave bottoms are valued less.

Among the Dayak people, the most commonly used forms of commodity money have historically been *antakng* (urns) and *gamai* (plain white plates). The reason behind the preference for *antakng* and *gamai* over other customary objects are not well dicumented. One possibility is that the value of these two items may represent variations in the value of other customary items. *Gamai* is used for transactions involving low values, while *antakng* is used for transactions with higher values. Transactions involving *antakng* require an agreement between the two parties involved. In order to determine the value of objects that are difficult to estimate, assistance is consulted from local community leaders, particularly the customary chief. The customary chief makes a decision based on the standards of measurement that the Dayak Tonyooi Benuaq community has long established. The book “Adat Dayak Benuaq” written by Emanuel & Teso (2019: 107-120) lists the types of *antakng* (urns) and the values of each type of object (see Table 1).

Table 1. The weighted unit values of *antakng* by type

No	Type of *Antakng* (urns)	Value
1	*Maung* bobot *mekau*	antakng 1
2	*Kedadapok*	antakng 1
3	*Jerau*	antakng 1

4	*Serarai* naga vertical	antaknq 1
5	*Serarai* naga horizontal	antaknq 2
6	*Kutuk tualaknq*	antaknq 2
7	*Lolaaknq ulutn*	antaknq 2
8	*Ordinary Antaknq* without *tonaar*	antaknq 2
9	*Antaknq tali* lima	antaknq 5
10	*Serempuri*	antaknq 5
11	*Bayaaknq olo*	antaknq 5
12	*Batuq alur*	antaknq 5
13	*Rangai siwo*	antaknq 5
14	*Guntuknq jawaq* small	antaknq 5
15	*Guntuknq jawaq* big	antaknq 5
16	*Paniknq*	antaknq 5
17	*Rudaq*	antaknq 5
18	*Ampoloq* small	antaknq 5
19	*Ampoloq* big	antaknq 10
20	*Siapm*	antaknq 10
21	*Belangan langit*	antaknq 10
22	*Tuar puti*	antaknq 10
23	*Bayaaknq olo*	antaknq 10
24	*Serentimang bawe*	antaknq 10
25	*Serentimang sooknq*	antaknq 20

Source: Emanuel & Teso (2019)

Table 1 shows the types of *antaknq* and their unit values. The unit of value of an *antaknq* is generally determined by its age as a traditional object. The older the *antaknq*, the more authentic and expensive it is considered. In contrast, *antaknqs* that are newly made today are usually not considered genuine customary objects. This is partly due to new *antaknq* items have not yet been used in traditional ceremonies and therefore have no magical value. Newly made objects are considered to have minimal value. In addition to the unit of value contained in the *antaknq* (urn), other customary objects are also valued based on the weight of the *antaknq*. The following are the values of some of the traditional objects of the Tonyooi Benuaq Dayak community, measured in terms of *antaknq* units (see Table 2).

Table 2. Values of other traditional objects in *antakng* units

No	Types of Traditional Objects	Value
1	*Lumah* (plate) *sengkar pasek*	antakng 1
2	*Lumah* (plate) *melawetn*	antakng 1
3	*Lela* big	antakng 1
4	*Tumak* (spear) ordinary	antakng 1
5	*Tumak* (spear) *ganyur*	antakng 1
6	*Manau* (mandau) hulu tulang besi lama	antakng 1
7	One set *genikng sukatn* (three small gongs)	antakng 3
8	*Genikng* (gong) *losukng* small	antakng 2
9	*Genikng (*gong) *losukng* big	antakng 5
10	One set of kelentangan	antakng 6
11	*Genikng selepukng* (big gong)	antakng 10

Source: Emanuel & Teso (2019)

The value of the customary objects listed is also adjusted based on their condition and raw materials. For example, a *tumak* (spear) with standard characteristics is only valued at 1 *antakng*. However, if the *tumak* is equipped with an iron ring, the value increases to 2 *antakng*. A *tumak* with a copper ring is worth 5 *antakng*, while a *tumak* with a silver ring is worth 10 *antakng*. Another example is the *manau* (mandau), a traditional weapon of the Dayak people. A *manau* with a bone handle upstream and a machete made of old iron has value of 1 *antakng*. If the *manau* is used as a display with a lot of ornamentation, the value increases to 2 *antakng*. A *manau* that is very old and has high historical value is worth 5 *antakng*. The highest value is assigned to a *manau* made from a blendof seven types of metal, known as “manau purutn turu,” and which is valued 10 *antakng*. The adjustment of the value of these traditional objects to *antakng* weights is strongly influenced by the condition and raw materials used.

4.2. *Antakng* in Rupiah

Prior the introduction of the currency, Dayak people relied on a barter system and used commodity money. As time changed and the population grew, the availability of *antakng* (urns) became increasingly limited. After 1936, the process of replacing *antakng* with money began to take place gradually, as not all members of Dayak community had immediate access to money. The presence of the Dutch in Dayak territory, who instructed the clearing of large tracts of land in the Melalan and Belintut areas (now part of the capital city of Sendawar), brought significant changes. Workers’ wages were paid in money, marking the beginning of the circulation of money in Dayak society. Alongside this, global inflation also affected the Tonyooi Benuaq Dayak community. When the value of *antakng* was deemed no longer appropriate, the community held a meeting to adjust the value of *antakng* to rupiah. For almost a century, as of this writing, the exchange rate between *antakng* and money has been adjusted eleven times, with the last change occurring in 2011 (see Table 3).

Table 3. Historical development of the value of 1 *antakng* in Rupiah and other currencies

Year	Status/Identity/Group
1927	1 ringgit (Dutch silver coin)
1940-1943	5 yen (Japanese paper money)
1945-1947	10 rupiah
1952	40 rupiah
1958	100 rupiah
1965	1.000 rupiah
1972	4.000 rupiah
1988	10.000 rupiah
1993	40.000 rupiah
2004	100.000 rupiah
2008	200.000 rupiah
2011	400.000 rupiah

Source: Interview with Daniel Kitok, 64 years old (customary chief).

Table 3 shows the historical development of the *antakng* value in currency terms. Since 2011, there has been no further increase of *antakng* due to several factors. During a seminar held by the West Kutai District Grand Customary Institution on November 19th, 2019, it was decided not to raise the value of *antakng* with several key considerations. First, Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi customary rules are designed to provide a deterrent effect, rather than to impose financial hardship on individuals. Second, custom emphasizes moral aspects; customary fines are intended as moral sanctions, which are highly avoided by Dayak people, who feel offended and ashamed if they are considered uncivilized. Third, consideration of the community's current economic capabilities is also an important factor. Fourth, this decision aims to preserve the customs of Dayak Tonyooi Benuaq. In learning customs, a person is required to pay *antakng* wages to their customary teachers. Since individuals typically learn adat from several teachers to gain a comprehensive understanding, an increase in the *antakng* value could lead to excessive cost and potentially discourage people from learning the custom. Therefore, mantaining the current rate of *antakng* helps ensure the continuity of customary learning and accessibility for the community.

Currently, the value of 1 *antakng* is equivalent to IDR 400,000 (four hundred thousand rupiah). In practice, the Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi community still uses the *antakng* as a unit of value for transactions, but payment is made by converting the *antakng* value into rupiah. In other words, *antakng* still functions as a measure of value in the community, but payment is conducted in rupiah. Besides converting the value *antakng* to rupiah, payments can also be made using other customary objects, with their values adjusted to match that of *antakng*. However, in common practice today, payments are more often made by converting the value of *antakng* into rupiah. The flexibility of *antakng* to be convertible makes it the most commonly used unit of value in the community. The use of *antakng* is not limited to economic transactions, such as payment of wages for traditional rituals, but also

includes payment of customary fines. More details on the function of *antakng* in the customary fine system will be discussed in the next section.

4.3. *Antakng* as a fine unit in conflict resolutions

Customs in the Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi community constitute a comprehensive system of rules that are strict, regulate and bind all aspects of community life. Custom regulations cover a wide range of activities, including visiting, bathing, walking, and entering other people's fields or property. Violations of these provisions can result in customary sanctions. This characteristic of the custom system serves as a deterrent for the community to avoid behaviors that are considered inappropriate. Decisions regarding custom fines are determined through the deliberation of the various parties involved in the mediation, including the customary chief, village head, village leaders, as well as both parties involved in the dispute. Given that the Dayak community in West Kutai is now interact with immigrant tribes from outside the region and island, inter-group conflicts are inevitable. These interactions can result in positive relationships, such as marriage and trade, or negative ones, such as disputes and conflicts. In terms of conflict resolution, the Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi community applies existing customary rules to determine sentencing and the imposition of fines. This system ensures that disputes are resolved in accordance with the community's established customary norms and values.

The *antakng* value standard serves as a reference in conflict resolution in the Tonyooi Benuaq Dayak community. This application of *antakng* values extends beyond the Tonyooi Benuaq Dayak community to encompass all ethnic groups residing West Kutai Regency, as well as every individual in the region. This principle reflects the local proverb "where the earth is, there the sky is," which emphasizes the importance of adhering to the customary rules specific to each locality. Consequently, the Dayak community strongly upholds these prevailing customary norms, ensuring that all individual-whether local residents or migrants-comply with the established rules for conflict resolution and other aspects of communal life.

> "Customs contain norms, rules, and laws that govern the residents of a particular area. They are binding in nature, so there are no exceptions for anyone. If a person lives in a place where there are customary rules, then he must obey them. Anyone who acts against custom will be held accountable by custom as well." (Manar Dimansyah - Great Customary Chief of West Kutai Regency, 51 years old).

Antakng functions as a customary value standard that is applied at various levels of customary institutions, including the village, sub-district and district levels. The use of the *antakng* value standard also includes transmigrant villages, such as Purwodadi, Sumber Sari, Rejo Basuki, Banjar Rejo and Bangun Sari. Although the customary chiefs in these transmigrant villages are from different ethnicities (such as Javanese, Banjar, Bugis, etc.), these villages are remain under the jurisdiction of the Great Customary Institution of West Kutai Regency. In these transmigrant villages, people can carry out their customs and arts in accordance with their respective ethnic traditions. However, in terms of conflict resolution, the standard *antakng* value continues to be used for calculating fines. The following section presents several cases and resolutions involving the use of *antakng* (see Table 4).

Table 4. Conflicts and their resolutions through *antakng* value standard

No	Case	Resolution	Code
1	Cutting down trees and deliberately obstructing roads.	Considered into the category of minor fine, with the perpetrator being required to pay a penalty of 1 *antakng*.	Issues among Dayak communities
2	Livestock damaging another person's crops.	Considered into the category of minor fine, with the perpetrator being required to pay a penalty of 1 *antakng*.	
3	Using obscene language or cursing.	Considered into the category of minor fine, with the perpetrator being required to pay a penalty of 1 *antakng*.	
4	Intentionally covering a mud puddle on the road, resulting in someone getting trapped in it.	Considered into the category of minor fine, with the perpetrator being required to pay a penalty of 1 *antakng*.	
5	Adultery caught in the act within the house.	Considered into the category of moderate fine, with the perpetrator being required to pay a penalty of 8 *antakng*.	
6	Adultery caught in the act in a forest or outside the house.	Considered into category of moderate fine, with the perpetrator being required to pay a penalty of 7 *antakng*.	
7	Adultery caught in the act due to a third-party complaint.	Considered into the category of moderate fine, with the perpetrator being required to pay a penalty of 5 *antakng*.	
8	Indecent behavior.	Considered into category of moderate fine, with the perpetrator being required to pay a penalty of 2 *antakng*.	
9	Disrespecting or defying one's in-laws.	Considered into the category of moderate fine, with the perpetrator being required to pay a penalty of 3 *antakng*.	
10	Impregnating a person's child.	Considered into the category of moderate fine, with the perpetrator being required to pay a penalty of 2 *antakng*.	
11	Fighting or verbal argument.	Considered into the category of moderate fine, with the perpetrator being required to pay a penalty of 2 *antakng*.	
12	Inflicting injury without causing permanent disability.	Considered into the category of heavy fines, with the perpetrator being required to pay a penalty of 4-5 *antakng*.	
13	Inflicting injury severe enough to result in disability.	Considered into the category of heavy fines, with the perpetrator being required to pay a penalty of 25-30 *antakng*.	
14	Inflicting harm leading to another person's death.	Considered into the category of heavy fines, with the perpetrator being required to pay a penalty of 56 and cover the costs of the traditional death ceremony.	
15	*Rakbar* refers to extreme anxiety that	Customary legal provisions regulate the value of *Rakbar* for affected villages, set	

	has spread to neighboring villages, creating a state of panic or a tense situation.	at 2 *antakng* (this amount may increase depending on its impact on regional stability and the threat of horizontal conflict).	Inter-ethnic conflicts in West Kutai
16	The ethnic conflict between the Dayak and Bugis in 2012 began with a verbal altercation that escalated into a brawl at a fuel station. Dissatisfaction with the resolution at the police sector level triggered a larger conflict, leading to looting.	Reconciliation between the Dayak and Bugis communities involved Haji Latang, a Bugis ethnic fuel station owner, being instructed to leave West Kutai and prohibited from establishing any business in the region again. Additionally, those responsible for the assault were required to serve a prison sentence and pay a customary fine of *antakng*. The perpetrator's family was also asked to voluntarily leave Kutai Barat.	
17	The ethnic conflict between the Dayak and Madura in 2021 was triggered by a loan dispute that culminated in the murder of a Dayak woman by a Madura man on February 1st, 2021.	A customary court was held on February 3rd, 2021. The court's ruling required the perpetrator to pay a customary fine of 4,120 *antakng* (equivalent to approximately IDR 1.658 billion), as well as IDR 250 million for the death ritual costs. This amount was to be settled within six months, or the entire Madura ethnic group was to be asked to leave West Kutai. After mediation and negotiation, the fine was reduced to IDR 400 million, taking into account that the perpetrator had already served a legal sentence and was still in prison.	
18	A case of a brawl resulting in murder was reported in 2023, where a Dayak ethnic perpetrator killed a Javanese ethnic victim in Kajuq, Benggeris, Muara Lawa District, Kutai Barat.	The Dayak Benuaq ethnic suspect was sentenced to imprisonment and required to pay compensation to the victim. All customary heads of the Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi village were asked to contribute a varying amount of *antakng*. These contributions served as a visible expression of sympathy towards the victim's family.	

Source: Data processed by the authors, 2024

Table 4 illustrates several conflict resolution cases where *antakng* fineare used within the context of customary law. The role of *antakng* in conflict resolution remains consistent, whether in disputes among Dayak community members, between Dayak and non-Dayak groups, or in cases involving multiple villages. These conflict resolutions involve the customary leaders of each village involved. The determination of *antakng* fines is based on the severity of the offense; the more serious the violation, the higher the fine to be paid. In cases not involving murder, drug-related offenses, or violence against women or children, the West Kutai community tends to prefer resolving disputes through customary institutions

rather than reporting them to the police. This preference is due to several considerations, including the fact that the customary system not only assesses the actions but also considers the motives behind them. Consequently, the imposed penalties are based not only on the actions themselves but also on the underlying reasons for those actions.

The duration of conflict resolution within the customary system varies significantly depending on the institution handling the case. Cases addressed by village-level customary institutions are typically resolved within one to two weeks, and in some instances, even within a few days. In contrast, if the conflict is escalated to the Grand Customary Institution of West Kutai, the resolution process can extend to an average of three to four months. This extended duration is due to the high volume of cases and the backlog from various villages and sub-districts across West Kutai. Cases that cannot be resolved at the village or sub-district customary institutions are generally referred to the Grand Customary Institution. If the parties involved are dissatisfied with the decision or process of the customary institution, they have the option to report the case to the police. However, the police generally do not intervene in cases that have been designated for resolution through customary law, except in cases of murder, drug offenses, or violence against minors. Customary institutions also strive to ensure that the application of customary law is not arbitrary and remains credible.

In the context of customary fines, *antakng* serves as the unit of value. However, in practice, the Dayak Tonyooi Benuaq people now prefer to keep their *antakng* (ceremonial vessels) and pay fines in cash. When asked regarding the sale price of their ceremonial items, they are often uncertain, as selling them at IDR 400,000 (the value of 1 *antakng*) would be considered too low given their cultural significance. Conversely, increasing the value of 1 *antakng* in rupiah terms meets with resistance from the community, as higher values would result in increased costs for customary events, services, and fines.

According to customary law, fines should be applied fairly and equitably to every individual, as the primary principle of customary law is justice. However, in practice, the perception and assessment of fines by customary leaders can differ. Some leaders may impose higher fines as a measure to appease the victim's family and prevent public anger that could lead to provocation or unlawful actions. Although customary fines are final and cannot be contested, there is a mechanism to provide relief for those who admit guilt but cannot afford to pay the full amount. In such cases, the involved parties can request a reduction known as *pempekng ayaas*. This request will be considered by the *mantiiq* (nobles) or customary head, who may provide relief or adjust the fine based on various considerations, including the economic capacity and social circumstances of the involved party. This process demonstrates the flexibility of customary law application, aiming to balance formal justice with humanitarian considerations, and ensuring that decisions reflect the individual circumstances of those involved.

5. Discussion

This study on *antakng* as a unit of value in Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi community reveals two important findings. First, there has been a notable transformation in the function of *antakng*. Prior used as a medium ox exchange in economic transactions, it has now been largely replaced by modern currency. Second, the adjustment of the value of *antakng* into rupiah also extends to its role as a customary fine. Although disputes and conflicts are resolved by costumary institutions with fine measured in *antakng* units, the payment of these fines is now conducted by converting the established *antakng* value into rupiah. This adjustment aims to ensure that customary regulations remain applicable despite the increasing rarity of *antakng*.

The shift of ***antakng's*** function as commodity money to rupiah currency is driven by its current scarcity. It arises not only due to the physical limitation of the *antakng* as an urn but also from the intrinsic customary values it represents. While many urns can be created, not all of them qualify as *antakng*, unless they possess certain age and have been extensively involved in traditional ceremonies. This signifies that *antakng*, as a ceremonial object, is valued through a process of meaning-making and value creation within its community (Berk, 2023). Additionally, the use of modern currency is driven not only by the increasing rarity of *antakng* but also by the universality and stability of money as a recognized payment system (Habibie, 2017; Pittaluga & Seghezza, 2021). Fiat money is widely accepted in payment systems, serving as a medium of exchange and a standard unit for measuring value (Geva, 1987; Olorogun & Abdul Aziz, 2021). Therefore, in order to maintain the role of *antakng* as a standard of value, the payment process for its value is converted into currency.

This research supports the studies conducted by Taskinsoy (2019) and Zakharov (2023), both of which examine the transition in economic system from barter to currency based system. However, this research does not specifically address the shift from barter to currency. Instead, it focuses on the transformation of *antakng* from a form of commodity money to a unit of value that can be converted to currency. Additionally, this research is relevant to Desan's (2014) examination of the transition from commodity money to modern money in England. Desan explores the role of government in distributing the monopoly and creating money, which led to the development of capitalism in society. In contrasts with this study, it focuses on how modern money functions practically while retaining the cultural roles of *antakng* as commodity money. Comparing with previous studies, it is evident that the aspects that persist and endure through the transition from commodity money to modern money have not been extensively analyzed.

The shift in the function of *antakng* from traditional economic system, which is increasingly abandoned, to its continued role in customary fines shows a coexistence of value systems in Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi community. This phenomenon illustrates that Dayaj Benuaq Tonyooi community live in two interacting worlds, the traditonal and the modern. They integrate these worldviews to create collaborative solutions for social issues, such as conflicts (Kapyrka & Dockstator, 2012). Furthermore, the practice of using money to replace *antakng* in economic transactions and converting its value into rupiah for fine payments reflects the interaction between customary values and national values (Chatwood et al., 2017). As a result, the combination of *antakng* fines and customary conflict resolution with the use of money as part of the national economic mechanism illustrates the integration of traditional and modern values in the community's life.

The coexistence of traditional and modern value system reflected in the use of antakng in Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi community has significant implications. On hand hand, antakng continues to play an important role in regulating social relations and resoving issues and conflicts, emphasizing the resilience and relevance of customary values in the community. On the other hand, the integration of *antakng* with the modern economic system through its conversion into rupiah illustrates the community's adaptation to changing times. This phenomenon, as mentioned by Kapyrka and Dockstator (2012) and Chatwood et al. (2017), highlights the complexity of social and cultural dynamics of Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi community as they faces the changes, development and modernization.

Research on *antakng* as a standard of value in Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi community makes a significant contribution to the efforts of preservation of Dayak culture. The aim is to established a more structured *antakng* value system that provides an alternative for customary problem solving and creates the development of civil society. In order to support

this effort, synergy is required between customary institutions at various levels - village, sub-district, and district - as well as government involvement. Customary institutions play a crucial role in assisting the government in socializing efforts to promote peace through the implementation of contextual customary values. Meanwhile, the government is responsible in promoting the importance of tolerance and respect for customary values within a pluralistic society. Thus, customary values can not only be preserved but also continue to evolve and benefit the wider community.

6. Conclusion

The findings of this research reveal that the transformation of antakng from a medium of exchange in economic transactions to the use of modern currency has not undermined its role as a cutomary fine. Although *antakng* as commodity money has been abandoned and is now scarce, its function as a standard of customary value for conflict resolution remains unchanged. The continued use of *antakng* in the customary fine system demonstrates the Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi community's efforts to preserve their traditions amidst evolving times that threaten local values. By maintaining *antakng* as a standard of value for determining fines and resolving conflicts, the community ensures that their customary values remain relevant and preserved.

Research on the shift in the function of antakng from a traditional medium of exchange system to its conversion to rupiah, as well as the continued importance of antakng as customary fine within the Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi community, makes a significant contribution to the fields of economic anthropology and customary law. The findings illustrate the interaction between traditional values embodied in *antakng* and modern values such as rupiah currency system. This research highlights the transition from a traditional commodity money-based exchange system to a modern monetary system, demonstrating how indigenous communities adapt to global economic changes while maintaining relevant traditional values. Furthermore, this research provides valuable resource on the effectiveness of customary law in resolving social conflicts. Customary law, when integrated with positive law, shows its potential in providing well contextualized solutions for problem solving.

This research is limited by its focus and the use of data samples from only a single sub-tribe of Dayak, namely Dayak Benuaq Tonyooi. The Dayak tribe comprises numerous sub-tribes accross the plains of Kalimantan, each with its own distinctive cultural patterns and practices. This diversity affects the perception and role of *antakng* as a ceremonial object and value standard. Therefore, further research is needed that can accomodate its focus and samples in different Dayak sub-tribes. Continued attention to *antakng* as both a traditional object and a standard of value within Dayak community should be expanded through the use of a broader sample to achive more comprehensive research results.

Author Contribution Statement

Valenci Kalista was responsible for the conceptualization and methodology of the study, as well as data curation and formal analysis. Putri Ananda Saka contributed to the investigation, provided resources, and played a key role in reviewing and editing the manuscript. Mohammad Sheikhi supervised the project, handled project administration, secured funding, and ensured the validation of the study. All authors have reviewed and approved the final version of the manuscript.

Disclosure of Interests

No conflict of interest to declare.

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