

Tradition and Religion in the Blood Show of *Tongkonan*

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Abstract: Torajanese who once grows up as a primary oral society, tied with ancient traditions, especially in the form of ceremony. One of them, which still has an important role in the society, is consecration ceremony of *Tongkonan* named *Mangrara Banua*. However, in process of its implementation now, *Mangrara Banua* is changed by Christianity, which has replaced role of *Aluk Todolo* as original religion of the society. It is not only the switch from *Aluk Todolo* to Christian, but also modernization that impact Torajanese lifestyle is also affect change of the forms of ceremony in Toraja, especially *Mangrara Banua*. Therefore, through method of ethnography that covering interviews, observations, and participations, collected data is expected to be able to give a new understanding about social and cultural life of Torajanese through the consecration ceremony. Christianization and modernization not only impact transformation or process of the ceremony implementation, but also oral sources that publishing the local wisdom that is endowed by ancestors. Tradition and changes are two things that difficult to be separated. In one hand, tradition make the change as effort to struggle in the middle age of development, but on the other hand, changes often blur 'soul' as the spirit in tradition.

1 *Tongkonan* AND ITS CONSECRATION CEREMONY

Like a series of pictures in an album, oral tradition keeps a number of memory about human experience that is shown through the speech of its speaker. The memory about life experience of a group of people which is endowed through generations, form in wealth of speech in its oral tradition. However, Torajanese save their collective memory not only in oral speeches inherited hereditary, but also form in a building called *Tongkonan*.

Tongkonan is commonly known as Toraja traditional house which form is unique and typical. One of the *Tominaa* (the leader of ritual) called Ne' Tato, define *Tongkonan* as center of the all life of Torajanese. Marla Tandirerung, an expert of Toraja culture as well as maintainer of *Tongkonan* in Buntu Pune expresses, *Tongkonan* is initially mention for traditional house of Toraja functioning as center of tradition government as well as executor of tradition rules. This type of *Tongkonan* recognized with the title *Tongkonan Layuk* and *Tongkonan Kaparengesan*, where both share similar importance

of role as creator as well as rule executor of tradition in each region in Toraja.

The role and function of *Tongkonan* oblige implementation of consecration ceremony after the *Tongkonan* is set up or renovated. The consecration ceremony is later known as *Mangrara Banua*. *Tongkonan Layuk* and *Kaparengesan* that having function of tradition require responsibility to held *Mangrara Banua* for three days. While for the type of *Tongkonan Batu A'riri* without any role in governance and stands as *Tongkonan* familiarity is conducted *Mangrara Banua* only for one day. Implementation process of consecration ceremony is adapted to the role and function from every *Tongkonan*.

According to the statement of Ne' Tato who takes responsibility to lead the ceremony of *Mangrara Banua*, the consecration ceremony becomes a rite to initiate the status of a 'building' become a *Tongkonan* that having important role in Torajanese life, not only as a place to held traditional ceremonies, but also functioning as the marker of social status of the owner in society. *Mangrara Banua* now still become a conviction to be done, though various forms of modernizations

now start to give influence to the form of this ceremony.

Ne' Tato, an *imam* or priest of *Aluk Todolo* (traditional religion of Torajaneses which generally covered rules and stages in a ceremony) who is still loyal to keep up his ancestors' religion, explains that now Torajaneses started to execute *Mangrara Banua* in a new form, which mix the original religion of ancestors with official religions, such as Catholic and Christian. This condition exactly impacts the form of the *Mangrara Banua* itself. Additionally, the whole ceremony which initially lead by an *imam* called *Tominaa* (Literally means 'the wise man', but generally defined as ceremony speaker and act as special figure in *Aluk Todolo*), now has to be replaced by priest or pastor as leader in Christianity. It does not mean to disregard rule of the ancestors, but the mixing between this tradition and religion shows effort of Torajaneses to keep up the role and function of tradition as a media to transmit the collective memory.

The conforming that is conducted by Torajaneses to this oral tradition becomes a way out to perpetuate the wealth of heritage that is packed in consecration ceremony of *Tongkonan*. Needs and dependency of existence from *Tongkonan* in every trips of Torajaneses life as a group of society, make this oral tradition will be remain as a part that is going to continuously perfecting the 'life' in *Tongkonan*. The form of *Mangrara Banua* in Christian version becomes material of my study to understand the role and function from this oral tradition for the Torajaneses.

2 *Mangrara Banua* IN TERM OF *Aluk Todolo*

Every steps of structured ceremony adapted to the variance of status and function of *Tongkonan* in the society. Ne' Tato, who responsible to lead *Rambu Tuka'* (thanksgiving ceremony) ceremonies in Toraja explain that according to *Aluk Bangunan Banua* (Rules and Laws of House Construction) in term of *Aluk Todolo*, the construction process of *Tongkonan* should be started with ceremony. Not only during the construction process, but since the process of hewing trees in the forest, the ceremony must be done first.

Trees that growing in forest become one of the subsistence source for Torajaneses. After the trees cut away, they are not automatically considered as dead object, but process of subsistence that coming from

the tree moved into the form of *Tongkonan*. Woods which used to build *Tongkonan* are expected to continuously give the life for every human who lives in it. Therefore, every process of hewing the trees to build a house, it must be started a ceremony by offering a chicken as a sacrifice to *deata* (gods), preserver of nature.

After that, the woods that had been cut away moved to the location of construction process that is also followed by the ceremoniously of *ma'palimbong/mangrampun* kayu by offering a pig. The ceremony marks every steps of construction of the *Tongkonan* start from the retrieval of wood in the forest until the process of the consecration before *Tongkonan* is used. However, Ne' Tato added, since the construction of *Tongkonan* had used the wood from outside the region of Toraja, some steps are needless and eliminated slowly.

Recognized by Mr. Layuk, one of the owner of noble *Tongkonan* (*Tongkonan Layuk*) in Kesu' region, now the ceremony allocate for consecration of *Tongkonan* Layuk held for three days. Even though some of the owners of *Tongkonan* Layuk and *Tongkonan* Kaparengesan still following *Aluk Todolo* which means still executing many ceremonies of preparations before *Mangrara Banua* start. As *Mangrara Banua* ceremony for *Tongkonan* Garu'ga's that is conducted by family of Tombi Sarungallo which is done in some steps as following:

2.1 *Ma'pallin*

First day preparation ceremony, that is rite of shrift for all members of family, in order to not to be inhibition in construction process of the *Tongkonan*.

2.2 *Tama pangala' : Manglalleng*

Tama pangala' is the rite of appealing to God, specifically to *Puang Panggala*/god of inhabitant forest, in order to ask permission to cut away the trees for *Tongkonan* necessity. Before taking the trees, offerings of bamboo rice called *piong* and also give the chicken to the custodian of forest so that he allows to cut away the wood. Then all woods that are needed can be taken.

2.3 *Makaroen-roen manuk (I)*

The next day people offering chicken in order to remember the spirits of ancestors who had become gods of all the inhabitants of the village where *Tongkonan* would be built.

2.4 To'tarapak: Anak papa (manurun)

All plants including bamboo belong to God, humans only maintain and wait on earth. Therefore, on the fourth day of the ceremony they must ask God before cutting down the bamboo so that the *miang* (resembling powder that comes out from bamboo) does not bring itching to the workers who built the *Tongkonan*.

2.5 Ma'pati

Asking for safety of the workers because they using some types of keen/sharp objects in working for the house.

2.6 Manggono'anak papa

Likewise in arranging bamboo roofing material, so that all workers are protected from slicing bamboo roofs.

2.7 Makaroen-roen manuk (II)

In the next evening chicken are offered and dedicated to remember the late ancestors of *Tongkonan*.

2.8 Mangrondon / Tama gandang / Barung-barung dipabendan

- *Mangrondon*: Asking God's help to set up a hut for the materials
- *Tama gandang*: Drum is sounded to call all clumps of families.
- *Barung-barung dipabendan*: Setting up the special hut in the area of previous house (for renovated one) as the place to cook for the workers.

2.9 Mapate'dek

Asking for blessing and God's protection for the house so that it set up steadily.

2.10 Mapatete pa' (chisel)

Asking for workers safety in chiseling the wood and out of danger or wound because chisel.

2.11 Ma'kala'ka

Asking for the finished material to be well connected one with the other so that house stands up steady.

2.12 Ma'padudung

Asking for more blessing from God so all the masts stand up steady as its steady symbolize unity and overflows of God's blessing for all family member of *Tongkonan*.

2.13 Mangosok sangkinan

Asking for a steady *Tongkonan*, which also symbolize growth of family clump and abundant blessing.

2.14 Mangrinding (ma'kemun rinding)

Gaining strength and well-formed wall of the house. Its strong and orderly symbolize unity of *Tongkonan* and protected from various bad things.

2.15 Ma'telang para

Asking so that rack in front of house which contains chicken carving and engraving of *pa'bareallo*: Chicken symbolize the tenacity and hard work. *Bareallo* (engraving in the form of sun) symbolize *Tongkonan* to be light for all inhabitant of the village and society.

2.16 Ma'kasoi

Asking so that the beams as a mixture of neatly placed bamboo roofs be installed properly.

2.17 Massalli

The strong floor and orderly house symbolize gathering of family of steady and harmonious *Tongkonan*.

2.18 Ma'karoen-roen bai (III)

Rite of offering pigs to remember the late ancestors from *Tongkonan*.

2.19 *Massomba a'riri posi'*

Pillar that is set up in the middle of the building symbolize that the house is a *Tongkonan* Kaparengesan.

2.20 *Ma'tarampak*

The first day of *Mangrara Banua* named *Ma'tarampak*, is ceremony that marking installation of small roofs which is commonly made from small size of bamboo called *tallang* and usually compiled tidy and orderly, named *papa dirassa*. It is a level symbol of family in the *Tongkonan*, from small or poor ones to the rich and wise, who keep together as family of *Tongkonan*. Continued with *massomba tedong* at night, people conducted the ceremony of buffalo ancestry to find the color of buffalo to be dedicated to thanksgiving ceremony of the *Tongkonan*.

2.21 *Allona = ma'papa*

Allona is the second day of *Mangrara Banua* when bamboo roof is installed. In order to set it powerfully and orderly, then it performed by the worshipping God. Roof installation becomes symbol of all levels of family in the *Tongkonan* are protected by God orderliness in their life as a big family.

2.22 *Ma'bungung*

The third day of the *Mangrara Banua* ceremony, the installation of the roof of the house ridge - which had been installed earlier in the day, as a symbol of the perfection of the building as well as the perfection of life experienced by all members of the *Tongkonan*.

2.23 *Mantan sendana (on the east side of Tongkonan)*

It is also held in the third day of ceremony, when a tree named *sendana* is planted as symbol that the construction process of the *Tongkonan* is over.

2.24 *Mendio'bugi': Thanksgiving at a Big Party/ Happiness*

Everyone comes with glutinous rice and chicken, and also *piong* (sticky rice cooked in bamboo) as a symbol of gratitude and joy.

3 *Mangrara Banua* COVERED IN CHRISTIANITY

Differ to the ceremony of *Tongkonan* Garu'ga, the ceremony that has been held for *Tongkonan* Rampunan in Luak is arranged in an order that is adapted to the Christian context with a simpler stage, especially at the preparation stages, as follows:

3.1 *Manta'da: Phase of 'cleansing' to Enter the Consecration Ceremony*

The stage on the first day before entering the main ceremony of *Mangrara Banua* called *Manta'da*. In *Aluk Todolo*, this stage is cleansing process carried out for days, by offering sacrificial to the *deata* and late ancestor as a form of apology for any mistakes which is made during the construction process of *Tongkonan*, and also asking for permit to be able to held the main ceremony of *Tongkonan*. Although in the Christian version this ceremony only runs for one day, the *Aluk Todolo* concept above is still interpreted by Torajans who have embraced Christianity. For them the process of 'cleansing' is not only applied to *Tongkonan* and the surrounding environment, but also applies to every family member who is involved in the construction process and in the consecration ceremony. *Manta'da* stage is no longer preceded with rite of worshipping *deata* and ancestors as in ceremony of *Aluk Todolo's* version. *Manta'da* which was held for the house of Nek Roswita in that morning, started by a worship that is led by a Pastor from one of Toraja church in Makale. The worship lasted about one hour, with worship services almost the same as Sunday worship in the church.

3.2 *Ma'tarampak: Blood and Party*

Ma'tarampak is the installation process of bottom roof of *Tongkonan*. This process actually had been completed long before *Mangrara* ceremony was held. But, officially *Ma'tarampak* is the day to thank God for the finishing process of roof installation. For Ne'Tato, a *Tominaa* who still obeys *Aluk Todolo*, the celebration of *ma'tarampak* initially is a thanksgiving ceremony for *deata*, by giving a pig which lever, lungs and its heat are taken and addressed to *deata* along with areca nut and betel nut and then placed on banana leaf. In the context of Christian celebrations, this process undergoes several modifications. It seems that there is no longer a thanksgiving ceremony aimed at *deata*, but

to God as the only Ruler who is believed by Christians. Just like the previous day, on the first day of *Mangrara Banua*, began with joint service. Families and guests took place on the front of *Tongkonan*, prepared to attend the service. The afternoon service was a religious service to enter *Mangrara Banua* on the first day. After the service completed, followed by lunch, and then at 2 p.m, the process of *Ma'pakande Ada'* began. *Ma'pakande Ada'* is slaughtering pigs to become sacrificial animal on the *Ma'tarampak* day, and the meat will be distributed to each customary figures on that region, such as to *parengnge'* and *tominaa* according to their role in *adat* (custom).

The pigs which become sacrificial animal that day, cut into pieces according to customary rules. Part of its ulcer cut into small parts and tied using fiber from the bamboo skin. Other parts that are already prepared to be shared, are given to several people according to tradition and their roles in society.

3.3 *Massomba Tedong*: The Prayer for Praising the Buffalo

Massomba Tedong is one part of the *Mangrara Banua* ceremonial process for *Tongkonan Rampunan*. This part become a separate ceremony called Merok which is always marked by sacrificial offerings in the form of black buffalo, and can only be done by *Tongkonan Layuk* who has carried out *Ma'buu* ceremony before. Ne' Tato Dena as *Tominaa sando* defined *Mangrara Banua* as an all-night prayer activity which contained praise for buffalo which would be offered to *Puang Matua*.

In one of *Passomba Tedong's* prayer in Merok ceremony, told that the ancestors of buffalo were ordered by *Puang Matua* to offer themselves as sacrifices by human. Although human and buffalo ancestors were created together, only humans can carry out ceremonies as a form of worship to the creator, in contrast to buffalo. So the buffalo were ordered by *Puang Matua* –who believe as a creator– to be a sacrifice at the ceremony. This narrative about the creation of buffalo is important to be carried out in *Massomba Tedong* process.

Kamu to siulu'ki lanmai sauan sibarrung, apa kami motorro to linotu la memala' menimba langan To Tu Mempa'ta, na ia tu ladi penomban, susimo tu kada misiosso'I dio mai nene' mu lanmai sauan sibarrung. (Waterson, 2009:299)

(You are our siblings who born from heaven but only us of human who can give the sacrifices of worship to the creator, and you are the only one to be sacrificed;

as command that had been inherited from your ancestor).

The process of *massomba tedong* carried out that night at *Tongkonan Rampunan*, was also adjusted to the manner of worship in Christian beliefs. *Massomba Tedong*, which was initially led by *Tominaa*, now was replaced by the Pastor who read the *Passomba Tedong* prayer from the podium,

“*Kurre, kurre, kurre sumanga'na, langan Puang dao tangana langi'*

Sampa' parayanna di patuara' langgan to kaubanan dao ma'arru' balusunna langi' kalua'. (Praise and thanks we offer only to God who dwells in the sky)

Iamo Puang to komombang sakka' saeanna, to tumampa angga maritik

Iamo Puang sipatu dinii umpakendek pa'kurre sumanga'na te to ma'raputallang

Iamo kapenomban sielle' untarima pa'urrande-randeanna te to ma'kaponan ao'

(He is the Lord who made all things. To Him we offer thanks. God who deserves praise from the family clump)

Apa iari na pabendanni to ma'rapu talang te bongana gau', anna patu nannanggi to ma'kaponan ao' te aluk ma' kalolokanna tanda tasik na todingminangan na passakkena puang dio tondon to batangna

(Family clump in this place held the celebration to express their thanks to Lord)

La tengka tedong parandan di pudukku, lako tedong ma'bulu kaluk, la te'papa dara' lengko di lilaku lako karambau ma'songgo bisara

(I will continue to talk about buffalo)

Pa torro magiang iko nene' mendeatammu umpolalan eran di langi' apa tongkon to malaya' iko todolo kapuanganmu umpolambanan enda' to palullungan. Umpolalan ia sibandanganna langi umpolambanan ia siamma' na batara umpemanukki mi pangala' tamman umpellalundunni kura manapa' anna torro memba'ka' lan pangala' tammananna mala' marapuanmi lan kura manapa' ia rina randuk di tiro lindo nene'muponene' ia ri na mamula di pemanta perupa todolo kapuangan mumanapori bangunan banua, robokrii sungan pentiongnan, anna dilanda lalanni pong sabannang na rekke ulunna salu kalua' anna di langka pa'taunanni pong koe rekke tiparitikna uai.

(A long time ago, your ancestors was afraid to pass the stairs in the sky. Your ancestors actually lived in the forest and proliferated there. When

the house began to collapse, the human then went to the forest intending to cut down trees to repair the house. Then they met the buffalo)

...

Ikomo ladi penomban langngan Puang Di Matua, tedao to tumamparara' tapemala'na to ma' rapu tallang, pangallonanna to ma' kaponan ao'..."

(You are the one to be sacrifice offering to God by all the families...)

Priest Samuel, who led the *Massomba Tedong*, acknowledged that the *Passomba Tedong* which he had read had indeed been 'simplified' according to beliefs in Christianity. As explained by Nooy-Palm (1979: 138) that some of the early parts of *Massomba Tedong* contained praise to *deata*. This is certainly considered to be contrary to the beliefs of the Toraja people who are mostly Christians. Believing the existence 'power' other than God, recognized by the pastor Samuel as worshipping idols.

Churches in Toraja, both Catholic and Protestant do not set rules that prohibit certain ceremonies or traditions from being carried out by Toraja people. However, as much as possible they still do some 'modifications' for some traditions that are considered not in line with the church rules. This situation also occurs both in the *Mangrara Banua* and *Massomba Tedong*. The concept of worshipping the *deata* in *Massomba Tedong* was entirely replaced with worship God according to Christianity.

In its simpler form, the Christian version of the *Passomba Tedong* no longer contains narratives about the process of creating human ancestors based on stories that have been passed down from generation to generation through the old people oral narratives in Toraja. Most of the Christians in Toraja, have believed that the only creation process is as written in the Bible. So the oral narrative about the origin of all creation was no longer included in this ceremony. However, some parts that still look the same are the praises that aimed to the buffaloes as sacrifice offerings.

Of course it cannot be denied that a significant change has been applied in the narration of *Passomba Tedong*. The process, which was initially carried out in approximately twelve hours, all night long, can be held now for approximately one hour. A very long narrative, then 'modified' becomes a simpler one. Traditions that were originally come out from the oral narratives, are now internalized through writing.

Changes that were occurred in an oral narrative that caused differences in the results of oral speech, has admitted by Ong (2013: 88) were caused by both external and internal factors. In the case of *Massomba Tedong* in Luak, the external factors are the demands from the owner of *Tongkonan* that required that each ceremonial process has to be carried out in accordance with their religion. As well as the social conditions of most Toraja people today, with their daily routines, especially those who not stay in Toraja, they no longer able to carry out the twelve hours ceremony, which is caused by their condition. These demands that have to be fulfilled by an oral speaker.

3.4 *Ma'bumbun lolo and ma'bubung: Party Hilarity and Meat*

It becomes a quite interesting morning when the event of *ma'bumbun lolo* was started. Pig pageant that is put inside the *lettoan* with Toraja engravings in every side and decoration of gorgeous clothes of batik in left to right, and leaf of *tabang* above it. The pig pageantry that brought towards the west side of *Tongkonan* immediately become the attractive view for all the guest.

The pageantry of pig are brought by family that admitted having bloodline with of the *Tongkonan* Rampunan's founder. However, Nek Roswita said, not every people is acceptable to give the pig on ceremony. They have to introduce their family tree, their *Tongkonan*, or the name of their grand family. That is the way to recognize them easily. The pig is possible to be refused by the family if there is no cognation ancestry of the giver with *Tongkonan's* founder. This is meant to avoid any people to easily claim rights of the *Tongkonan* (Waterson,2009:194) The ceremony in the morning, as previous days, started with worship together. Family of Nek Roswita is intentionally designs concept of this ceremony according to their religion nowadays. For him, this do not mean to deviate the tradition, but as possible as they can, they keep respect the tradition of their ancestor through religion that is believed now. The building of *Tongkonan* that is renovated by their family believed as form of devotion and obedience to tradition of ancestor heritage.

Under sunlight that noon, leaf of sugar palm is put down along walk side in front of *Tongkonan*. Pigs in the *lettoan*, is stabbed one by one with a keen knife right at left stomach. Its thick, red blood start to drop and fall to the ground, wett bamboos which become prop of its *lettoan*. Some of pigs that has been burned put on the leaf of sugar palm which

become its pallet, so that its flesh is not mixed with soil. Pig start to cut up into several parts, and distributed to every figures of the village, government, and every family who become part of community in the region. Each of them get a part of the given flesh to be brought home, and wrapped with a big, black plastic bag. While the rest, kept to be cooked.

In last day of the process of *Mangrara Banua*, which is ma'bubung, worship is initiated sooner in noon. Differ to the process of ma'bumbun lolo in the previous days, mow is only filled by several people of guests and family. The worship also become prayer of thanks for the finishing the whole process of *Mangrara Banua* that had running well and fluent. After the worship is done, the family prepare to start the process of *mantanan sendana* in the east of *Tongkonan*.

Sendana or sandalwood tree becomes one of trees beside *barana'*, which is sacred by Torajanese. Through the oral speech in ceremony merok (Waterson, 2009:177), this tree is associated with abundance life,

"Kurru sumanga' na te sendana sugi, saba' parayanna te kayu men tangke ianan."

(Thanks to the tree of sandalwood for its abundant sticks contain the magnify things)

Tree of sandalwood, which can only be planted in *Mangrara's* ceremony for *Tongkonan Layuk* and *Kaparengesan*, will be the symbol of a big consecration ceremony, with *Bate'* and buffalo as its marker. Tree of sandalwood is also become instrument of reminder that will be returned the memory for every families, even everyone in Luak about stillness as well as hilarity of *Mangrara Banua* ceremony in *Tongkonan Rampunan*.

4 THE LOST 'SOUL'

From description about steps of *Mangrara Banua* in Christian version that is conducted for *Tongkonan Rampunan*, the difference is clearly seen to the consecration of *Tongkonan Garu'ga* with *Aluk Todolo* version which is explained previously. Though the process of implementation of *Mangrara Banua* for *Tongkonan* of tradition govern is only take place for three days, but *Tongkonan Garu'ga* starts the ceremony of consecration with many phases of preparations that no longer do in ceremony of *Tongkonan Rampunan*.

In the phase of *Manglelleng* for example, in ceremony of *Tongkonan Garu'ga* consecration, this

step specifically becomes the form of permit application to the god of inhabitant forest named *Puang Panggala* to cut away the wood in the forest as material of building. However, this step no longer be done in *Mangrara Tongkonan Rampunan*. Besides the religion effect that forbidding all kind of worshipping to the gods and the spirit of ancestors, the construction process of most *Tongkonan* in Toraja no longer use the wood that taken directly from the forest. Woods that is used for the construction process of *Tongkonan* are imported from outside the region of Toraja like Palopo and Kalimantan. So in building *Tongkonan*, there is no more requirement to conduct the worship to the god before wooding up in forest.

Changes of building material in *Tongkonan* is also stand to transform the order of ceremony of its consecration. As in step of *Mangono' anak papa* for *Tongkonan Garu'ga*, which is step of ceremony that is conducted before installation of bamboo roof as a form of application to *Aluk Todolo* to protect workers from the slice of bamboo roof. This step no longer be done in ceremony of *Tongkonan Rampunan*, because of installation of *Tongkonan Rampunan's* roof no longer use the bamboo, but roof that coming from the zinc. Roof material made for modern houses such as zinc roof, concrete, and metal, is now using as component of base of *Tongkonan's* roof, gradually shift the role of step of *manggono' anak papa* in *Mangrara Banua's* ceremony.

Unconsciously, the change of building material that affecting the content of ceremony increasingly scrape local knowledge of Torajanese especially in construction process of *Tongkonan*. Starts from process of arranging bamboo roof (*Mangono' anak papa*) by considering its size and order so that rain drops will not be seep into the *Tongkonan*, even looking at the trivial things, just like the miang of bamboo, so that the family and workers. Also in installation of *roroan* with a complicated dowel, is now replaced by the cement and brick walls.

Changes that also clearly seen in ceremony of *Mangrara Banua ditallu rarai* at *Tongkonan Rampunan* when it is compared to ceremony of *Mangrara Banua ditallu rarai* at *Tongkonan Garu'ga*. The changes lay in phase of preparation that mostly had been eliminated, because they are considered as a form of paganism which is forbidden in Christian. For example, phase of *manglelleng*, *ma'karoen-karoen manuk* (I and II), or the elimination of *ma'karoen-karoen bai*, because they are specifically conducted as a form of worshipping the deata and the form of respect to the late ancestor. Various

changes that are implemented in the physical form of *Tongkonan* also deliver some phases of preparations like mangngono' anak papa and ma' padudung lose their role and its function in completing the consecration ceremony of *Tongkonan*.

Every phases of preparation ceremonies before entering the main ceremony of *Mangrara Banua* in *Tongkonan* Garu'ga, compiled orderly to be marker elements that present as *Tongkonan's* former. Start from the ceremony for forest that providing the wood and bamboo as component of base building, the workers, instruments for workers, hut that keeping the construction materials, woods which are going to functioning as the dowel, huts, woods, for engravings in the wall of house, engraving of pa' manuk londong and pa' bare allo which become *Tongkonan* Layuk's marker, floor of the house, a'riri posi, roofs, *Aluk Todolo*, and even *deata* and late ancestors, all get the place in ceremony of preparation. When the workers are no longer go to the forest to gain the wood, when roof of bamboo is replaced with zinc and copper made in factory, when the main pillars of building turn into the cement and brick, also presence of *deata* and late of ancestors do not get 'confession' anymore, then the phases of certain ceremony are no longer having roles in *Mangrara Banua*.

Torajanese lifestyle, especially going abroad and settled out of town, become another reason to choose the three days ceremony for them to keep running activities without ignoring the tradition obligation. A shorter duration of ceremony also help family members to be well-prepared. Nek Roswita along with her husband and her four children rebuilt their ancestor's *Tongkonan- Tongkonan* Rampunan, beside works and activities of those whom focusing outside the region of Toraja, and facilitated by implementation of more simple ceremony of *Mangrara Banua*, without step of ceremony preparation. Besides, their children might be easier to manage the time to attend the ceremony and cost needed for implementing a simple ceremony of *Mangrara Banua* without preparation steps.

In Christian version of *Mangrara Banua* in *Tongkonan* Rampunan, ceremony that is conducted as preparation phase of the construction process of *Tongkonan*, replaced with religious service to thank God for the placement of its first stone. This worship includes all prayers to ask God's blessing and protection during the construction process of *Tongkonan* till the consecration of *Tongkonan*. This worship replace the role of step in preparation

ceremony, start from process of woods retrieval till roofs installation of *Tongkonan* is complete.

Basically, order or structure of *Mangrara Banua* in Christian version that is done in Luak still following the structure of *Mangrara Banua* in *Aluk Todolo*, which is specified for the type of *Tongkonan* Layuk. As rule in *Aluk Todolo* which mention that the ceremony of *Mangrara* for *Tongkonan* Layuk is done for three days, with buffalo as the highest offerings for *Tongkonan* Layuk that ever held Ma'bua' ceremony, that is ceremony of the highest thanksgiving in Toraja. Marker of consecration ceremony in *Tongkonan* layuk is the Bate', complete with *pa'barreallo* and *pa'manuk* londong that are still used in ceremony of *Mangrara* in Luak. These thing indicates the different status of this *Tongkonan* as the highest *Tongkonan* in region of Luak-Bungin, which have to be shown through the consecration ceremony, because *Tongkonan's* status represent social status of its owner.

Outside the material in the ceremony of *Mangrara Banua* that struggle as parts of tradition, some elements in ceremony that present as aluk thus must be abandoned. Steps in preparation ceremony before entering the mangrara such as manglalleng, ma'karoen manuk and bai in Christian version are no longer do, because they considered as practices of paganism (gods and late ancestors), as citation that is written by Bigalke (2014:175),

"When you slaughter an animal, you may not bring the offerings to the soul of those whom dies; you may not think that the dead takes the animal that had been slaughtered, because animals do not have the eternal soul. What slaughtered is not supply or object of the dead, but only given as feast to the guests and families."

Therefore, part of flesh in ceremonies of Christian version in Toraja is now, which initially addressed as sacrifices of offerings to *deata* and ancestors, is now transferred as the given offerings to church henceforth by auction.

This shows that distribution practice of good flesh for sacrificed of offerings also in process of ma'pakande ada' is not totally change when put into the "cube" of Christianity. Distribution process of flesh which become an important thing in ceremonies of Toraja which is still done but transformed into different context where offerings of flesh is transferred for church. This surely become one of the reason for church to keep practicing the flesh distribution in Toraja.

Tominaa who involve in every ceremony of *Mangrara Banua* in *Aluk Todolo* version, initially responsible to lead every processes of worshipping

and prayers to *deata* and the late ancestor with sacrifice offerings in the form of cutting flesh of animals into pieces that had been slaughtered, such as in the step of *ma'karoen manuk* and *ma'karoen bai*. However, the ceremony transform into Christian version followed by the change of implementation procedures of ceremony into a worship and prayers of thanks that is led by priest. Then how about Tominaa? The role of Tominaa is no longer lead prayers in Christian ceremony of *Mangrara Banua*. Tominaa with a special ability to record every kind of tradition knowledge in his memory, is now responsible to memorize orally the history and family tree of *Tongkonan* owner where the ceremony will held.

The difference between Passomba Tedong in *Aluk Todolo* with Passomba Tedong in the ceremony of *Mangrara* in Luak is the form or content that is changed to be a shorter one due to the Christian effect which eliminates the existence of *deata* and late ancestor in oral tradition of Torajanese. Furthermore, the role of Tominaa as “the memory” of traditional hymn through their speech is replaced by priest by using written records of the memory with several modifications to its narration, in order to change the role of Tominaa in leading Massomba Tedong. Unfortunately, beside all the ‘adjustment’ of contents and the way of uttering Passomba Tedong as prayer and poem dedicated buffalo for being sacrifice to God in the *Tongkonan* consecration.

The forms of components 'adjustment' in *Mangrara Banua* remind me of invented tradition concept or re-creation of tradition that is presented by Hobsbawm (1983). Two interesting points according to Hobsbawm (1983:2) which often become attention in the concept of invented tradition, that is adjustment among elements which constantly change that innovating with modernity, and the remains elements. In case of *Mangrara Banua* the separation between the *aluk* (rules of life which are generated by ancestor) and tradition clearly shows effort of dividing elements as the core of ceremony, where *aluk* is supposed to all kinds of worshipping the dead and gods whose ‘object of change’ and now replaced by the worship to God. Differ to the *aluk*, tradition is a stagnant element, as a process of flesh distribution, ornament or material element in ceremony, as well as order or structure of ceremony that still be adjust based on *Tongkonan*'s social status in society. The re-creation of *Mangrara Banua* by doing 'adjustment' in two elements - *aluk* and tradition, as expressed by Hobsbawm (1983:5), caused by old tradition–*aluk*, that no longer can be

used along with the 'habit' of Torajanese who now become Christians.

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