

Mangrara Banua, Tongkonan and The Memories of Toraja people

(Concecration Ceremony for Traditional House in Toraja, South Sulawesi)

Abstract

Tongkonan, aside from being home for Toraja people and as an identity marker, is also functioned as a center of daily activities for Toraja people. *Tongkonan* could not run it's function without having an concecration ceremony which called *Mangrara Banua*. *Mangrara Banua* is a traditional ceremony held for the recently finished *Tongkonan* or the rennovated one. Ethnographically, *Mangrara Banua* is not only seen as a ceremony in celebrating the newly built *Tongkonan*, more than that, *Mangrara Banua* occurs to recall the memories of Toraja people about their existense as an indigenous people, through the spoken narratives in the ceremony.

Keyword:

Mangrara Banua, Tongkonan, Concecration Ceremony, Memories, Toraja people.

TONGKONAN: A Center of Toraja people lifes

“Because a house is the center of everything, for either agricultural activities and stockbreeding, or even marriage ceremony. Without a house, what would a human be? House is the center of everything, place to sleep, to cook rice, or a living place for all existense, either crops, livestock and even the existense of human itself.”

Sentences above are cited from the result of my interview with a *Tominaa*, one of *Aluk Todolo* customary leader whom often called Ne' Tato Dena. *Aluk Todolo* seen as the ancestor's religion; in which belongs to the ancient Toraja people and is full of customary rules, prohibitions, punishments, and also methods of conducting the customary ceremonies in this case including *Rambu Solo'* (funeral ceremony) and *Rambu Tuka'* (ceremonial meal). Within it's doctrine, *Aluk Todolo* or *Alukta* said as a religion inherited by *Puang Matua* (The Lord) to the first born human, *Datu La Ukku'* (Bujis 2009 :27; Tangdilintin 2014a:54)

Based on Ne' Tato's interview above, the writer begins to understand the specialty of a building which have become Toraja's pride all this time. A house which for them is not only meant as a building to live in, but rather, more than that, a house named *Tongkonan* by them is also reputed as human body that became the center of the living (Waterson, 2009:183)

Ethimologycally, '*Tongkonan*' originated from the words *tongkon* or *ma'tongkon* in Toraja language which means to sit (Tangdilintin, 2014b:39; Nooy-Palm, 1979:231). Words *ma'tongkon* or *tongkon* for Toraja people litelally aren't pointing towards some activities as we generally understand. Literally, *tongkon* means to sit, to discuss, to gather, to reach for an agreement, a confrence, in which they discuss every sort of problems together to find the

solution, or sit – in which they establish customary rules to apply in the society. And as added by Tammu and Van Der Veen in Adams (2006:80), the word *ma'tongkon* refers to the activities of Torajan people within the grasp of the ceremonial context.

Tongkonan has an important role as a place in where customary ceremonies are held, and at once as someone's social marker in society. This sense explains that the name *Tongkonan* for Toraja's Traditional House is referring to its function, not to the physical form or the architecture. Nowadays, *Tongkonan* has become the identity for Toraja people (Volkman, 1990:92; Waterson, 2009: 195), even though not all of Toraja's traditional house can be categorized as *Tongkonan* before identifying its function first. Then in this case, what function has to be had by a traditional house before we can call it *Tongkonan*?

Marla Tandirerung, Toraja's cultural scientist whom have been keeping *Tongkonan* Buntu Pune of her Ancestor said,

“Actually, not all traditional house in Toraja can be called *Tongkonan*, because *Tongkonan* is a name only for a house with a customary function”

Mangrara Banua for Tongkonan

Role, purpose, status and the prestige of a *Tongkonan* is not only judged by its physical appearances, such as its physical form, its carving or the number of the buffalo horn attached to each of its pillars, but also judged from the consecration ceremony called *Mangrara Banua*. This consecration ceremony has become one means to legitimate the status and *Tongkonan*'s function in society.

Its through this ceremony also, the collective memory of Toraja people will be presented to recall their origins, role, and the status of the *Tongkonan* in society, along with the generations inherited it. As expressed by Vansina (1985:xi), memory of an oral society has become a vault in which the whole past experience of human is stored, and also can help explain today's society condition. Memory delivers a culture of society from one generation to another.

Mangrara Banua ceremony, not only function as a media to recollect all those collective memories. It is a prestige to finally complete the building and then performing the consecration ceremony, because for Toraja people, no matter how luxurious a physical appearance of a *Tongkonan*, without ever having a *Mangrara Banua* ceremony, the building would only bring shame to the whole family. The duty to perform the ceremony also explained by Ne' Tato.

“it is an order from our ancestor for us to build a house and so that we can continuously be safe and well, we must perform the ceremony. Either for the construction or any other ceremony.

Mangrara Banua ceremony has a different form along with the different rules in each area where it will be held. In this research, I would specially describe one of *Mangrara Banua*

ceremony held for Rampunan *Tongkonan* belong to Nek Roswita in Luak, Bungin District, North Makale Subdistrict – Tana Toraja, from August 18th to 21th in 2016.

PHASES OF *MANGRARA BANUA CEREMONY*

1. *Manta'da*: Self 'purification' Before Entering the Ceremony

First day of the ceremony is a preparation phase called *Manta'da*, which held before going to the main phase (*Mangrara Banua*). *Manta'da* itself mean as a 'cleaning' process, or as named by Van Gennep (1960:20) as a *purification* phase, is a preparation phase where all families from Rampunan *Tongkonan* gather to offer a sacrificial pig for The Lord, represented by the church, in order to 'cleanse' or to purify themselves from every mistakes and misunderstanding made during the process in building the *Tongkonan*.

Tongkonan that is about to ordinate has been decorated with various decorating beads on it's rooftop. From *kandaure* (local Toraja's colorful beads handicraft) attached to every pillar on the rooftop, along with old cloths named *sarita* – a long cloth which has been passed over generations, and *maa* (a short version of *sarita*) as a nobility marker of the owner of the *Tongkonan*. This cloths only used in a great ceremonies in Toraja, one of them is *Mangrara Banua*. Every accessory presented in ceremony, is not only a pleasant for the eyes, but also as a marker of social acceptability of the owner of *Tongkonan*.

Mangrara Banua ceremony for Rampunan *Tongkonan* held in Christian form as a religion followed by the owner, resulting every phase of the ceremony always started with a religious service. The service starts the phases of the *Tongkonan* concecration ceremony for the next three days, also as the symbol of gratitude for the finished *Tongkonan*. This service is aslo as a turning point to start the concecration ceremony, to 'purify' themselfe from every mistake and misunderstanding during the construction process.

Fot Toraja people, 'purification' process at the concecration ceremony is not only valid for the *Tongkonan* and the neighborhood around, but also for each of the family member whom participated during the whole construction and ceremonial process. This 'purification' process is also an entrance door to the *Mangrara Banua* ceremony.

2. *Ma'tarampak*: Blood and Party's Decoration

Ma'tarampak is a phase at the second day of the ceremony to mark the installation of the lower part of the rooftop. Actually, this installation has been done long before the *Mangrara* ceremony is held. Still, this lower part of the rooftop is re-installed at the second day of the ceremony as the symbol of gratitude. *Ma'tarampak* at the second day of the ceremony is the early phase of *Mangrara Banua* or the concecration ceremony of *Tongkonan*.

Ma'tarampak phase is marked with *Ma'pakande Ada* process, which is the slaughter of the sacrificial pigs from the first day of the ceremony. Pork slices then distributed to each of the customary chief in the area, such as *to parengnge* (a noble title back in pre-colonial era: A customary government position to rule above a settlement of Layuk and *kaparengesan Tongkonan* (Waterson, 2009:474), and *tominaa* (customary leader for *Aluk Todolo*) according to their role in the custom. Pork slices also distributed to nearby customary *Tongkonan*.

Literally, *Ma'pakande* means 'to feed', whilst *Ada* means 'custom'. This process held as a symbol of the owner's gratitude to all of the customary chief and the church for their service for the society by giving them certain parts of the porks. *Ma'pakande'Ada* process started by slaughtering dozens of pig offered by the family. The meat then roasted, sliced accordingly to the custom rules, and then certain parts of it are given to each of the customary chief present.

The distribution of the meat is not only for the participating customary chief in the region such as *To Parengnge* and *Tominaa* as the customary leader of *Aluk Todolo* whom in charge of leading religious ceremony, but also for the church which nowadays taking the role of replacing *Aluk Todolo* in customary ceremony. Besides being the symbol of gratitude from the *Tongkonan* owner, *Ma'pakande Ada* process also held to gain legitimacy of the society for the social acceptability and for the role of their *Tongkonan* in the custom order.

3. *Massomba Tedong*: The Prayer for the Buffalo

Approaching midnight, on the second day of the *Mangrara Banua* ceremony, a tied up black buffalo on a huge tree east of the *Tongkonan* is prepared as a sacrifice in *massomba tedong* process that evening. *Massomba Tedong* is a part of *Mangrara Banua* process for Rampunan *Tongkonan*. This part of process is called *Merok* ceremony – a ceremony of the highest level of *Mangrara Banua*, which often marked with the sacrifice of a black buffalo, and can only be done by Layuk *Tongkonan* whom have held *Ma'bu* ceremony (a grateful ceremony to pray for wealth and prosper) beforehand.

Unlike the chosen big-striped-long horn buffalos at the funeral ceremony, the chosen buffalo for sacrificial in *massomba tedong* is a black and short horn (around half of man's arm) buffalo. As the chosen sacrificial buffalo, it must has eight point-like white spots at it's skin, only with that condition the buffalo will considered worthy as a sacrificial buffalo in *massomba tedong*.

Massomba tedong by Ne' Tato Dena as a *Tominaa*, specifically for gratitude ritual, held in form of a prayer including praise on the sacrificial buffalo for all night long. While Adams (2006:249) gave the definition of *Passomba Tedong* as a series of prayers addressed towards the buffalo; a traditional ceremony related to consecration of the *Tongkonan*.

In one of the *Passomba Tedong's* poem of *Merok* ceremony, telling a story of our ancestor's buffalo behalf on the order of *Puang Matua* to sacrifice itself for the human. Eventhough the

ancestors of human and animal were created at the same time by *Puang Matua*, but unlike buffalos, only human knows how to held a ceremony to worship The Lord. Therefore the buffalos were pointed as sacrificial for the ceremony. This story of the buffalo's origin became something important to tell in *Massomba Tedong* ceremony, as cited from Waterson,

Kamu to siulu'ki lanmai sauan sibarrung, apa kami mo torro to lino tu la memala' menumba langan To Tu Mempa'ta, na iatu ladipenomban, susimo tu kada misiosso'i diomai nene'mu lanmai sauan sibarrung. (Waterson, 2009:299)

You are our brother born from the hands of *Puang Matua*, but only us, humans, able to held sacrificial ceremony to praise The Lord, and you are the only one to sacrifice; as the order inherited by your ancestor

Massomba Tedong ceremony at that night held at Rampunan *Tongkonan*, led by a priest from one of the Protestant Church in Toraja. The sacrificial buffalo then released from it's binding and then marched towards *Tongkonan* right in front of the platform where the priest standing. Dressed in robe as a ceremonial vestment, and a red *passapu'* (head accessory with a pointed part heading towards the sky) on his head, and a spear as a symbol held in his left hand, priest then started to say the *Passomba Tedong* prayers,

* *“Kurre, kurre, kurre sumanga'na, langan Puang dao tangana langi' Sampa' parayanna di patuara' langgan to kaubanan dao ma'arru' balusunna langi' kalua'.*
We give our gratitude only for The Lord in the sky

Kurre tua'na te padang tuo balo' pole parayanna te padang tumbo kumuku'
Praise The Lord for this universe

Kurre sumanga'na te timpolok maa' pole parayannate tetuk doti langi'
Praise The Lord for the *Maa*

to lamban, pole parayanna te darrak to unnorong
Praise The Lord for the *Sarita*

Kurre sumanga'na te sendana bonga, pole parayanna te tallu basongna
Praise The Lord for the sandalwoods

Kurre sumanga'na tokonan tedong, pole parayanna pandanan bai
Praise The Lord for the buffalos

Kurre sumanga'na lantang ma'pampang, pole parayanna barung ma'dandan
Praise The Lord for the ceremonial huts

Kurre sumanga'na pangkungan bai, pole parayanna kale'ke karambau
Praise The Lord for the pigs

La tengka tedongpa randan di pudukku, lako tedong ma'buluk aluk, la te'papa dara' lengko di lilaku lako karambau ma'songgo bisara
I will keep on telling story about the buffalos

Pa torro magiang iko nene' mendeatammu umpolalan eran di langi' apa tongkon to malaya' iko todolo kapuanganmu umpolambanan enda' to palullungan. Umpolalan ia sibiranganna langi umpolambanan ia

siamma' na batara umpemanukki mi pangala' tamman umpellalundunni kurra manapa' anna torro memba'ka'lan pangala' tamman anna mala' marapuanmi lan kurra manapa' ia ri na randuk di tiro lindo nene'mu po nene' ia ri na mamula di pemanta perupa todolo kapuanganmu manapo ri bangunan banua, robok ri isungan pentiongnan, anna dilando lalanni pong sabannangna rekke ulunna salu kalua' anna di langka pa'taunanni pong koe koe rekke tiparitik na uai.

Once upon a time, your ancestors was frightened to climb the ladder in the sky. Instead, they were settling in the forest and proliferate. When human settlement was collapsing, they enter the forest to find lumber to repair their houses. Its at that time they met the buffalo.

Iko mo ladi penomban langgan Puang Di Matua, tedao to tumampa rara'ta pemala'na to ma'rappu tallang, pangallonanna to ma'kaponan ao'...

The one to be sacrificed and tributed from the whole family for The Lord.

*text and translation by Priest Samuel Panggalo (2017)

Passomba Tedong chanted by Priest Samuel which he confess is a 'simplified' form and been adjusted with Christianity context, because at first this liturgy was originated from the *Aluk Todolo* belief inherited by the ancestors of Toraja people. Its just, as previously explained by Nooy-Palm (1979:138), that some first parts from *Massomba Tedong* consist of prayers of adoration for The Lord. This matter considered in contradiction with the belief of Toraja people, whom mostly Christian. To ask them to put their faith back on giving 'power' to other existence beside The Lord, is just the same as paganism, says Priest Samuel,

“Truthfully, *Massomba Tedong* original version is *Aluk Todolo*'s version. But, i have replaced the gods-worshipping part with prayers to The Lord”

In Toraja, either Catholic or Protestant churches were not establishing rules to ban certain ceremony or tradition of Toraja people. Nevertheless, the churches are doing their best to 'modify' some of the tradition which contradict with their rules. This is exactly what happen to *Mangrara Banua* ceremony, and even to *Massomba Tedong* as a part of the ceremony. The concept of worshipping gods and ancestors in *Massomba Tedong* has been fully replaced with worshipping The Lord according to Christianity. But this modification in *Massomba Tedong* does not change its role and function as a gratitude in the concecration ceremony.

4. *Ma'bumbun Lolo* and *Ma'bubung*: Spectacle of Blood and Flesh

A quite interesting sight in that morning starts the series of *ma'bumbun lolo*. People marching with pigs placed inside of a box-shaped litter called *lettoan*, with Toraja's special carving on each side, colorful *Maa* attached on it, plus a red-colored leaf on top of it. This march performed by the blood-related family and the descendant of Rampunan *Tongkonan*.

Every person who came and bring pig, must introduce their parentage, which *Tongkonan* they came from, or the their grandparents name. By doing so it will be easy to recognize them. Pigs offered can be rejected by Nek Roswita and family as the owner of *Tongkonan* if they're not finding themself blood-related with the person who offers them pig. It is necessary so that not

every person can claim themselves as a descendant of the owner of *Tongkonan* (Waterson, 2009:194).

Ma'bubung process as the final part of *Mangrara Banua* ceremony, start in the middle of the day. Different with yesterday's *ma'bumbun lolo*, only few person stationied inside the granary. The service was done together with the prayers as a symbol of gratidue in completing the whole process of *Mangrara Banua* ceremony according to plan. After the service end, all family members who present to begin the *mantanan sendana* (sandalwoods planting) at the easter side of the *Tongkonan* right where the buffalo slaughtered in *Massomba Tedong*.

Sandalwood is one of few plants beside *barana'* which taken sacred by Toraja people. This plants has been associated as a sign of wealthy life, as cited from spoken narrative in *Merok* ceremony (Waterson, 2009:177),

Kurre sumanga'na te sendana sugi, saba' parayannate kayu mentengke ianan.

Praise The Lord for the sandalwood, for the overflowing blessing on it's branch that contains noble things

Sandalwood tree planted east of the *Tongkonan*, will then become the symbol of a grand concecration ceremony, along with *Bate'* and buffalo as it's marker. Sandalwood also taken as a reminder to restore the memory of the whole family, even the whole community of Luak, for the silence and the merry-ness of *Mangrara Banua* for Rampunan *Tongkonan*.

Memory of Toraja people, Heritage of the Ancestors

Nurturing Memory With Spoken Narratives

Massomba Tedong narratives by Priest Samuel at the Rampunan *Tongkonan* consecration ceremony started with a gratitude towards The Lord as the creator of everything that exist. Then the gratitude for every elements of the ceremony such as *Maa*, *Sarita*, Sandalwood, buffalo, money, spear, and *Keris*. This things presented in *Passomba Tedong* naratives are not just to complete the poem. Every things mendtioned are the symbol of nobility, wealth and prosper, and can only presented in concecration ceremony for the *Tongkonan* which held an important role in traditional governmen such as Layuk or Kaparengesan *Tongkonan*.

After paying gratitude for each of the material elements in the ceremony, priest then continues his narrative and start to tell a story about the origin of the buffalo's ancestor. He start his story as if he is talking with the sacrificial buffalo, delivering story about the terms made by the buffalo's ancestor with *Puang Matua* as a sacrificial for human life. Along with sweet praise to won it's heart, so that every part of it's body would bring prosper for the whole family member of the *Tongkonan*.

On the last part of the prayer towards the buffalo, every part of it's body made as jewelries for the whole family. Its a sign that every part of it's body sacrificed as a precious jewelry belongs to the family, and pray that every part of it is a blessing flows inside the *Tongkonan*.

Everytime the narratives in *Passomba Tedong* are spoken through reading as Priest Samuel does, or through other pure spoken narratives like *Tominaa*, are the manifestation of a message containing the collective memory of Toraja people, not only about the ordained *Tongkonan* of their ancestors, but also the relationship between human and buffalo since the beginning or their time.

In his eplanation about spoken narratives, Ong (2013:211) revealed that narratives is an important part in primary oral culture for it's capabilities to bind a huge number of tradition and knowledge in a relatively long, big, and everlasting form, and it's function to bind thoughts more permanently. This kind of capability is shown by Toraja people in *Massomba Tedong*. This ceremony is not only keeping the memory of the origin of ordained *Tongkonan*, but also a great history of Toraja people about their ancestor origins, and their identity as a large indigenous people. Indirectly, this concecration ceremony help nurturing the way of life inherited from their ancestor.

Their way of life is not only about customary ceremonies to held, more than that it's about the way of life in which they maintain the harmonic relationship between human and nature and The Lord. Through believing the existence of buffalo as a part of the origin of Toraja people, providing lumber for the *Tongkonan*, and also planting sandalwood at the last phase of the

consecration ceremony, they have shown us how to nurture relationship among themselves, to nature and The Lord, through collective memories inherited in their community.

Mangrara Banua as a manifestation of their life's value, truly originated from their bonds with nature (animals and plantation), among human, and The Lord. Without the presence of those three, ceremonies wouldn't have survived all this time. Their needs to hold ceremonies as a proof of their existence also requires them to honor and maintaining their relationship with The Lord, with other human, and nature as their heritage.

Nurturing 'Memory' in Custom and Religious Dynamics.

Consecration ceremony for *Tongkonan*, at the current implementation have changed significantly since Christianity dominates the matters between Toraja people and The Lord. It clearly shown in consecration ceremony for Rampunan *Tongkonan* in Luak. the shift of the divinity concept, from their faith towards gods and their ancestor as the ultimate sacrifice, became Gods of heavens, also contribute in changing the form of the ceremony.

What can the writer observe from this Christian version of *Mangrara Banua* ceremony is phases of the ceremony, manifestation of symbols, and sacrificial animal, still consistently following the rules in *Alukta*. Most significant changes in *Mangrara Banua* ceremony is the form of prayer and to whom the animal sacrificed to. In this case, there are some sort of paradox in doing tradition. At one side they believe in Jesus Christ, but at the same time they still use the rules in *Alukta* when it comes to ceremony.

In the middle of the collision between their ancestor's belief (*Aluk Todolo*) with the concept of Christianity in Toraja, there are some people who maintains certain parts of their tradition and does not following the changes. This effort shown in the division of *Aluk Todolo* into two separate forms, *Aluk* and custom. *Aluk* consist of every form of ritual service toward their ancestors and gods. As for custom, consist of rules in holding the ritual and live as one indigenous people. Through this division, Toraja people who follows Christianity as their religion must refrain themselves from every ritual practices that related to *Aluk*, but still bounded with the terms and rules of their custom.

In the case of *Mangrara Banua* for example, the *Aluk's* part is the praise and sacrifice made for their gods and ancestors which then changed into service and sacrifice to The Lord. Whilst the process of holding ceremony in three days according to the role of the *Tongkonan* soon to be ordained, the types and numbers of animal to sacrifice, and every other established terms in holding *Mangrara Banua Ceremony* are the case of custom. Custom, as the permanent element in the ceremony, then 'adjusted' with the concept of Christianity settled by church in Toraja.

The effort to maintain an element in *Aluk Todolo*, which is custom, and removing other elements can be seen as a form of negotiation done by Toraja people so that they still can displaying certain 'memories' of custom within the constant pressure and impact of egalitarianism in Christianity concept which would like to remove hierarchial system long inherited by Toraja people (Bigalke, 2014:189)

If spoken narratives in *Passomba Tedong* used as a media to nurture memories related to the origins of Toraja people, and to maintain their relationship with nature and The Lord, then the materialistic elements shown in ceremony such as *Bate'*, buffalos, pigs, and decorating ornament of the ceremony, used as a media to recall their memories concerned with their social acceptability as indigenous people

Bate' along with the *pa'manuk londong* and *pa'barre allo*, sandalwoods, and old cloths twisted around north part of *Tongkonan's* roof, and other decorating ornaments marking the ordained *Tongkonan* as Layuk *Tongkonan* or Kaparengesan, which considered as the most respected and the highest level as the customary *Tongkonan* in Toraja. Not every *Tongkonan* that would soon ordained can wear this ornaments during the ceremony. Batu A'ri *Tongkonan* for example, as the *Tongkonan* of the family whom unrelated to the customary government, is not allowed to wear *pa'manuk londong* or *pa'bare allo* on it's *Bate'*, or to plant sandalwood at the end of the ceremony. If they break that law, the owner of *Tongkonan* and their descendants will be punished according to the custom rules by the elders. It is much worse if they use buffalo as their sacrificial animal for their *Tongkonan's* concecration ceremony. Buffalo in *Mangrara Banua* ceremony is taken as the highest level of sacrifice which can only be presented in *Merok* ceremony by Layuk or Kaparengesan *Tongkonan* at the highest gratitude ceremony or *Ma'bu*. If the ordained *Tongkonan* doesn't have relation with Layuk or Kaparengesan *Tongkonan*, then sacrificed animal to present are chickens or a pig.

This materialistic element in *Mangrara Banua* ceremony is used to recall their memories, that their ancestors are not only inherit them spoken narratives, which record their origin as indigenour people along with their value of life ti maintain their relationship with nature and The Lord through planting sandalwoods or sacrificing animals. Another important heritage is social order or social structure which divides the noble family (the elite in Toraja), with the regular people. This structure have been 'nurtured' through customary ceremonies, especially *Mangrara Banua*.

Not only focusing about the materialistic element of the ceremony, processs of meat distributing or *Ma'pakande Ada'* and feast, as added by Jong (2013:189, 194) as the most visible form of *Siri'* (in concern with honor or prestige) for Toraja people. Jong saw how the portion of the meat shared are vary according to their social acceptability, and names of people to receive it will be called loud enough by the priest through speakers. Therefore, those names would be the center of attention of the people because the portion of meat received will be the marker of their social acceptability. Food sharing in ceremony also become a form of *Siri'* that is highly visible

during the process. Food sharing in large scale is important to express *Siri'* in ceremony, just as the numbers of animal slaughtered, and many other materialistic element presented during the ceremony.

Yet, no matter how big the impact caused by Christianity to change their service in *Mangrara Banua*, it still unable to change the role of this ceremony as a media to display their social acceptability and a prestige of the elites in Toraja. Eventually the writer would understands that changes made in *Mangrara Banua* ceremony are limited only to the part where they practices worship or their beliefs to gods and their ancestors through sacrificial animals.

The purpose of the effort from certain groups to separate *Aluk* from custom so that the hierarchial system that grows as part of Toraja people's custom was not abolished along with the practices of worshipping gods and ancestor. So that they could still gain access as the top of the elites. Losing their social acceptability, especially as elites would caused them losing control over *kaunan*/slaves along with the opressing instruments.

Making religion as their reason, Toraja people have abandon all kinds of thing that related to worshipping practices towards gods and ancestors, but still they find it difficult to release themselves from a system that placed them on the top lecel or the social structure, in fact, choosing it as a part of ceremony that woth to maintain, and must be shown in every chance. Bigalke (2014: 194) revealed, the lines of social structure are not changing, as a matter of fact its lasting, even among Christian followers. To him, this is a form of a Toraja-nized Christianity that is far more powerful than Christianized Toraja.

CLOSING

Blood splash as a mark of concecration now changes to series of prayers. *Tominaa* with *pasappu* and ceremonial vestments, replaced by priest with his toga. Sacrices to gods and ancestors replaced with praise and gratitude towards The Lord. Phases of *Mangrara Banua* ceremony now released from the bind of rules about sacrifice and bloods towards gods and their late ancestors. More powerful 'force' from outside which came from the church now taking over the order established by the indogenous people by using their beliefs towards The Lord, gods, and the spirit of their ancestors.

The impact of Christianity which then grow more powerful and vast in forms of services by Toraja people, caused an abolition of certain practices during ceremony, which requires them to abolish the religion inherited by their ancestors, in order to maintain their 'collective memory' that able to legitimate their social acceptability through ceremonies. Now, phases of the modified *Mangrara Banua* ceremony have been simplified, still making it as a hierarchial 'spectacle' as an absolute element of the ceremony.

Prayers and psalmody as a form of communication between ancestors and their descendants now abolished and no longer become the main part presented to mark the changing of the *Tongkonan*'s status. Whereas a numerous number of sacrificial animals such as pigs, chickens, and buffalo, is being kept as part of ceremony until today. Phases of ceremony which holds hierarchy highs still become their needs. Everything is done with one exception, the prohibition to give any form of sacrifice to gods and ancestors. This caused by the abolition of most part of the ceremony and symbols which mark the relation and communication between human and their ancestors.

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