

Religious Ritual as a Contestation Arena: The Experiences of Aluk Todolo Community in Tana Toraja of South Sulawesi *

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Abstract. This paper explores the extent to which Todolo Aluk community in Tana Toraja in South Sulawesi make religious rituals, such as *Rambu Solo'*, as an arena of contestation against the domination of the official religions and cultures that existed in South Sulawesi. The ritual of Aluk Todolo community is a kind of Arena to maintain and show identity and religious traditions of the ancestors. In a study conducted in 2004 ago, researcher revealed the facts relating to the community's efforts in Aluk Todolo by displaying their religious ceremonies in the form of renegotiate it with new beliefs or new religion, in this case Christianity. Despite periodic minimization and marginalization against followers of this belief, it acts like *Rambu Solo'* and *Rambu Tuka* still often be a very interesting party even though it was done by the Toraja people who have embraced the new religion. This seemed to give the impression that despite the new religion, but some of the teachings of ancestral remains held.

Adherents of Faith of the ancestors (*alukta*) in Tana Toraja or Aluk Todolo community is a typical

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community that is still adamant refuse forms of minimization and contextualization by the official religion. Although they are less and less in quantity, but the resistance effort is still underway. Ancestral rituals seems to be a significant form of negotiation in order to maintain the confidence and culture of Aluk Todolo. Because Aluk not be separated by tradition or culture. This is what continues to be done by *Tominaa* 'Tato Dena' along with a number of adherents of Aluk Todolo in Tana Toraja.

Keywords: *Aluk Todolo, Contestation, Rambu Solo', Tominaa*

Introduction

Dialectics in religious life is something that is inevitable and often natural. In the case of religion and social change, religion, or rather religious activities often have to deal with the social changes that are widespread. When a religious dogma to be maintained, he eventually had to open up to changes that is occurred on a larger scale. The choice: remain isolated and untouched or should join the process of social change.

As a social boundary, a religious doctrine or religious community would have to face and undergo a process of social change on a larger scale. Therefore, certain religious communities at the local level can not be separated from a split design and the fact of social life¹. Based on these facts, some religious communities became involved in a struggle or dialectic with the so-called globalization and modernization. The second term are social fact in which inevitable by religious communities, and even the two terms also are often deny the existence of religious communities at the local level.²

¹Lester R. Kurtz, *Gods in the Global village: the World's Religions in Sociological Perspective*, (California: Pine Forge Press, 1995).

²see, Jonathan Friedman, *Cultural Identity and Global Process*. (London: SAGE Publications, 2000). Peter F. Beyer, "Privatization and the Public Influence of Religion in Global Society," dalam Mike Featherstone, *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*. (London: SAGE Publication Ltd., 1991). Irwan Abdullah, "Privatisasi Agama: Globalisasi atau Melemahnya Referensi Budaya Lokal?," makalah dipresentasikan pada

As the implications of this fact, the religious community in a particular local culture experienced a kind of minimization and contextualization. Local communities usually leave the culture or beliefs of their ancestors. Related with this, Suparlan states that there are several possibilities that could occurred as the excess of local community dynamics. First, certain local communities trying to leave or discard their cultural traditions. This happens because the community is looking at the traditions that had been their practice in life more as an attribute that is no longer profitable for identity, or the identity of their culture especially in interacting with other ethnic or tribal nation, and also not economically profitable, social and political. Later they adopted elements of other cultures is seen as the dominant culture in the structure of inter-cultural relations in the sphere in which they live. Second, given the specific local communities escape further from the centers of culture contact force with the outside world and from contact with the more advanced cultures. So that they are culturally freed from external cultural influences are felt as a psychiatric and mental load. And third, communal life and social solidarity experienced disorganization (fragmentation) or even disintegrating because the control mechanisms that exist in their culture that is not used.³

Aluk Todolo Community in Tana Toraja in South Sulawesi faced a number of problems in view of the identity of their culture and beliefs. This community is confronted by a number of social changes, the politicization of religious, identity politics and the spreading of official religion. All these phenomena are quite obtain diverse reaction from the Aluk Todolo community and even by Torajan people themselves. Therefore, following description is going to reveal the phenomenon of social changes faced by Aluk Tolodo Community in Tana Toraja in South Sulawesi. *Alukta* or religion that is still embraced some communities in Tana Toraja

seminar tentang Kharisma Warisan Budaya Islam di Indonesia. (Yogyakarta: Museum Benteng, 1995).

³Parsudi Suparlan, *Orang Sakai di Riau: Masyarakat Terasing dalam Masyarakat Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1995), p. 25.

experiencing dialectic or minimization process and contextualization, both by the spread of religion and the project of modernity. The Efforts to preserve the ancestral religious traditions, *Aluk*, still done by presenting the most important aspect of this Aluk religion such as *Rambu Solo'*, which until now considered as a spectacular celebration of the Torajan people.

Ritual of *Rambu Solo'* and a number of other rituals seem to be a viable option for the Aluk Todolo community to open the arena of contestation or resistance to modernization efforts, minimization and contextualization, the politicization of religious identity and the politicization of religious dissemination especially in order to maintain the authenticity of belief and their existence in this country.

History of Faith of Aluk Todolo

The Origin of Toraja People

Each specific ethnic beliefs has a set of comprehensive and complex history and teachings. Even so, a set of teachings and history of a particular ethnic beliefs come from many oral stories, manuscripts or manuscript, Chronicle, and archaeological sites. Construction memory of the past is then modified in such a way by some people, for example by traditional and religious leaders are then used as guidelines for the implementation of any religious rites, and even as a source of moral values. In the Indonesian context, the construction of the past has been widely explored to support the fact that there is a system of beliefs and public construction in the past.⁴

⁴for example, see, Suratikno Rahardjo, *Peradaban Jawa: Dinamika Pranata Politik, Agama, dan Ekonomi Jawa Kuno*. (Jakarta: komunitas Bambu, 2002). Abdurrauf Tarimana, *Kebudayaan Tolaki* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1993), Facruddin Ambo Enre, *Ritumpanna Welenrengge: Sebuah Episoda Sastra Bugis Klasik Galigo*. (Jakart: Yayasan Obor Indonesia dan Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient-Fakultas Sastra UI, 1993). Mr. Andi Zainal Abidin, *Capita Selecta Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan* (Makassar: Hasanuddin University Press. 1999. Ibidem, *Capita Selecta Sejarah Sulawesi Selatan*. (Makassar: Hasanuddin University Press. 1999) and Mattulada, *Latoa: Satu Lukisan Analisis Antropologi Politik Orang Bugis*. (UjungPandang: Hasanuddin University Press, 1995).

At first, the naming of Toraja arises because the population in this area is in highlands.⁵ Sandra⁶ noted that hundreds of years ago, no one could predict or imagine that one day an ethnic group that is now called Toraja (Toraja Sa'dan) comes from the mountains of Central and South Sulawesi. This then makes the Toraja has the advantage because the area is surrounded by mountain ranges, as well as people usually rely on agriculture and plantation.

There are various interpretations or perceptions about human origins of Toraja.⁷ That said, the Toraja ancestors are human who came from Nirvana. The myth⁸ remains a legend

⁵the term of Toraja or Tau = the people of *Raya* = originated from the word of *Maraya* (big, huge), or *to Rijaja, to Rijang*, was given by Sidendreg and Luwu (Bugis) people to the people whose lived in the mountain, or the big people, noble. Over time its appellation becomes Toraja, where the word of Tana means country. Currently the appellation becomes Tana Toraja. (Amir Achsin, *Toraja Tongkonan and Funeral Ceremony, South Sulawesi Indonesia*, Ujung Pandang: Ananda Graphia Press, 1991), p. 13, Stanislaus Sandarupa, *Life and Death of The Toraja People: An Introduction of Toraja Culture and A Guide to Places of Interest*. (UjungPandang: Tiga Taurus, 1984).

⁶ Jaida N'ha Sandra, "From You Toradja to We Toraya": Ethnicity in the Making" *Journal of South Asian Studies Association* Vol.2 No.1, 1998. Hawaii.

⁷the Term of *manusia Toraja* (Torajan People), that I used here, incline to follow of Andreas Kabangnga's term in his *Manusia mati sentubnya: Suatu kajian Antropologi Kristen*, and Th. Kobong in, *Manusia Toraja*. My assumption, far before certain researchers usually used this term, that is mean the people whose lived in the mountain, or in the country of *tondo lepongan bulan tana matarik allo*. On Torajan People, Husni Jamaluddin, a poet from South Sulawesi, write a poem: *di uratku mengalir deras sungai sa'dang/ tulang igaku tanduk-tanduk kerbau belang/ nafasku angin pegunungan angin lembut di rumput ilalang/ langit bapaku bumi ibuku/ toraja namaku/ benihku tumbuh di batu tumbuh di tanah/ benihku padi di ladang padi di sawah/ benihku julang di gunung tabah di lembah/ benihku pobon-pobon kopi belukar damar hutan-hutan cemara/ namaku toraja/ benihku tak hangus di api tak benam di air/ benihku tak luka dibidik tak koyak ditombak/ benihku tak tebas dipedang tak tembus dipanah/ benihku langit kakekenya bumi neneknya/ namaku toraja.*

⁸The myth here is intended as a story, a fairy tale, statements, and even a historical epics of the past. Usually myths describe the problem divinity, nature or cosmology and cosmogony, revelation or sacred tradition. Myth is also closely related to the issue of God, ritual, and time see. William E Paden, "Religion as Subject Matter", dalam *Religious Worlds: The*

among the people in this area tells that the ancestors of the Torajan people of the first use the "stairs of sky" to get down to the bottom, which then serves as a medium of communication with Puang Matoa.⁹

C. Cruyt, an anthropologist, even said that the people of Tana Toraja is the result of acculturation among locals/natives who inhabited South Sulawesi mainland with immigrants who in fact was an immigrant from the bay Tongkin (mainland of China). The process of acculturation between the two societies originated from the anchored of immigrants of Indo China with considerable numbers around the upstream expected

Comparative Study of Religion. (USA: Beacon Press, 1995), p. 70. Malinowski (1948:100) even reveals that myth is:

"Not merely a story told, but a reality lived. It is not of the nature of fiction, such as we read today in novels, but it is a living reality, believed to have once happened in primeval times, and con tinuing ever since to influence the world and human destinies....."

⁹Generally people of South Sulawesi believe that their ancestors are to-Manurung. This term has two meanings: (1) those who have fallen (Manurung) from the sky, (2) those who shine (*ma-nur-ung*; from the word of "nur", by means light). See Nurlina Syahrir under footnote, Nurlina Syahrir, "Sere Bissu" sebuah Ritual Adat Masyarakat Segeri Mandalle, Sulsel (Fungsinya dulu dan Sekarang), Unpublished Tesis Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1991), p. 21. The Myth *Tomanurung* has to be related to the power structure of the kings in Gowa-Tallo, in particular and in South Sulawesi in general. See Edward L. Poelinggomang, *Perubahan Politik dan Hubungan Kekuasaan: Makassar 1906-1942*. (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2004), Abdurrazak Daeng Patunru, *Sedjarah Gowa*. (Makassar: Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara ,1983), p. 1. Mukhlis Paeni dkk. *Batara Gowa: Messianisme dalam Gerakan Sosial di Makassar* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada university Press, 2003), p. 61-70. Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century* diterjemahkan ke dalam bahasa Indonesia oleh Nurhadi Sirimorok dengan judul *Warisan Arung Palakka: Sejarah Sulawesi Selatan Abad ke-17*. (Makassar: Inninawa, 2004), pp. 17,20,25,30,40,378. the myth itself then widely dilated almost to all the Sulawesi highlands, or the island of Sulawesi. See Also Susanto Zuhdi, "Sawerigading dan Haluoleo di Sulawesi Tenggara (Ingatan Masa Lampau dan Tafsir Masa Kini)" dalam Nurhayati Rahman dkk (ed.), *La Galigo: Menelusuri Jejak Warisan Sastra Dunia*. (Makassar: Pusat Kegiatan Penelitian Universitas Hasanuddin, 2003), Nani Tuloli, "La Galigo Versi Lisan Gorontalo" dalam Nurhayati Rahman dkk (ed.), *La Galigo: Menelusuri Jejak Warisan sastra Dunia*. (Makassar: Pusat Kegiatan Penelitian Universitas Hasanuddin, 2003).

located in the area of Enrekang, then they build new settlements.¹⁰

The spreading of the teachings and Aluk Todolo community

The development and deployment of Aluk Todolo occurs in several stages, namely: *Tipamulanna Aluk Ditampa Dao Langi'* or the beginning of the Aluk creation in the sky, *Mendemme' di Kapadanganna* or the Aluk lowered to the earth by Puang Buru Langi 'Dirura. Several important figures in the spread of Aluk Todolo, among other things: *Tomanurun Tambora Langi'* is the carrier of *Aluk Sabda Saratu'* that binds the believers in limited areas of *Tallu Lembangna* region. In addition there *Sanda Aluk Pitunna* distributed by three figures, namely: Pongkapadang with Burake Tattiu 'towards the western part of the Tana Toraja to Bonggakaradeng, some Saluputti, Simbuang until the *Pitu Ulunna Salu Karua Ba'bana Minanga*, with the social institution called in the Toraja language "*To unnirui*" *suke pa'pa, to unpkandei Kandian Saratu*", the social institution that knows no strata. Then Pasontik with Burake Tambolang towards areas of east of Tana Toraja, that are the area of Pitung Pananaian, Rantebua, Tangdu, Ranteballa, Ta'bi, Tabang, Luwu Maindo to the south and north with the social institution called "*To Unnirui 'suku Dibonga, to Unkandei Kandeian Pindan*", the social institutions that make up the livelihood of people in three social strata. Tangdilino with Burake Tangngana to the central part of Tana Toraja with the social order "*To Unnirui 'suku Dibonga, to Unkandei Kandeian Pindan*".¹¹

¹⁰Cruyt (www.toraja.go.id) might be right, if related to the system of belief that is adhered by Aluk Todolo Community, especially the funeral corpse by placing a coffin in the hole stone, it is similar to the old belief of Chinese society. Cruyt analysis also seems to be appropriate if associated with the process of large-scale immigration the population of Indochina to the archipelago. Similarly, the majority of Indonesian people coming from Indochina and Austronesian race. Further descriptions of the process of meeting or human origin of Indonesia and several ethnic groups in Indonesia, including in South Sulawesi (Toraja), see Koentjaraningrat, "pendahuluan" dalam Koentjaraningrat (ed.), *Manusia dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Djambatan, 2002), p.1-34.

¹¹www.toraja.go.id; J. M. Van Lijf, "Kentrekken en Problemen van de geschiedenis der Sa'dan- Toradja-landen" dalam *Indonezie: Tweemaandelijks*

The history of development of teaching and Aluk Todolo community as the description, showing an acculturation with residents who had settled earlier. Teachings brought by several people then spread to all corners of Tana Toraja, to Luwu, and even to Central Sulawesi. The term of Toraja Sa'dan not only in the areas traversed by the Tana Toraja Sa'dan. But the term also was later developed further, that is the area affected and the followers of faith of Aluk Todolo, (Nooy-Palm, 1987). In fact, Cornelius Salombe,¹² in his research suggests that the term also includes the Toraja of Central Sulawesi; Tojo-Poso region (Eastern Toraja) who speak Torajanese. Presumably Salombe when making the classification based on language or dialect of Toraja followed the classification of Van der Veen, one who compile dictionaries of 'Tae'; *Zuid-Toradjasch*.¹³ Some have argued that the presence of the kings of Gowa got a significant influence of a figure of Tana Toraja, Lakipadada. This figure was coming into the kingdom of Gowa with karaeng Bayo, the most important figure behind the emergence of the kings of Gowa in the future. Sword of Lakipadada, *Sudanga*, became a most important ornament in the transformation of power from one king to another king in this kingdom.¹⁴

The country of *Tondok Lepongan Bulan Tana Matarik Allok*.¹⁵ Another name for Tana Toraja is very appropriate to describe

Tijdschrift Gewidj aan Het Indonesisch Cultuurgebied (Leiden: N.V. Uitgeverij W. Van Hoeve, 1947-1948), p.520-521; Hetty Nooy-Palm, "Toraja Religion", dalam Mircea Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vol.14, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987), p. 565-567.

¹²Cornelius Salombe, *Bahasa Toraja Saqdan: Proses Morfemis Kata Kerja*. (Jakarta: Djambatan, 1978), p. 1.

¹³Check, Van Der Veen, *The Merok Feast of The Sa'dan Toradja*. (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, KITLV, 1965), p. 1. Ibidem, *The Sa'dan Toradja Chant for the Deceased*. (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, KITLV, 1966), p. 1

¹⁴see, Paeni et al, *Batara Gowa*.....p. 30

¹⁵ this term means 'negeri yang bulat seperti bulan dan matahari' (Rounded Country like as moon and sun) (Sandarupa, *of. Cit.*, p5, Achsin, *of. Cit.* p. 20, Veen, *log. cit.*). Pdt. J. B. Lebang (Lebang, 2003:35-63), describes this country in the kind of *londe* (traditional rhymes of Torajan people; *pantun tradisional masyarakat Toraja*); *Tondokta Tondok Toraya Lili' Matari Allo toposikona takurrean sumanga'/ Tondokta tondok Toraya gente' Lepongan Bulan Nabengan Puang takurrean sumanga'/ Misa'ri Lepongan bulan lebu'na sang Torayan tang la sisurik tang la ma'dua ba'teng/Tondok ballo tu tondokta tondok sundun garaga*

the geography or natural conditions of Tana Toraja. The area is precisely located in the mountain chain. Areas with status regencies in South Sulawesi region, ranging from the miles. 280 s / d km. 355 north of the provincial capital of South Sulawesi (Makassar). Precisely at 2-3 LS and BT 199-120, with an area of 3205.77 km² or about 5% of the area of South Sulawesi province.¹⁶

Tana Toraja district bordering Mamuju and Luwu in the north, east to the Luwu district, south of the district of Pinrang and Enrekang, west of the Polewali Mamasa. Long ago, precisely in 1926, Tana Toraja region is included as part of the *onder Afdeeling* Makale-Rantepao under *Self-bestur* Luwu. After Indonesia's independence, is separated into a stand-alone swaradja based Besluit Lanschap No. 105 dated October 8, 1946. Tana Toraja in 1957 officially changed to Tana Toraja Regency dati II by Emergency Law No. 3 of 1957, and by Act No. 22 of 1999 turned into Tana Toraja.¹⁷

Some changes in legislation concerning local government, Tana Toraja has more beneficial both economically and politically. At the economic level, for example, geographical conditions of Tana Toraja is quite rich in natural resources enables the Torajan people to determine their own destiny, or even manage their own natural results. Fertile agricultural land provides a great opportunity for the people of Toraja to develop agriculture and plantations. Currently plantation sector, coffee become of one of the economic base in Tana Toraja, besides rice paddies, fields, and so on.

While politically, regulatory changes crustaceans which suggests separation of Tana Toraja from *Onder Ofdeeling* Makale-

tondok dianga' tondok dikasinnai.....an so on. Londe-londe that is usually called *Londe Tende'na Lepongan Bulan* amounts of 140 pieaces. More information on the country of *tondok lepongan bulan*. check also, Todd. T Ames, "Changes in Wage labor, Small Bussines and Local Industries in Tana Toraja: A Rural Community's Responses to economic and Social Change," *Journal Antropologi Indonesia* 69., 2002.

¹⁶Abdul Aziz Said, *Simbolisme Unsur Visual Rumah Tradisional Toraja dan Perubahan Aplikasinya Pada Desain Modern*. (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2004), p. 7.

¹⁷www.toraja.go.id, Van Lijf, *of. Cit.*, p. 519.

Rantepao under *Self Bestur* Luwu, then became a separate district provides the opportunities for the sons of Tana Toraja region to control its territory. Regional autonomy is actually quite beneficial for the region.¹⁸

The geographical condition is rather difficult for people to get to Tana Toraja. the Trip must be taken with the vehicle for approximately 8 hours from the city of Makassar. Currently, local authorities working with the Lion Air company has opened direct flights from Makassar (Hasanuddin International Airport) to Makale, and of course with a relatively short time. Presumably the opening track commercial flights to this area also consider the interests of tourism development. Therefore, for local and foreign tourists, the provision of these services will further facilitate their travel. With an area of 5% of the area of the province of South Sulawesi, Tana Toraja is divided into 15 districts (East and West Toraja), 116 *lembang*¹⁹ and a chief headman. 15 districts are: Rantepao, Makale, Sa'dan Balusu, Sesean, Rinding Allo, Tondon Nanggala, Sanggalangi, Sangalla, Buntao Rantebua, Mengkendek, Saluputti, Bittuang, Rantetayo,

¹⁸ Implementation of regional autonomy after the New Order regime allows the formation of several areas in South Sulawesi. Most of the area tried to secede from South Sulawesi province and establish a new province. Morrell (2002) illustrates that West Sulawesi (Polewali Mamasa [CBP], Majene and Mamuju) and Luwu Kingdom is a proposal to establish a new province very seriously. Both of these areas is an area that has an area of approximately 55 percent of all South Sulawesi. With some reason, Tana Toraja which was originally projected to enter into the Kingdom Luwu province eventually removed from the unit. It seems that the reasons of history and geography become key assumptions why Tana Toraja eventually eliminated from the force.

¹⁹ *Lembang* is a village. Head of village or *lembang* was appointed democratically, in a sense based on the deliberations. Usually the head of *lembang* determined by council or called *Ada'* or *to Ada*. Historically, the head of *Lembang* was appointed as a political unity between villages in Tana Toraja in order to resist colonization of Bugis kingdom, especially the Bone kingdom under Arung Palakka. At one point, seven heads of *Lembang* not willing to support, to help the political unity to restrain the rate of colonization of the kingdom of Bone, beheaded them, and according to one informant, the seventh head of the *Lembang* who beheaded still there in his grandfather's house. (Christian Paulus Sidenden, interview, September 9, 2004; cf, Achsin, *of. Cit.*, p. 18.

Bonggakaradeng and Simbuang. Toraja population, according to local statistics, numbering approximately 450. 000 inhabitants. While that is being migrated and working outside of Tana Toraja region totaled 650. 000 inhabitants.

Structure and social stratification in Toraja society usually based on lineage, wealth, age and occupation.²⁰ Previously, especially in the pre-colonial era, there are three social strata in the Toraja people, aristocrats (*Puang* or *parengnge*), the common man/layman (*to buda, to sama*), and slaves (*kauman*). The Status itself is determined by birth, even though one is financially successful or even fail a few people allowed to break through the social barriers.²¹ This is of course different from the system and social structure of modern society. Culturally, traditional Toraja society is divided into 4 classes,²² namely:

To Kapua. *To* means a person, and *Kapua* means higher grade. They were in the grade to the landlord class and the traditional authority above classes is lower. Based on the location of residence, class to Kapua has a number of names, among them to Kapua who live in the southern part of Tana Toraja called Puang.²³ their place is called *Tallu Lembangna*.²⁴

²⁰Kathleen M. Adams, "Ethnic Tourism and the Renegotiation of Tradition in Tana Toraja (Sulawesi, Indonesia)," *Ethnology* Vol. 36 No. 4, fall 1997, p. 266

²¹Kathleen M. Adams, "Constructing and Contesting Chiefly Authority in Contemporary Tana Toraja, Indonesia," Geoffrey M. White dan Lamont Lindstrom (ed.), *Chiefly Today: Traditional Pacific Leadership and the Postcolonial State* (California: Stanford University Press, 1997), p. 166

²²Achsin, *of. Cit.*, p.16-18, Veen, *log. Cit.*, Sandarupa, *of. Cit.*, p. 8.

²³the appellation of *puang* usually refers to the certain class, such as from a nobility class. *Puang* also usually refers to the Goddess and God (Veen, *of. Cit.*, p. 3). Unlike the case with the mention of *Puang* in Bissu communities of Cerekang. *Puang* in this community refer to the figures or leaders of the community, and not just used to other people, even if the person is coming from the nobility. See Syahrir, *log. Cit.* Gilbert Albert Hamonic, "Kepercayaan dan Upacara dari Budaya Bugis Kuno: Pujaan pendeta Bissu dalam Mitos La Galigo" dalam Nurhayati Rahman dkk (ed.), *La Galigo: Menelusuri Jejak Warisan sastra Dunia*. (Makassar: Pusat Kegiatan Penelitian Universitas Hasanuddin. 2003). Sharyn Graham, "Bissu in La Galigo" dalam Nurhayati Rahman dkk (ed.), *La Galigo: Menelusuri Jejak Warisan sastra Dunia*. (Makassar: Pusat Kegiatan Penelitian Universitas Hasanuddin, 2003). Halilintar Latief, "Bissu: Imam yang Menghibur" dalam

Then the people who live in the western part of Tana Toraja called *Ma'dika* (knights), and living in the north, around Rantepao called *Siambe* (father) for men and *Sindo* (mother) for women. Society mentioned above also called *Tana Bulaan*, the highest caste. They are formed from the elements of gold.²⁵

To makaka. Means older brother. They are middle-class of social strata among Torajan people. In general, they were free farmers who own land, to a lesser extent than to Kapua. Sometimes they are called *Tana 'Bassi*, harsh caste or middle class. To Makaka are formed from the element iron.

To Buda. They are the general public, and usually workers and sharecroppers. Group classes are also called *tana karurung*, caste-free peasant. This class is made up of elements of clay.

To Kaunan. Slave class. The last class is disadvantaged castes (*tana kua'-kua'*) and do not have anything other than bone and muscle. They are really poor people, hardworking. Toraja people looked at this class formed from elements of sand or soil

Until now, the social system that developed in Tana Toraja is still valid. For example, the Toraja people in particular, and the village in general, the system of slavery emerged as a

Nurhayati Rahman dkk (ed.), *La Galigo: Menelusuri Jejak Warisan sastra Dunia*. (Makassar: Pusat Kegiatan Penelitian Universitas Hasanuddin, 2003). But now the mention of *Puang* in South Sulawesi is generally aimed at people who are respected or older, or a Muslim who has been performed a *Haji*, for example by calling *Puang Haji*.

²⁴*Tallu Lembangna* is a fellowship of three regions namely Makale, Sangalla and Mengkendek. The fellowship has more authority in comparison with other areas in Tana Toraja. In the war against the rulers of Bugis Bone, Arung Palakka, this alliance may play a political role to curb the invasion of joint armies Bone-Dutch. See, Andaya, *The Heritage.....log. Cit.*. The incident, when people of Toraja reject colonization of Bugis, called 'Untulak Buntunna Bone' (Sandarupa, *of. Cit.*, p.9. The fellowship then perform ritual by slaughtering a pig tailless, 'bai Pokke', followed by the pledge before the meat was divided into those present: ... anyone who refused to enter the agreement will be stabbed by this Pig hairs. You people of Karunaga, from this day forward you will be killed with a spear (*pobongsorang doke*) by all groups in Tana Toraja ... (Andaya, *the Heritage.....p.* 326-327.

²⁵Size of nobility or class in Toraja society or individual is usually measured with 24 carat gold (Elizabeth R.T. Interview, April 8,2004).

consequence of the division of social classes. The system is often rooted in slavery, if not certified by, indigenous (Customary Law) prevailing in society.²⁶ Although the system of slavery has long been abolished, if not prohibited, in this country, some aristocrats still implement such a system, even in a reasonable level and not as tight as before.²⁷

Research done by Eric Crystal, Volkman, and Nooy-Palm concluded that the social system that developed in Tana Toraja also influence the type of leadership and traditional authority in this area. Even until now the traditional authority is trying to maintain a variety of ways. For example, with the affiliation to a certain social organization, reasserted traditional functions, and even refunded the functions of Lembang as before.²⁸

Rambu Solo' as the center of life

Each specific ethnic belief has a set of history and teachings, though its part derived from oral stories. Everything can be acquired and obtained through several ways, such as through texts or manuscripts, stories, fairy tales, as well as archaeological sites as the symbol or evidence of the existence of an ethnic religion.¹⁵ A set of memories of the past are

²⁶W. F. Wertheim, "Indonesian Society in Transition: the Changing Status System" dalam Andre Beteille (ed.), *Social Inequality: Selected Readings* England-New York: Penguin Books, 1974), p. 194,

²⁷ in the age of slavery, the slaves usually be marketed from one ruler to others, or one clan to others. In the reign of the kingdom of Gowa-Tallo and Bone, slaves were bought and sold the majority from Tana Toraja. Further descriptions of the system of slavery and the slave trade network in Tana Toraja, see Andaya, *The Heritagelog. cit*, Anthony Reid, *Sejarah Modern Awal Asia Tenggara*. Jakarta: LP3ES , 2004. Christian Pelras , *The Bugis*. Blackwell Publishers, 1984), and Sandarupa, *log. cit*.

²⁸Volkman, Toby Alice.. "Mortuary Tourism in Tana Toraja," dalam Rita Smith Kipp dan Susan Rodgers (ed.), *Indonesian Religions In Transition*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1987; Hetty Nooy-Palm, *The Sa'dan Toraja: A Study of Their Social Life And Religion* jilid II *Rituals of The East and West*, Leiden: Verhandelingen Van Het Koninklijk Institute Voor Taal-Land en Volkenkunde, 1986.

¹⁵Depth studies have been conducted by several experts associated with the existence of religious and ethnic cultures only through tales, manuscripts, archaeological sites. Some of them are Supratikno Rahardjo,

constructed in such a way by certain people, such as religious and traditional leaders then be used to guide the implementation of any religious rites, to the present.

Likewise with Aluk Todolo community. From every decade of the stories passed from mouth to mouth by indigenous leaders became a construct of a guided teaching. The absence manuscript or book later complicate the historians to reconstructing the teachings and doctrines of Aluk Todolo. So far, only relying on the speech of a religious leader.²⁹

Aluk Todolo community as a form of ethnic religions have various kinds of religious rituals. *Tominaa* Tato 'Dena reveals

“Di komunitas kami terdapat banyak ritual keagamaan. Semenjak anak lahir, bahkan sebelum lahir sudah ada ada upacara dan berlanjut sampai seseorang itu meninggal (to mate) dan di bawa ke Liang “(In our community there are many religious rituals. Since the child was born, even before birth, there was ceremony and continues until someone is dead (to mate) and taken to Liang).³⁰

Religious ceremonies are carried out as a form of homage to the spirits of ancestors (*nene* '), or even a tribute to the supreme god (*Puang Matoa*).³¹ The belief of the Torajan is

log. Cit. Abdurrauf Tarimana, *Loc. Cit* , Fachruddin Ambo Enre, *loc. Cit*, Mr. A. Zainal Abidin *loc. Cit*, Mattulada *loc. Cit* , and so on.

²⁹Kabangnga (Interview, April 10, 2004) said that when he was doing research for his dissertation on STT Jakarta, he absorbs the teachings of Aluk Todolo from the source, or from one of the leaders of Aluk Todolo itself, when it was still held by Ne 'Dena. Written sources concerning the teaching of Aluk Todolo until now nothing and just rely on the story of every leader. This expression is confirmed by Tato 'Dena (interview, 5 April 2004) that during the community of Aluk Todolo rested overall the teachings of the leader Aluk. *"From the first since Puang Matoa brings this teaching, there are no books or manuscripts, such as Christianity or Islam. The teachings were just delivered by the leader (to minaa). I just received Aluk Todolo teachings from the previous leader. "*

³⁰(interview, April 4, 2004)

³¹ Hetty Nooy-Palm in his studies and became a masterpiece *The Sa'dan Toraja: A Study of Their Social Life and Religion* revealed a number of religious rituals which performed by Aluk Todolo people in the West and East of Toraja. Nooy-palm carefully elaborates ritual practices in Tana Toraja, from birth, fertility, boarding houses *tongkonan*, until the problem of death. *Cf.* Douglas Hollan, "Cultural and Experiential Aspects of Spirit

always associated with ritual or practice religious rituals. This means belief in spirit then manifested in some religious rituals. In Toraja society, or in the Aluk Todolo community in particular, known doctrine called *Aluk Pitung Sa'bu Pitu' Ratu' Pitung Pulo Pitu* (7777). Beliefs or 7777 way of live was introduced by Pong Sulo' Ara di Marinding village, a village in the northern part of Toraja.³² This doctrine came to be called Sanda Pitunna. Sanda means overall, pitunna means seven. But until now this doctrine generally known as Aluk Todolo. Achsin³³ revealed that the number of the first seven life principles presented Aluk Todolo. The principle of the lives of Toraja, then divided into two parts. The first part consists of the principles relating to worship (worship) vertically. Worship was conducted on Puang Matoa, deata, and Todolo. As for the second principle consists of four principles relating to human or social interaction in the form of horizontal relationships.

Rambu Solo' Ceremony was held as a consequence of the recognition of the existence of spirits. Aluk Todolo Community believe that everything, ie humans, animals, and all life, has a spirit or soul. This ancestral soul affect family life that still exists on earth. Therefore, they seek to maintain harmony with ancestral spirits by conducting sacred ceremonies. Offerings subsequently accepted by the ancestral spirits, and this confirms that the spirit would be able to survive in the wild there. Spirit, tomembali Puang, a personal god, therefore, will keep and bless worshipers. Spirit that has received the offerings will be tomembali Puang.³⁴

Funeral ceremonies held by the Todolo Aluk community quite varied according to the level, social status and welfare of the dead. Top class funerals are usually held with luxury. They sacrificed hundreds of buffalo. Buffaloes are sacrificed buffalo normally preferred.

Beliefs Among the Toraja," in Jeannette Marie Mageo dan Alan Howard (ed.), *Spirits in Culture, History, and Mind*, (New York dan London: Routledge, 1996)

³²Amir Achsin, 1991. *Toraja Tongkonan and Funeral Ceremony, South Sulawesi Indonesia*, Ujung Pandang: Ananda Graphia Press, 1991), p. 29

³³*ibid.*, p. 30-31.

³⁴*ibid.*, p. 41-42 .

Rambu Solo' has multiple functions (Achsin 1991: 44), among others:

- a) Prepare the spirit in the next life.
- a) As an indication of social status.
- b) Basis for inheritance.
- c) As an opportunity to repay the gifts received from others throughout his life.

The relation of God, humans and spirits are usually found on any system a certain ethnic or religious belief.³⁵ Often the teachings and doctrines of each religion is a manifestation of local relations is. In the context of local religion in Indonesia, Javanese religion ³⁶ is a local religious typikal emphasize and apply the principles of relational. In fact it is seen as a relational concept of *manunggaling kawulo gusti*, or peak perfection of life.

Relational concept, which is based or which are remnants of this megalithic tradition rests on the belief that there are certain rules that can handle everything yan exist in nature. Irwan Abdullah and Azyumardi Azra³⁷ revealed that supra-cosmic rule is stable, harmonious and eternal. Cultural traditions and socio-cultural system is the product of local communities in the created order by dividing several things, objects, animals, humans, spirits and properties into four cardinal directions. The division performed to predict the order and safety of life. Therefore, they do a variety of ways to maintain cosmic order, as recounted myths, practice content myths, with traditional ceremonies, presenting natural procedures with dancing, set procedures for planting and harvesting, sacrifice and do for safety, as well as running the transition ceremony (life-cycle).

³⁵check, Djam'annuri. 2003. *Studi Agama-Agama: Sejarah dan Pemikiran*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Rihlah.

³⁶ Clifford Geertz, *the Interpretation of Cultures: selected essays* (USA: Basic Books, 1973. Andrew Beatty, 1999. *Varieties of Javanese Religion: An Anthropological Account*. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

³⁷ Irwan Abdullah and Azyumardi Azra, "Islam dan Akomodasi Kultural" dalam Taufik Abdullah dkk (ed.), *Ensiklopedi Tematis Dunia Islam*. No.5. Jakarta: PT. Ichtiar Baru Van Hoeve, 2002), p. 30.

Life balance principle espoused by certain tribal religion become a benchmark in assessing the extent of religious teachings or doctrines practiced in everyday life. In Tana Toraja, Aluk Todolo community adheres to the principle balance, which is based on the principle of the relation of God, man and spirit, which is then implemented into religious rituals, such as the rituals of death, birth, marriage, harvest, fertility, new home, etc.³⁸

Religious rituals on a particular ethnic has several functions, both at the individual and the group or society. Fiona Bowie revealed that these rituals can deliver and express emotion, to guide and strengthen the forms of behavior, encourage or even subvert the status quo, to bring change, or improve harmonious relations and balance. Certain rituals also has a set of rules which is essential for healing. It is used to maintain the life and fertility of nature, and ensure the sustainability of good relationship with the supernatural, spirits, ancestors, gods, or other supernatural forces.³⁹

In Aluk Todolo community, religious rituals are performed at certain times has a number of significant functions, such as the media of social communication among the ancestors of the belief, as well as communication with the public culture of Toraja others. In addition, religious rituals assessed will further strengthen ties between the socio-ethnic unity in the region. Religious ceremonies in the Aluk Todolo community performed as a form of homage to the spirits of ancestors (nene ') or even a tribute to the supreme god, Puang matoa and tomembali Puang.⁴⁰

Overall the life of Aluk Todolo community centered to the religious rituals, especially the ritual of death (*Rambu Solo*).

³⁸ Check Nooy-Palm, "Toraja Religion"...*Log. cit.*

³⁹Fiona Bowie, *The Anthropology of Religion: An Introduction*. UK-USA: Blackwell Publisher, 2000. see also, S. J. Tambiah, "form and Meaning of Magical Acts", dalam Michael Almbek, *Anthropology of Religion*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2002). Talal Asad, 1993. *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline And Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*. Abtimore And London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

⁴⁰cf. Nooy-Palm, Toraja Religion...*loc. cit.*; Douglas Hollan, "Cultural and Experiential Aspects of Spirit Beliefs Among the Toraja.....*loc. cit.*

Death ritual procession is usually held on a large scale. They assumed that these funerals as the highest form of respect to Puang Matoa (the supreme deity in the belief of Aluk Todolo), and as a media escort someone who has passed away (*to mate*) to Puya. However, along with the times, the ritual is then packed into the media for tourism or economic interests.⁴¹ Therefore, there is concern that the sacrality of celebration of death in this community then becomes blurred. This concern has led to attempts by elite figures of Aluk Todolo community, especially *tominaa* (traditional priest) and *toparenge* (village head) to maintain their ancestral beliefs.⁴²

Ritual Procession: Opening Space for Contestation

The efforts to spread official religions (organized religion) against local beliefs often find its manifestations in different ways. Along with these efforts, the official religions typically use the term contextualization. Contextualization is a dialectical method of interaction and communication between text and context. On the other hand, contextualization is the compromised effort between local beliefs with a particular theology.

Th.Kobong, as quoted by Ngelow⁴³ introduced the term 'genuine contextualization' (true contextualization) in

⁴¹Yamashita, Shinji, "Manipulating Ethnic Tradition: The Funeral Ceremony, Tourism, and Television Among The Toraja of Sulawesi," *Indonesia No. 59, 1994*. Kathleen M. Adams, "More Than an Ethnic Marker: Toraja art as Identity Negotiator," *American Ethnologist* 25 (3): 327-351. Copyright © 1998, American Anthropological Association.

⁴² Kathleen M. Adams, "Ethnic Tourism and the Renegotiation of Tradition in Tana Toraja (Sulawesi, Indonesia)," di dalam *Ethnology Vol. 36 No. 4, fall 1997*. ibidem, "Constructing and Contesting Chiefly Authority in Contemporary Tana Toraja, Indonesia," Geoffrey M. White dan Lamont Lindstrom (ed.), *Chiefly Today: Traditional Pacific Leadership and the Postcolonial State* California: Stanford University Press, 1997. ibidem., "More Than an Ethnic Marker: Toraja art as Identity Negotiator," *American Ethnologist* 25 (3): 327-351. Copyright © 1998, American Anthropological Association. Ibidem, "The Discourse of Souls in tana Toraja (Indonesia): Indigenous Notions and Christian Conceptions."

⁴³Zakaria J. Ngelow, "Traditional Culture, Christianity and Globalization in Indonesia: The Case of Torajan Christians," *Inter-Religio* 45/Summer 2004.

connection with the contextualization of fundamental belief of Aluk Todolo in Tana Toraja with Christian beliefs. According to Kobong, contextual theology (local theology) is an expression of the dynamic interaction between doctrine (gospel), church and culture. He explained that the contextualization as a method associated with the text and context. Th. Kobong also try to embody the paradigm of "Christ Transforming Culture" *a la* Richard Neibuhr. Kobong, for example, states:

"the criteria for Torajan traditional communities is the respective pangala-tondok (the patriarch, the man who founded the community village) with their own ritual and customary laws. It is clear that we have to deal with it here at this very point. It seems that the solution is not so difficult. We have to choose either Christ or patriarch: or between gospel (word of God) and ritual and customary laws. Christ and patriarch cannot be united: both cannot become criteria simultaneously. A Christian, therefore, has to choose. He/she believes and is committed to Christ or to the patriarch. A genuine Christian cannot choose other than Christ, take up his cross and follow him. This choice must be radical, because one cannot serve two masters. The Christian has to choose for Christ or for patriarch. This either/ or choice consequently leads to refusal to leave all that belong to patriarch. It means to leave his ritual and customary laws, and at the end, his tongkonan (clan house), his community and culture. But the radical refusal of the structure of life pattern of patriarch is not the goal of this choice, because then it is a refusal to incarnation, or incarnation was not an event in the world and for the world....."

In this context, theology of religion (read: Christianity) to be ambiguous in the face of local belief, in which case the belief of Aluk Todolo in Tana Toraja. Certainly not so easy to adopt local belief as considered as heresy. Toraja people have to choose between staying becoming adherents to Aluk Todolo or be a Christian. If a Torajan choose Christianity as a new belief, then automatically he must abandon all forms of rituals and practices (customary laws) that were previously used to do, tongkononan, community and culture.

Here, leaving the old belief with a new belief means switching to position itself as "the self" while belief long as "the

other". Abnormalities (otherness) is the identity of the old faiths. Because they are different, they should not be, or be a part of us. So, what happens is the conversion and marginalization.

Some of the old belief (local religion) and then position themselves as the 'opposition' to the official religion and government. As communities in Central Sulawesi Wana who declined Religion and government; *tare agama, tare pamarentab!*. Just as Aluk Todolo community in Tana Toraja which still adheres to the belief of the ancients. They rejected forms of spread of religion that tend to separate Aluk with Culture. Yet, for this community, Aluk and culture was a subtle entities.

Indigenous peoples and/or local religions also tend to undergo a process of transformation. Although a certain level, they want to maintain their 'authenticity', but the more intense of social interaction with the world and other cultures will further accelerate the process of change occurred. Religions and local traditions that used to claim to be the 'original' itself began shifting forms of authenticity.⁴⁴

Each local community or local religion is currently experiencing a crisis of identity. They have to face a massive wave of transformative that is happening in society at large. The challenge is finally getting the space to local religious communities and to create and represent themselves. Identity eventually become something abstract, if not blurred.⁴⁵ This is

⁴⁴ the Term of authenticity similar to the term 'orthodoxy.' Term is intended as a confirmation form of authenticity or purity of a doctrine or dogma. Local Religion, relying on terms believed the 'originality' them as true and need to be maintained. While the shift towards a new one similar to the term revisionism'. I borrow this term from revisionist movements by Karl Bernstein and Leon Trosky against the teachings of Karl Marx. This movement believes that only by doing revision and reinterpretation of the teachings of Karl Marx, it would be able to survive and not obsolete. Revisionist Conditions experienced and done by local religions to their doctrine appears to show that the local religions increasingly found its manifestation in every age.

⁴⁵A world where globalization is becoming mainstream (mainstream) any culture or society in general integrated themselves to the global order. Globalization in this context presents differences that undermine the totality, unity of values and beliefs. See, Irwan Abdullah, "Privatisasi Agama:

because a number of issues and straddled. Therefore, a large number of local culture and religion are struggling to maintain and if necessary go back to their original identity.

The case of refusal of the nobles or chiefs (*toparenge*) to rate the Early Christian missionaries proselytizing in Tana Toraja shows a community's efforts to maintain their cultural identity and beliefs of their ancestors. According to the story that developed in Tana Toraja, a rejection of religion led to the murder of one of his missionary by either alone *toparengnge*.

Forcing government to ancestral beliefs, especially Aluk Todolo, to affiliate to the organized religion also caused a reaction from the Aluk Todolo community. The simplicity of official interpretations or commentary by government toward the term of religion is considered as a threat to their existence. Although most of the community or the followers of the teachings of the ancestors have been affiliated to the miraculous official religion, rejection and even cynicism often exhibited by this community. For example, the cynicism shown *tominaa* 'Tato Dena' toward Pentecostal Christians who do not accommodate the flow of Toraja culture, even leaving it.⁴⁶ Dena' even assume this attitude is outrageous and unacceptable by adherents of Aluk Todolo in general. "How could forget the heritage. How is it possible to separate the culture and Aluk "said Dena'.

Contestation or resistance are the implications of the politics of identity and / or politicization of the government and its organs (read: official religion) against beliefs and local

Globalisasi atau Melemahnya Referensi Budaya Lokal?.....*loc. cit*'. Globalization further obscure terminology in a single identity groups. For example, the identity of Java apparently does not involve a whole community that inhabited the island of Java. Java also in Suriname and in some areas of the country. When there is an intermingled, it is very difficult to identify the identity of Javanese. For example, a Javanese-buginese, buginese-javanese, and so on.

⁴⁶For example, cynicism shown by the people in one of the *Lembang* in Tana Toraja to a *Toparenge* who have embraced the Pentecostal Christian. *ToParenge* cynicism shown because he does not want to follow the tradition of the burial style of Aluk Todolo against his parents who had died 10 years ago. *Toparenge* have enough money to hold events *Rambu Solo'* for his father who was also *Toparenge* or highly respected in the village.

culture. In this context, the term contestation introduced a term "subaltern" or marginalization. The process of marginalization of fringe groups like local beliefs, urban poor, prostitutes, gays, and so led to a reaction in the form of resistance or contestation. In the post-colonial studies, The term "subaltern" was introduced by Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) in the political records (known as "the prison of notebooks"). Subaltern classes (marginal), according to Gramsci, used as a collective description for a variety of groups that are dominated and exploited differently that explicitly does not have class consciousness. Subaltern is also used to refer to social groups subject to the hegemony of the dominant classes who control the state.⁴⁷

Furthermore, subalternity than as a key to open a discussion about the cultural constructs of domination, he also opened a discussion about the difference and resistance. The discourse about the state not just about domination and hegemony, but also about the relationship between the center (center) and periphery (periphery) that are ambiguous, ambiguous, and full of ambivalence. There is a tendency to perform hegemonisasi center and uniformity, but gave birth to a copy of a fuzzy at the edges. Peripheral region has never produced a proper habits, values and institutions that they get from the center. Thus the relationship between the center and periphery are ambivalent relationship, always ambiguous. On the one hand there is imitation, but also the sides of mockery and even resistance.

In the case of Aluk Todolo, identity politics of government and the force of Global capitalism is felt strongly. Since the new order, the government designed a national

⁴⁷Antonio Gramsci, *Sejarah dan Budaya (selection from the Prison of Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci)* Surabaya: Pustaka Promethea, 2000), p. 207-210. Ahmad Baso, "Bisakah Lokalitas Berbicara?: Pribumisasi Islam Sebagai Upaya Menggugat "Imperium" Tafsir Resmi Agama." *Makalah*. Tidak dipublikasikan. 2001. Ibidem, "Kebudayaan sebagai Arena Kontestasi Membangun Politik Tanpa Panggung: Dialog, Negosiasi, dan Resistensi". *Makalah* tidak dipublikasikan. 2001.

culture, as a form of hybridization⁴⁸ and mesiumisasi,⁴⁹ as a universal culture for all the people of Indonesia. Thus, any potential local cultural should always refer to the national culture. Finally conception of national culture into the politicization of culture, identity politics extension of the government, as well as further strengthening the government hegemonisasi the local people or the fringes of society.

This condition is reinforced by government policies in the past about religious belief systems and Indonesia, which at least has brought significant implications for the existence of local religions in Indonesia. Article 29 UUD 1945 governing religious freedom for all adherents of a particular faith was only a slogan. It is evident then, in its development, the existence of cultural religions have no place. In other words, local communities still maintain a belief in ancestors must be affiliated to the religions recognized by the government.

The government had issued a policy that Aluk Todolo community along with all the ancestors *keperayaannya* affiliated to the official religions. The results can be seen that to this day, believes the community as a *dawa Matoa* highest Puang should be under few adherents Aluk Todolo into the official religion is seen as a form of accommodation or adaptation significantly. Because, accommodation or adaptations made is a form or a strategy to maintain the culture and beliefs.

However, internally there are a number itself paradoxical, if not inconsistency, associated with the internal dynamics of this community. On the one hand, there are a number of adherents of Aluk Todolo slowly started leaving the principles of the teachings of AT and announcing fundamental changes to the principles of their teachings. These groups usually have switched to other beliefs, but culturally still running some AT rites, such as the ritual death of Aluk Todolo, *Rambu Solo'* and *Rambu Tuka*. This attitude, though it looks inconsistent, it seems to be understood as a form of cultural accommodation

⁴⁸Gayatri Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" dalam P. Williams and L. Chrisman (ed.), *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993.

⁴⁹Amanda Rath, "cultural Sublimation: The Musemizing of Indonesia," *Journal of the Southeast Asian Studies Association*, vol.1. No.1 1997.

and beliefs. On the other hand, there are a number of adherents who insisted that the belief to the Puang Matoa must be maintained. These groups are usually identified as elites of AT, priest (*tominaa*) and indigenous leaders (*toparengnge*).

Inconsistency shown by AT community seems to be understood as the implications of government policy on a belief system in Indonesia. At the same time, the attitude of the AT community as the implications of the political culture that built by the New Order government. In this system, a local of the belief no longer have the freedom of faith of their ancestors. But they have to submit to the domination of central government policies.

Political culture that built by the new order requires the government re-purposing the local culture, and at the same time, local communities must make Pancasila as the center for national cultural. The government then created pockets of culture as culture trendmark or example to be emulated by other cultures in this country. This kind of political culture into fields for meziuumisation and cultural hybridization, as well as the establishment of a dichotomy between official religion and mysticism (*aliran kebatinan*).

Identity politics and the politicization of culture created by the central government further reduce the space of expression for this community. term "people who do not yet have any religion" which once echoed the New Order government allows, and even force this community to reconsider their culture identity and religion. The process of proselytizing becomes an extension of the government within the framework of identity politics.⁵⁰

The effort to democratization process in the country is not solely dependent on the effort to reform all political institutions, laws and amendments to legislation. But equally

⁵⁰ Ajawaila, Jacob W.. 2000. "Orang Ambon dan Perubahan Kebudayaan" *Jurnal Antropologi Indonesia* 61. Li, Tania Murray, "Articulating Indigenous Identity In Indonesia: Resources Politics and the Tribal Slot," *Working Papers*, Berkeley Workshop on Environmental Politics, Institute of Environmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley. Purba, Mauly. 2000. "Gereja dan Adat: Kasus Gondang Sabanginan dan Tortor," *Jurnal Antropologi Indonesia* 62.

important is the reform of the means of culture production. The way in which taken is reform and criticizing the whole discourse of religion, gender and culture which are built based on political interests and hegemonic by certain dominant groups. After that, open public spaces free of domination –by borrowing the term of Jurgen Habermas - for negotiation and resistance to hegemony and domination. Cultural hegemony is apparent when cultures emerged as an arena of contestation in which each group brings socio-political and economic development and strengthen its dominance. Especially if it is then manifested in the political construct of culture is deliberately constructed by the bureaucracy, the capitalists, the intelligentsia of the city, the urban intellectuals, religious people, in order to maintain its supremacy.

At the same time, the singularity for interpretation of religious texts also helped aggravate and reinforce local religious marginalization. Yet according to Homi Babha, the construction about text, is a construct of hybridity, something ambivalent, that never become coherent and essential. On the one hand, it asserts originality, clarity of authority and authorship. But it was also the dislocation, repetition, distortion, displacement, and misreading.⁵¹

Very likely, the construct of religious interpretations can not be separated from the bias-borrowing of Foucault archeology of knowledge-arounded interpreter or speakers behind the text. For example, the bias of political, economic, or summarily, its arounded of power relations.

Currently, Aluk Todolo community try to maintain their religious and cultural identity by using a variety of contestation, such as the arts, and other rituals, despite there are religious revolution and tourism. Kathleen M. Adams (1997a, 1997b), in his article, "Ethnic Tourism and the Renegotiation of Tradition in Tana Toraja (Sulawesi, Indonesia)," describes the connectedness of Toraja ethnic arts and crafts with the principles of belief of Aluk Todolo community. With Toraja architecture based on the model, especially in engraving, Adams found the artistic forms of art and craft of Torajan are a

⁵¹Baso, *loc. cit*

place to highlight, articulate, and negotiate various hierarchies of identity and hierarchical relationships. Furthermore, through this article, Adams track transformation presented in Toraja architectural symbols of authority elites into icons aligned in the Toraja ethnic identity.⁵²

Rituals of ancestral beliefs in Tana Toraja, which until now is still often shown the result of negotiations between the faith of Aluk Todolo community with Christianity. Despite periodic minimization and marginalization against followers, it acts like *Rambu Solo'* and *Rambu Tuka* still often be a very interesting party even though it was done by the Toraja people who have embraced the new religion. This seemed to give the impression that despite the new religion, but some of the teachings of ancestral remains held.

The creation of public spaces are free for the community in order to embody Aluk Todolo rites, dogmas and their cultural identity is a necessity that is not negotiable and must be prevented. This community has the same rights as other communities and even other religions for expressing their beliefs. Central and local government, is no longer a 'decisive' for all the expressions of culture and religion, as it is often the case in the New Order era, but rather as a facility provider (facilitator) for the continuation of the community. Freedom of expression, choose, and determine the direction of the life of each community should be a priority for the government right now.

Last but not least, Aluk Todolo community have shown how the current globalization, modernization, and revolution religions have slowly shifting patterns of social relations and values they hold so far. Radical movements, which is one resistensif attitude or resistance is no longer the only way to defend yourself. Therefore, all those should continue to negotiate their own culture while still highlight the nature of

⁵²see also Adams, More Than an Ethnic Marker: Toraja art as Identity Negotiator....*loc. cit.* Volkman, Toby Alice. "Mortuary Tourism in Tana Toraja," dalam Rita Smith Kipp dan Susan Rodgers (ed.), *Indonesian Religions In Transition*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1987.

them, that believe in the existence Puang Matoa, the gods, Tomembali Puang, and still rite their religious celebrations.

Closing Remarks

The discourse of contestation or resistance stems from the interpretation of the local belief as periphery even for a long time too marginalized, both by governments and by the official religions (organized religion). Here it appears that organized religion as a legitimate and recognized by the government, while on the other local religions regarded as quaint, marginal, and need more "religiousized". This context raises a number of political-Religion opposition rejected government, as demonstrated by the Ammatoa community Kajang Bulukumba, which is still firmly refused Islamization, Tolotang communities in Amparita Sidrap remained adamant not to be affiliated to the Hindu religion and Islam, and the other local community ancestors of belief.

Adherents of Faith to the ancestors in Tana Toraja or called Aluk Todolo community is typical community that is still adamant refuse the forms of minimization and contextualization by the official religion. Although they are less and less in quantity, but the resistance effort is still underway. Ancestral rituals seems to be a significant form of negotiation in order to maintain the belief and culture of Aluk Todolo. Because Aluk not be separated by tradition or culture. This is what continues to be done by Tominaa 'Tato Dena' along with a number of adherents Aluk Todolo in Tana Toraja.

Ritual of *Rambu Solo'* is considered as one of the rituals Spectacular in Aluk Todolo community is still being done today. For most people of Toraja, which must have been affiliated to the Protestantism, the celebration of death is no more as an effort to preserve tradition. While the adherents of belief of Aluk Todolo, celebration *Rambu Solo'* is considered as a moment to usher in the spirit of Puya, and even a moment to honor Puang Matoa, the supreme god in belief Aluk Todolo.

Research was done by Yamashita⁵³ about the death of a Christian, Puang Mangkendek, shows that the ritual is still performed by a person who has been affiliated to the Christian religion. Regardless of the economic motives behind this spectacular party, it explained that the ritual of *Rambu Solo'* is still maintained today. This means that the ritual signs solo' are often held each year continues to be the most important part and is maintained in the lives of Toraja. Party death, *Rambu Solo'*, which is usually performed spectacularly this often gets strong reactions from various circles who regard this ritual as a waste.

Thus, the ritual of *Rambu Solo'* and a number of other rituals that are considered as the space of contestation, as a political symbol of the efforts of people of Toraja, especially adherents of Aluk Todolo, to renegotiate their rituals and history. Even today, people of Toraja re-examining their rituals and consciously reshape traditions from the past. Even as revealed Adams,

“they are not resigned to accepting representations depicting them as pagan primitives given to inappropriately extravagant funeral rituals, but are actively engaged in ingenious political strategies to adjust and enhance their group’s image and vigorously challenge and contest the perceived threats to their identity and power.”⁵⁴

By continuing to accept the perception that portray them as primitive pagans because of their death rituals, Aluk Todolo community still actively maintaining and displaying political strategy in the form of opposition and resistance to the threats that disrupt their identity and power.

⁵³ Shinji Yamashita, “Manipulating Ethnic Tradition: The Funeral Ceremony, Tourism, and Television Among The Toraja of Sulawesi,” *Indonesia* No. 59, 1994.

⁵⁴ Kathleen M. Adams, “Ethnic Tourism and the Renegotiation of Tradition in Tana Toraja (Sulawesi, Indonesia),” di dalam *Ethnology* Vol. 36 No. 4, fall 1997,

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