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Dana Rappoport. Ritual music and christianization in the Toraja's Highlands, Sulawesi. *Ethnomusicology*, 2004, Vol. 48, No. 3 (Fall, 2004), pp.378-404. hal-00476146

**HAL Id: hal-00476146**

**<https://hal.science/hal-00476146>**

Submitted on 23 Apr 2010

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Source: *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (Fall, 2004), pp. 378-404

Published by: University of Illinois Press on behalf of Society for Ethnomusicology

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30046286>

Accessed: 23/04/2010 09:29

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## Ritual Music and Christianization in the Toraja Highlands, Sulawesi

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Paris

The religion and music culture of the Toraja of southern Sulawesi (Indonesia) have undergone dramatic changes in the last century. Most of these changes involve the ways that a formalized traditional belief system and an accompanying set of ritual musics have been challenged by the advent of Christianity and by pressures from the Indonesian government. As Toraja traditional music had been thoroughly embedded in traditional religious practices, it is not surprising that much of this music culture has been lost under the influence of proselytizing missionaries. However, closer examination reveals that many aspects of traditional music persist, even in Christianized forms. In this article I provide a brief overview of Toraja traditional ritual music and an examination of the impact of Christianity on this music, with particular emphasis on the survival (albeit in often folklorized, attenuated, or resignified forms) of aspects of this formerly widespread and vital music practice.

From Southeast Asia to Oceania, Christian missionaries have tended to vigorously discourage or forbid performance of traditional dances and songs (MacLean 1986; Zahn 1996). Such prohibitions, however, have varied considerably according to areas, missions, and religious orders, with Catholics tending to be somewhat more tolerant (Kunst [1946] 1994:81). Highland dwellers in the island of Sulawesi have become predominantly Christianized, with many mountain communities feeling compelled to curtail their traditional music practices (Aragon 1996, 2000; George 1996). The experience of the Toraja Sa'dan is in some ways distinctive from that of communities of Central Sulawesi and of other parts of Southeast Asia, because of the development of tourism since 1970, the relative stability of their funeral rituals, and the belated recognition of their traditional religion, then called *aluk to dolo* ("law of the men of before").

The Sa'dan Toraja live in the mountains of South Sulawesi, one of the five main islands of Indonesia. Numbering around 385,000, they are the largest group of Toraja, who collectively number around half a million (Badan Pusat Statistik 1998). They are primarily rice-farmers and raisers of pigs and buffaloes. Although Christianized, they live alongside the more numerous lowland people, or Bugis (numbering around three and a half million), Makasar, Mandar, and others, who are fervently Muslim.

A fair amount of ethnographic literature on Toraja culture has been written in the latter twentieth century. This literature includes detailed ritual analysis (Crystal and Yamashita 1987; Koubi 1982; Tsintjinolis 1992, 1997, 1999, 2000; Volkman 1988; Waterson 1993, 1995, 1997), more general studies about society and religion (Nooy-Palm 1979, 1986; Volkman 1985; Waterson 1984), studies of psychology (Hollan and Wellenkamp 1994, 1996), and studies of cultural change (Adams 1993, 1997a, 1997b, 1998; Volkman 1985). Studies of cultural change in neighboring areas, with some analysis of musical developments, have also been published (Aragon 1996, 2000; George 1990, 1996). A relevant early study is Jaap Kunst's 1946 article, "Indigenous Music and the Christian Mission," offering many musical examples from different areas of Indonesia.<sup>1</sup> No ethnomusicological study of Toraja Sa'dan music had been written up to 1997, although different kinds of data about their music are scattered in books written since the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup>

Toraja music can be seen as belonging to Austronesian culture, one of the oldest layers of culture in Indonesia.<sup>3</sup> In terms of its musical and its social features, it is quite distinct from "Indianized" Indonesian cultures, from the "gong-chime" gamelan/wayang complex, and from Muslim musical idioms much more developed in coastal regions.<sup>4</sup> It is also distinct from the gong orchestra culture distributed in Sumatra, Borneo, and Philippines. In its predominance of collective dances and vocal music, it bears relations to music from Central Sulawesi, and to that of eastern Indonesian islands (the Lesser Sunda), especially Flores and Timor.<sup>5</sup>

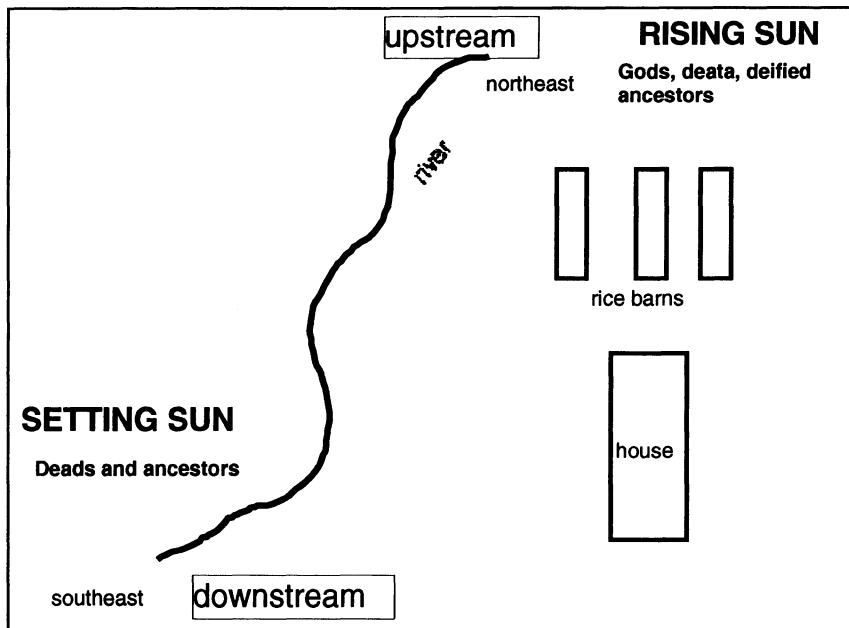
In former times, Sa'dan Toraja music, intrinsically bound to religion, fell within two categories of ancestral rites: those of the rising-sun, and those of the setting-sun. In the twentieth century, this tradition was modified by the incursions of Christianity, brought by the Dutch in 1906, and by "Indonesianization" after the establishment of the Indonesian state at mid-century. The great majority of Toraja had converted to Christianity by 1960. Today, the ancestral religion remains strictly practiced by less than five percent of the population, although some of the Christian Toraja still follow parts of old customs in their rituals. New external elements appearing in Toraja life have had drastic effects upon musical performances.<sup>6</sup>

### Music in Toraja: Ancestral Religion

Until the mid-twentieth century, the Toraja practiced a polytheistic religion called *aluk nene'* or *aluk to dolo*, the “law of the ancestors.” Aspects of this remain present in contemporary social life. Spatial considerations are important in this religion. Like many other Austronesian peoples, the Toraja orient themselves according to the path of the sun and the direction of rivers. The setting sun (*matampu*) and downstream (*sau'*) are related to the world of death and ancestors, and to the color black, whereas the rising sun (*matallo*) and upstream (*rekke*) are related to the world of life, well-being, divinities, and the color yellow. These directions not only organize the positioning of their capacious rural houses and rice-barns (which are always oriented upstream/downstream),<sup>7</sup> and the positioning of the living beings,<sup>8</sup> but they also organize ritual life, as shown in Figure 1.

Thus there are two basic groups of rituals. The “rituals on the side of the setting sun” (*aluk rampe matampu'*) deal with funerals. These constitute a stage marking the departure of the deceased’s soul from the world of the living to the world of ancestors, gods (*puang*), and divinities (*deata*), and thence back towards the world of *deata*, on the side of the rising sun. Associated with the left hand, these rituals are held on the southwestern side of

Figure 1. Toraja coordinates.

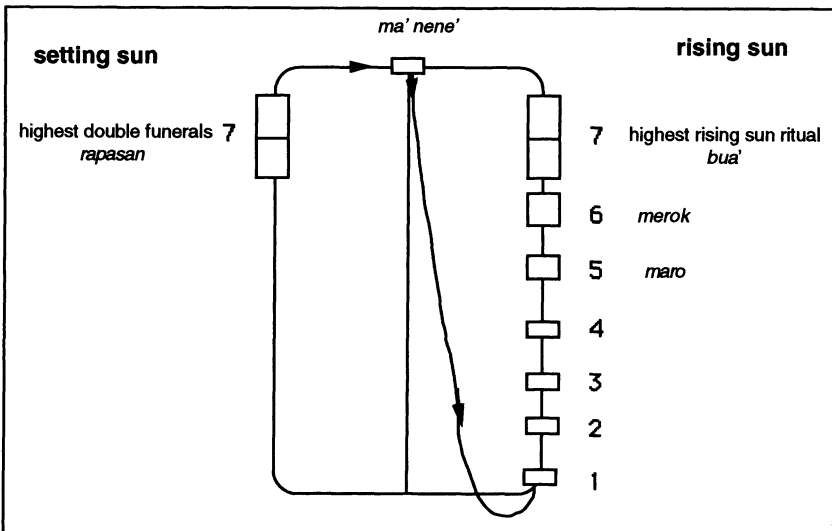


a house, because a dead person is supposed to travel to the south, where souls of ancestors (*nene'*) live. By contrast, the "rituals on the side of the rising sun" (*aluk rampe matallo*) are always associated with gods and divinities, with the east and northeast, and with the right hand.<sup>9</sup> They allow the soul of the deceased to become a divinity (*mendeata*) (Nooy-Palm 1979:112).

To fulfill its duty, the family of a deceased person has to follow a specified ritual cycle, which varies according to the family's rank.<sup>10</sup> According to ritual specialists called *to minaa* (the knowledgeable one[s]), the main process is to balance a funeral with a corresponding east ritual at the same level. This means that each deceased person has to travel, by rituals, from the world of the dead to the world of divinities, in a passage from west to east. Figure 2 shows how a family of a high-rank deceased person has to balance his or her funeral with a ritual to the rising sun—towards the divinities—by performing all the rituals to the east, in order to effect the symbolic travel from west to east. Thus, the rituals are the stages of a cycle binding the living, the ancestors, and the world of gods and divinities. The passage between these three worlds is achieved by raising a "ritual ladder" (*eran*).

Torajan ritual morphology is thus based on four principles: (1) reversal (*pembalikan*), which obliges every human to counteract a funeral (west) by a fertility ritual (east), in a symbolic passage from west to east; (2) balance (*bali*), meaning that the west ritual must be at the same level as an east ritual; (3) gradation, according to which east rituals are organized as a ladder (*eran*),

**Figure 2. The symbolic journey of the soul of a deceased high-rank person from west to east.**



rising from the smallest ritual to the largest, in terms of length and the magnitude of animal and musical offerings; and (4) cyclicity, in the sense that the Toraja have to follow a ritual cycle, built on the passage from west to east, with the west ritual constituting a stage in which the soul leaves its human status to become a divine ancestor if the equivalent east ritual is held. These four principles—reversal, balance, gradation, and cyclicity—constitute basic features of traditional ritual morphology, sometimes called in the northern region *aluk pembalikan* (“reversal law”).<sup>11</sup>

### **Toraja Ritual Music**

Prior to the advent of Christianity, the Indonesian government, and the tourism industry, Toraja music appears to have been practiced only during ritual ceremonies. Toraja music was classified according to the two sides (setting and rising sun), with each genre belonging exclusively to one or the other. Music for setting sun rituals came under the category of *bating* (laments), whereas music for the rising-sun rituals came under the category of *nani* (praising).

Toraja of the highest class—the only ones who can carry out all the gradual steps that lead to divinity—introduced all music genres into their rituals. Music, like the massive ritual slaughter of animals, had its place at the summit of the ritual ladder, with musical offerings accompanying animal offerings, mainly in the biggest rituals. If music was probably, above all, the link between different worlds, it could also serve as a sign of wealth in this world, used both to affirm the rank of the person in whose honor the music was performed and to demonstrate the wealth of the family that could so lavishly praise its ancestors.

Utterance—in all its forms, from psalmody to song—and sacrifice are the links between the different worlds, visible and invisible. In funerals, it is through speech and song that humans address the deceased, that they cry to them, and that they glorify their deeds (especially through the *badong* round dance). In rising-sun rituals, it is through song, speech, and often solo psalmody (*singgi'*) that they talk to living people: masters of rituals, high nobles, and high members of the family, who are glorified in the songs. It is through such forms that divinities are called by the *gelong* song to come down to earth in *maro* and *bugi'* rituals.

Toraja music is mostly vocal and choral. It makes much use of drones, either continuous or syllabic, and also exploits contrasting vowel sounds. The favored harmonic interval is a non-tempered second. Melodic range does not exceed a perfect fifth. Importance is given to homogeneity of the choral timbre, with a smooth fusion of the voices. Individualized voices in chorus are not accepted; when they sing together, one voice only has to be heard: the

collective one.<sup>12</sup> Above all, the Toraja value the quality of the collective utterance, the way of singing together. Sonic continuum and spatial concentration are other features of Toraja music: singing should permeate the ritual space. Generally speaking, Toraja music is characterized by its economy of means, by its linear aesthetic, and by its harmonic thickness, in the sense that the harmonic spectrum resulting from the fusion of voices is rich and full.

A common mode of performance is what I call “polymusical.” By this I mean that two or more groups simultaneously and side-by-side perform different tunes (that could also be played separately), deriving from the same or different genres, but without temporal/rhythmic coordination, and without the intention to make a single piece of music together but rather to play separately. The combined tunes do not follow a shared pulse, and they do not begin and end together. Musics are juxtaposed in this fashion not only for their sound but also for their ritual implications. For the family, polymusical performance both promotes the deceased as well as enhances the status of the living patrons. For the singers, it is an expression of local and familial identity and sometimes may be considered as a reflection of communal rivalry between the performing groups. For society as a whole, polymusical events can be seen as offerings to the invisible world that connects human beings with their ancestors.<sup>13</sup>

## Musical Repertoires

Around fifteen different musical repertoires (or genres) can be found in the various regions of Tana Toraja. Each one is categorized as belonging to either a west or an east ritual. In order to understand this dualistic system, we will here focus on six main repertoires of the northern Toraja: two large dancing choruses (*badong* and *simbong*), two solo monotone songs (*retteng to mate* and *retteng deata*), and two seated choruses (*dondi'* and *serang mundan*).

As Figure 3 shows, *badong* is regarded as the “partner of *simbong*” (*balinna simbong*), *dondi'* is the “partner of *serang mundan*” (*balinna serang mundan*), and *retteng to mate* is the “partner of *retteng deata*” (*balinna retteng deata*). Repertoires that are “partners” share features of sound, prosody, and performance. They are not “twins,” because they are easily distinguishable, but they are very similar.

Musical and extramusical differences and similarities between *badong* and *simbong* are underlined in Figure 4 in order to show how the repertoires may be considered to be partners (*bali*). Figure 4 shows the relationships between two important repertoires. Other musical partnerships could also be illustrated. Figure 5, showing a Toraja’s ritual ladder, further clarifies the nature of such partnerships. This ladder illustrates the relationships between



Figure 3. Genre partners.

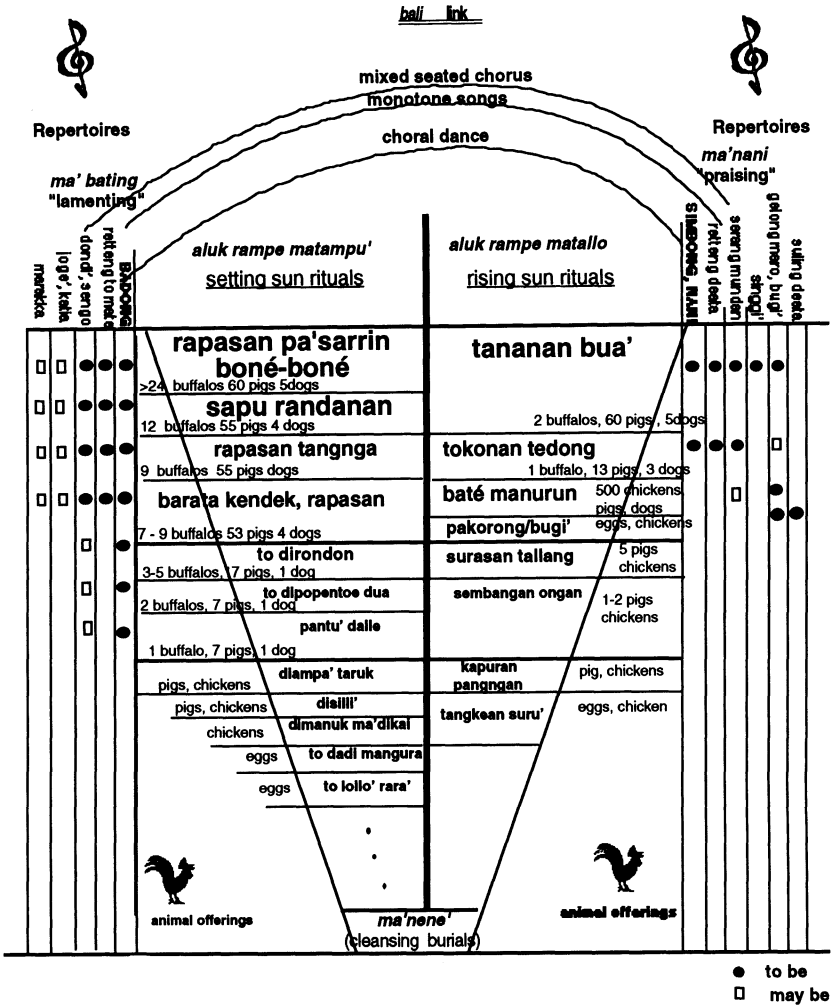
REPERTOIRE	SETTING SUN	RISING SUN
Choral dance	badong	simbong (nani)
Mixed seated chorus	dondi'	serang mundan
monotone solo song	retteng to mate	retteng deata
CATEGORY	BATING "laments"	NANI "praising"

musical repertoires, animal offerings, and ritual steps in the reversal cycle. It is called *aluk silau' eran simuane tallang* ("the law of the ladder of the paired bamboos"). The ladder shown here—from the data of my adoptive father<sup>14</sup>—is specific to a region of Northern Toraja. Links between repertoires are shown by the rainbow to represent the partnerships. This link is not a mere musical category, but may also constitute one of the main points of the ritual's structuring. Figure 5 displays how the repertoires are organized along the ritual ladder. We may suggest that musical repertoires form a structure by underlining links between rituals, from both sides of the ladder. The bali

Figure 4. Similarities and differences between simbong and badong.

BADONG		SIMBONG
<b>EXTRA-MUSICAL SIMILARITIES</b>		
context	sung in big rituals with animal offerings	
space and time	performed outside before animal sacrifices	
status of singers	semi-professional groups of male singers	
dance	both repertoires are danced	
text sources	long ritual text in the same form ( <i>ossoran, samparan</i> )	
aim of the text	praising of dead ( <i>badong</i> )	praising of the living ( <i>simbong</i> )
<b>MUSICAL SIMILARITIES</b>		
Density & intensity	harmonic thickness ; powerful choral sound	
scale	tetrachordic	
vowels	alternation of vowels from [o] to [é] called <i>basse</i>	
prosody	distichs or quatrains	
harmonic second	predominant in both <i>badong</i> and <i>simbong</i>	
monotone	monotone solo song ( <i>retteng</i> ) inserted in the choral dance	
polymusic	juxtaposition of different choruses	
<b>EXTRA MUSICAL DIFFERENCES</b>		
ritual	<i>badong</i> accompany the moving of the dead	<i>simbong</i> does not accompany any movement
dance figure	<i>badong</i> : circle	<i>simbong</i> : semi-circle
<b>MUSICAL DIFFERENCES</b>		
choral part	four soloists and ensemble	one solist and ensemble
text performance	melismatic only	syllabic and melismatic
time	measured	mainly unmeasured
polyvocality	one part	two parts (a drone and a soloist)
responsorial	both statement and response are made by members of the same groupe	the different groups answer each other

Figure 5. Musical features (bali) in the ritual ladder.



link connects not only musical and literary form but also gestures and deeds, forming a whole network of pairs that gives a structure to ritual architecture. Hence, certain songs, words, gestures, and rituals on one side have their counterparts on the other. The opposite of every term is both homologous and antithetical, being similar by nature, and opposite by function.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the partnership between musical form on both sides of ritual category builds an order, a system of reciprocity and conversion. Formerly, balance of musical repertoires strengthened or participated in the building of ritual morphology. However, in the twentieth century, the rising-sun rituals were strongly

forbidden by the Christian Protestants, who declared them to be pagan and savage. Then, with the prohibition of rising-sun rituals, one half of the well-balanced ritual structure disappeared. Today, setting-sun repertoires stand without any partners. How have these rituals been transformed by Christianization?

### **Christianization**

Since the early twentieth century, several interrelated factors have contributed to changes in musical performances. The Toraja region was first invaded by the Dutch in 1906. They governed the area until 1942, reorganizing customary districts, pacifying the country then at war with kingdoms of the south, imposing schools and Christianity, forbidding head-hunting, and generally inspiring both respect and fear. Conversions to Christianity increased around the 1960s because of the fear of Muslim encroachment and also because the Indonesian government, installed in 1949, officially imposed monotheism.<sup>16</sup> After ten years of forced conversion in 1969, traditional religion was at last recognized, but then only as a local variant of Hinduism—that is, an Indonesian Hinduism, which was officially construed as being monotheistic. By that time, most Toraja had already converted to some form of Christianity.

According to statistics as of 2000, around seventy percent of the Toraja are Protestant, seventeen percent Catholics,<sup>17</sup> and the rest are either Muslim or “Hindu” (where “Hindu” is understood to include the “Toraja ancestral religion”). Many of the Protestants bypass the mainstream Protestant Church (*Gereja Toraja*, issued from the Dutch Reformed Calvinist Church GZB or *Gereformeerde Zendingsbonde*<sup>18</sup>) to join new Protestant communities, such as the Pentecostal and charismatic churches *Gereja Pentekosta*, *Gereja Kasih Persaudaraan*, Church Bethel, and *Kibaid*. These various movements have different attitudes towards tradition and thus towards traditional arts. Many of them forbid people to perform the traditional rituals. Here we do not need to consider the numerous motivations highlanders have had in converting to Christianity.<sup>19</sup> When one asks such questions today, the answer is often, “Because we can eat what we want when we want,” meaning that the old religion was too restricting.

In 1913, the first Dutch missionary to Toraja, van de Loosdrecht, arrived, sent by the Dutch Reformed Calvinist Church, or the GZB.<sup>20</sup> At first, he proselytized through schooling (Bigalke 1981:138–92), with the help of the linguist H. van der Veen, who translated the Bible into Toraja. (Veen is also one of the foremost scholars of Toraja traditional culture; see Veen 1972, 1979.) However, the Toraja nobility resisted Christianization. Van de Loosdrecht began to work then with poor people and slaves, struggling against social

injustices. Noblemen were not traditionally concerned with the lot of the poor, as wealth is traditionally regarded by the Toraja as a sign of divine blessing. Nevertheless, van de Loosdrecht became more and more unpopular, due to his campaigns to ban cockfighting, the ten-day week, and traditional funerals. In 1917, a revolt led to his death. The mission subsequently established a more democratic system by creating committees whose members, Christian or not, sought to determine the extent of the restrictions towards the old religion (Kobong et al. 1992:49). Subsequently, conversion did not necessarily entail abandoning all aspects of one's traditional culture, and certain customs could be saved.

Three important concepts were then under discussion: *aluk* (religion), *adat* (custom), and *kebudayaan* (cultural tradition)—the latter two terms being Indonesian. Protestant Calvinist and Catholic churches have sought to maintain “custom” (*adat*) while suppressing “religion” (*aluk*); that is, they have sought to transform some parts of the old religion into secular custom.

In 1929, a lecture of the Dutch Reformed Calvinist Church (Gereformeerde Zendingsbonde) specified the restrictions regarding rituals<sup>21</sup>: for west rituals, among other restrictions, it was hence forbidden to believe that the souls of animals follow the dead, to give meat to the dead or to spirits, and to sing the song for the deceased in its narrative old version (as discussed below). However, performance of funeral rituals was still permissible. On the other hand, most of the east rituals aside from house festivals have been strongly forbidden by the Mission. One speaker in the conference stated, “You know that in pagan feasts like *merauk*, *ma'parekke para*, and *massura' tallang*, many pigs are killed and given to the divinities. These three feasts must not be attended by Christian people because they deal with veneration and adoration” (in Kobong et al. 1992:49). Other rising-sun rituals performed with trances were also to be rejected, as was explicitly stated:

The *mabate*, *ma'bugi*, and *maro* must really be abandoned by Christians because they are against the will of God. For the first one, pagans think that the soul of the deceased become a divinity that leads and controls nature. You must not believe in that anymore, because this feast is not fit for you . . . About *ma'bugi'* and *maro*, pagans believe that with these savage dances, these games and Satanic tortures, they will receive health and life force. You know that this is not true . . . Go away from these nasty feasts. (In Kobong et al. 1992:143)

Urbanus Tongli, a former Catholic priest who became an anthropologist, informed me that another reason for forbidding the rising-sun *bua'* feast celebrating fecundity was that the importance of sexuality therein violated the proscriptions of the Protestant Church.<sup>22</sup>

Despite such proscriptions, two kinds of rituals—funerals and house festivals—stay alive among Christianized Toraja. These rituals, with their strong familial and local links, are today practiced without traditional priests,<sup>23</sup>

but with much of the old religious dramaturgy, including ritual adornments, decorum, sacrifice of buffaloes and pigs, and certain dances and songs.

These changes have led to a complex situation. As Christians have been forbidden to attend rising-sun rituals, they have consequently been unable to perform rising-sun ritual music, particularly the trance songs or music linked to purification, such as *gelong bugi'*, *gelong maro*, and *suling deata*. On the other hand, *simbong* and *badong*, the large chorus of the biggest rituals, have been allowed with restrictions. Although some of the old songs have been forbidden, others have been absorbed into Christian rituals, and new songs have been introduced.

Apart from changing ritual music, Christian churches have used Western music as a way to attract potential converts and to involve them, along with those already converted, in the activities of churches. The Western musical system was introduced around the 1930s via songbooks, bringing heptatonic songs, diatonic scales, and cipher notation to the Toraja (see Figure 6).<sup>24</sup> Today, throughout the entire Toraja region, from Rantepao to

Figure 6. Christmas song in Toraja language (bongi melo)(from Zangbun-del . . . , 1927).

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34. Bongi melo.

	5 . 6 5 3 . . '   5 . 6 5 3 . . '	5 . 6 5 3 . . '   5 . 6 5 3 . . '
6/8 I	3 . 4 3 1 . . '   3 . 4 3 1 . . '	3 . 4 3 1 . . '   3 . 4 3 1 . . '
1=c. II		
	1. Bo - ngi me - lo,      ma - ka - ror - rong,	
	2. Di - o pa - dang      E - pa - ra - ta	
	3. Poe - ang Je - soe      men - to - li - no,	

	2 . 2 7 . .   i . i 5 . . '   6 . 6 i . 7 6	2 . 2 7 . .   i . i 5 . . '   6 . 6 i . 7 6
I	4 . 4 2 . .   3 . 3 3 . . '   4 . 4 6 . 5 4	4 . 4 2 . .   3 . 3 3 . . '   4 . 4 6 . 5 4
II		
	1. A - nak Poeang da - di - mo,      Ta - ma li - no la	
	2. Par - rang - mo      toe la - ngi'      Song - lo' na - sang toe	
	3. Ra' da - mo      di - ta - jan      Na - boe - ra' - ki' lin	

	5 . . 6 5 3 . . '   6 . 6 i . 7 6	6 . 6 i . 7 6
I	3 . 4 3 1 . . '   4 . 4 6 . 5 4	4 . 4 6 . 5 4
II		
	1. oen -      toen - doi,      Oem - pa - boe' - toe ka	
	2. ma - la - e - ka'      Oem - po - ka - dan - ni	
	2. do ma - sak - ke,      Ki - ta      poe - sa si	

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	5 . 6 5 3 . . '   2 . 2 4 . 2 7	2 . 2 4 . 2 7
I	3 . 4 3 1 . . '   5 . 5 5 . 5 4	5 . 5 5 . 5 4
II		
	1. ma - ren - de - ngan,      Ntam - pe ka - la' - bi	
	2. toe to mang - laa:      Da - di Da - toe Ma	
	1. a to ma - ling.      Len - doe' pa' - ka - bo	

	i . . 3 . 0   i . 5 3 5 . 4 2   1 . . . 0	i . 5 3 5 . 4 2   1 . . . 0
I	3 . . 5 . 0   3 . 1 . 3 2 7   1 . . . 0	3 . . 5 . 0   3 . 1 . 3 2 7   1 . . . 0
II		
	1. ran - na,      Ntam - pe ka - la' - bi - ran - na.	
	2. ram - pa',      Da - di Da - toe Ma - ram - pa'.	
	3. ro' - na,      Len - doe' pa' - ka - bo - ro' - na.	

Mamasa to Seko, Christian music predominates. No funeral, no wedding is without its Christian choir.<sup>25</sup> No bus travels without its Western-style “*losquin* regional music,” featuring one singer, or two singing in parallel thirds, accompanied by one or two guitars in Hawaiian style, or by a *kolintang* (metallophone tuned in Western style) performing music with *kroncong*-style rhythm and simple harmonies.

Christian music has three main forms in Toraja: music for children (*musik bambu*; “bamboo music”), Christian choral music for mothers (*ibu-ibu*), and pop devotional songs (*lagu-lagu rohani*, for young people).<sup>26</sup> Competitions are organized for each of these genres at different times of the year. I will describe only the first form.

Musik bambu (or *musik pompang*, *bas musik*) is an orchestra of transverse flutes and single-pitch tubes (*pompang*) that play only diatonic tunes borrowed from European music. This music is performed nowadays for any occasion, whether to entertain tourists, for funerals, to welcome guests, or other contexts. It is so well-known and diffused through schools that most people think it is a Toraja tradition. Today on “Toraja Day,” there is a competitive show of *pompang* ensembles. Actually, *musik bambu* is an import, as transverse flutes were first introduced in Sulawesi in the early twentieth century by missionary schoolteachers from Molucca. The genre is also prevalent in Malaysia and in the southern Philippines (Rappoport 1997:453). The bamboo tubes were probably introduced even later, though still before the Second World War (being already visible in photos from the 1930s taken by Jaap Kunst), by people from Minahassa in North Sulawesi. These teachers taught pupils to make the flutes and play Christian tunes on them. That is why old Toraja were calling these flutes “compulsory flutes” (*suling wajib*).<sup>27</sup> Now, these flutes have become acceptable, and even popular. This music plays a significant, albeit often indirect, part in converting children to Christianity (Bigalke 1981:309). Nowadays another sound is commonly heard in remote villages, namely, the “modern” music, using guitars, organ, drums, and amplification, played in the Pentecostal churches. I met one twelve-year-old child who told me that she converted to the movement *Kristen Pentekosta* because she liked their songs and wanted to follow her friends and sing with them.

Aside from these imported musics, a synod working group (*Badan Pekerja Sinode* of the main Gereja Toraja church) has in recent years tried to compose a new Christian music that would be musically Toraja, mixing church music with local music. This program is intended to give birth to a locally-specific repertoire of melodies (*lagu khas daerah*) that could be used everywhere, in churches and even in customary festivals. The aim is to give a Toraja flavor to church music and thus “preserve” Toraja culture in church.

In 1995, I was invited as an ethnomusicologist to attend a Church semi-

nar on “inculturation [or introduction] of traditional arts and Church music” (*inkulturasi seni budaya dan musik gereja*).<sup>28</sup> During the four days of the seminar, different composers, chorus leaders, and teachers strove to create such new songs for different occasions, including Christian calendrical events (such as Christmas and Easter); for Sunday school (*sekolah minggu*); and for weddings, birthdays, and the like. The only compositional requirement was that the new songs must have a Christian color. “It must smell spiritual,” reiterated Minister Kobong, who was the mentor of the seminar. Although the intent of the seminar was “inculturation,” at the end of these four days, out of twenty-seven new songs, only six showed any Toraja musical color. Features that were felt to make these songs Toraja included use of Toraja language, use of a Toraja musical scale (three-tone forms covering the range of a perfect fourth, or a second, or a five-tone scale, as shown in Figure 7), leaps of a fifth, and abrupt endings of musical sentences. An obstacle is presented by the fact that the Protestant church cannot accept melisma, because texts have to be both understood and sung collectively.<sup>29</sup> However, in Toraja traditional music, it is virtually impossible to understand the texts, because of vowel permutations and the melismatic treatment which is a basic feature of several types of songs (*marakka*, *badong*, *dondi'*, *simbong*, *serang mundan*, *retteng*). Though the words of the songs are fundamental for the ritual, they are not easily understandable (see Figure 8). The mere utterance of the words, regardless of a human being’s ability to understand them, makes them important for ritual efficiency.

All in all, attempts at creating “inculturative songs” have yet to bear fruit, as these new hybrid songs mixing traditional features with Christian hymnody are not yet widely sung in churches.<sup>30</sup> In my opinion, Toraja music could only be preserved through new hybrid melodies if these were related to Toraja

Figure 7. Traditional Toraja scales

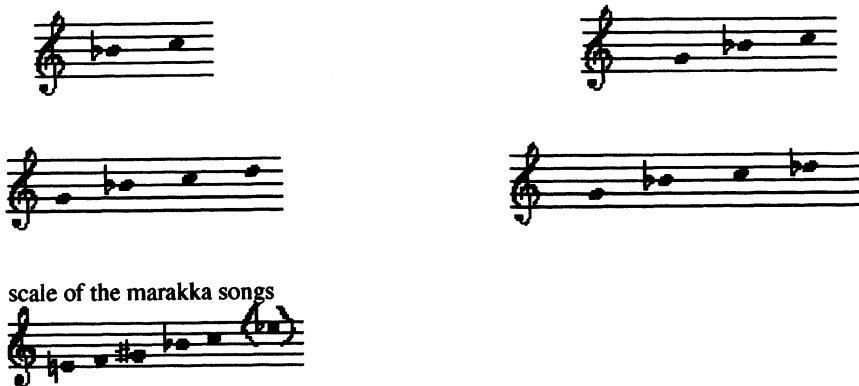


Figure 8. Example of melisma in the badong song (from Rappoport 1995, cited in footnote 2).

*tialfunna dibatara* ("protected in the sky")

	6	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	6	6	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	6	5	5	5	6	6
soloists 1	Te		e			e			e			e			e			e			e			e			e			e		a
soloists 2	-lo		o			o			o			na			e			e			e			e			e			e		e
soloists 3	de		e			e			e			ba			e			e			e			e			e			e		e
soloists 4	-te		e			e			e			-ra			a																	a

ritual practices. The great power of Toraja songs comes not only from the musical texture but also from the “thickness” of the performance—that is, from several different factors, including the visual impact, the sensation of several bodies close to each other, the number of animals and guests, and the sense of disorder independent from the sort of concern with “productivity” held by the new generations. These elements are precisely what the new ceremonies lack, even when they use ritual music in their festivals. Some churches try to create a new context with a kind of festival atmosphere, but it does not approach the spirit of the old rituals, and strikes some as but a sad and pale reflection of them.

### Indonesianization

After coming to power in 1945, the Indonesian government, based in far-off Jakarta, began to exert strong pressure for *Indonesianisasi*, or unification and standardization, to create a national culture. The Indonesian state, as we have mentioned, officially prohibited the ancestral Torajan religion on the grounds that it was polytheistic. The ideology of national progress (*kemajuan*) and development (*pembangunan*) was disseminated through schools, radio, and television. It took root mainly in towns and among the Toraja middle class, particularly the young who sought integration into the national culture rather than identification with “backward” traditional practices. Schooled in the national language (*babasa indonesia*), they have been taught by the government that custom is a conservative force contrary to the spirit of discovery and democratic idealism. Hence, in the past thirty years, many Toraja have become unprecedentedly aware of the outside world and modern values. The government has consistently taught the Toraja that their traditional music was backward and had to be “improved” (Patadungan 1982:6). As a result, many came to reject much of this music. The sentiment



of Indonesian nationalism was further imposed through the learning of songs in the Indonesian language and Western style.<sup>31</sup> After spending several years in towns, young people trained in Christian schools come to greatly prefer Western-style guitar and song sessions to old ritual songs.<sup>32</sup> This process was common to the whole archipelago, as many Indonesians come to seek modernity and abandon their traditional culture.<sup>33</sup>

Moreover, since 1960, both nobility and commoners have participated in out-migration—the nobility to the well-known schools of Java, and the commoners to large factories in Irian Jaya or Malaysia that need cheap labor. Both groups of emigrants return for the feasts, bringing back money to help pay for the many pigs and buffaloes to be sacrificed. Emigration has had quite positive effects on Toraja traditional culture, in so far as emigrants often return with a strong intent to affirm their cultural identity, and are willing to spend large amounts of money on family rituals. The more expensively a house is rebuilt, the more pigs are sacrificed, the more one's family's status increases.

However, the positive effects of out-migration on traditional music are less clear. Although emigrants do assist in perpetuation of the rituals, they are no longer knowledgeable enough to sing the traditional songs. Many young nobles who have grown up in towns return to the village for funerals; if commoners still follow the badong dance in the village, for young emigrants, the music of a funeral is the karaoke they sing in the evenings in town. They may feel like strangers to their musical culture, as they don't know how to dance or sing in the traditional Toraja way, although they enjoy joining together to entertain themselves for a funeral occasion by singing in the urban fashion.

How can Toraja follow Indonesian values, focused as these are on progress, and at the same time retain something of their own culture? This question was asked by members of the Toraja intelligentsia around 1970, especially in order to promote tourism. Twenty-five years later, a working paper (Forum Raya Konsolidasi Pariwisata Toraja 1995) written by the Government Department of Tourism, suggested ways to strengthen tradition by organizing cultural competitions between schools and villages on national holidays. But, at the moment, no Torajan Cultural Center exists, nor is there any formalized teaching of Toraja arts. As one informant told me, the opening of such a center would be anti-Christian because Toraja art is exclusively religious, and to teach it in a public institution would advance the cultural values of the old religion.

## **Ritual Songs in New Contexts**

### **Setting-Sun Ritual Songs**

Funeral songs (badong and dondi') are still much enjoyed by most of the Toraja who live in the rural north, but much has changed in recent decades. In the ancestral religion, the traditional aim of the funerary round dance

badong is to praise a deceased person of high rank in order that he or she might proceed to the world of divinities. In the thirties, the GZB Church banned this sanctification. The 1929 conference resolved, "Badong is allowed for anybody to be sung. Lamentation is allowed but has to be towards God our Lord and not for the dead, who must not be worshiped." Similarly, the 1923 conference stated,

To cry for the dead, to sing laments and dances, are not sinful, as long as the deceased is not deified or is not put higher than God. Don't believe that the deceased soul will give you pardon or favor. Pardon and happiness come only from the hands of God. Don't use the funeral songs of pagans. Change the lyrics of the songs. Give a Christian sense to the songs and praise the name of Allah [implicitly, the Christian God]. (Kobong et al. 1992:140)

A local preacher, Minister Kobong (p.c.), informed me that a culture that praises a man in place of God is sinful and "leads, for example, to Nazism." Hence, he said,

Vocal art, music, dance, sculpture, literature [including speech of the to minaa in the retteng, singgi'], architecture, and aesthetics—all must lead to God's praising . . . Art must not praise humans but God only. Culture now is poisoned by sin, in a path anti-Allah, a diabolic and satanic path, a path that does not praise Allah anymore but that praise its own person.

Accordingly, the long elegy for the dead (*ossoran badong*) is now forbidden in Christian funerals, although it may not be as thoroughly banned as the Gereja Toraja would like (Sarira 1996). Singers may still perform badong, but they have to replace the old hagiographical narration with a new one written by the Church. In this process, a short Christianized written text replaces the often long, unwritten, old song, which traditionally reflected the power of the deceased.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, badong is sung today for almost everybody, whereas previously its performance depended on the quantity of buffaloes sacrificed (Figure 5).<sup>35</sup> Badong has thus become allowed for anybody, provided the lyrics were changed. The Toraja Protestant Church created then a small songbook called "Kadong Badong," giving the Christian lyrics to be sung (Sampe 1992:103). One traditional ritual specialist criticized this practice:

With three or four pigs, there is no example, no model (*sangka*). And there, if the deceased is sung, that's forbidden [by the ritual law, aluk]. We may cry but we mustn't stand up and say, "Come, let us weave the lament now" [first line of the badong song] . . . The function of the round dance has deviated from its origins. In traditional religion, neither Tamboro Langi' nor Tangdi Lino [ancestors] were introduced in the sung text. Why do they now mix the poetry? Why do they mix tradition with Christian religion? We can't do that. We need limits. Christian people must sing their own Christian songs. (Tato Dena', p.c., 1993)

Democratization of the funeral song implies that poetry now no longer separates classes, although class distinctions remain important to the Toraja.

This transformation of the meaning of the musical gesture is appreciated especially by people inspired by *Reformasi*, the spirit of liberalization and democratization following the fall of the dictator Suharto in 1998. For lower-class Toraja, the democratization of music has both positive and negative aspects. As one flautist from Buntao told me, "Before, it was not like today. Now it is really better. In the past, at funerals, only rich people would need a flute-player, whereas today, we are invited for almost every funeral." However, he remembered the excitement of singing for a special man, as opposed to a kind of weariness more typical today:

In the past, people were found of the badong round dance because it was exclusive for a big man; they would sing all night without any pause until dawn. Today, as everyone can be "badonged" [*dibadongi*], people get tired of it and don't sing as much . . . See, when a poor man would die, because he has not enough status to be sung about, we went simply to mourn and sit there, then we were going back home to sleep—we were not singing. By contrast, at the funeral of a rich man, it was another thing. We would be very excited to go to his funeral to sing badong. If the funerals lasted three nights, the singers would sing three nights.

Another change is that today badong is mixed with other genres. In non-Christian ritual, badong was performed at five important junctures in the ritual, each linked with the shifting of the body.<sup>36</sup> From the beginning to the end, the round dance marked the shifting and signified the symbolic order of the deceased's journey to the world of the dead, of his or her separation from the living. The badong song underlined ritual stages, borders, and boundaries. Now, very often, the badong is not sung. Moreover, during the feast, new Christian groups come to sing Christian pop songs, which are not linked with the shifting of the body. Thus, the temporality of the ritual is not measured by the badong song performance anymore. In 1993, for an important funeral, a rich family had invited a popular musical band, the Messiahs, from Manado, another part of the island. The two singers and a guitarist learned a Toraja text and sang it on the ceremonial field with a microphone. After that, a child read a poem and then a musik bambu group performed. Such new sounds, considered modern, have come to be performed during the feast as entertainment.

In new funerals, no traditional priest is called to invoke ancestors or to lead the funeral badong by declaiming its verses. Instead, a Christian leader shouts through a megaphone, encouraging the faithful to pray to God. Moreover, with the disappearance of priests comes the absence of offerings, leading to a symbolic disappearance of the link between the world of the living and the world of gods. Formerly common rituals such as the lament, the platform of invocation for ancestors where meat and poetic invocation were shared, the megalith, the fasting, and the round dance for the effigy, are no longer performed.

What can the function be of the new funerary songs? They still constitute a social and artistic performance, but can they still help the passage of the dead to the other world? In other words, is the badong still efficacious in the traditional sense? In the ancestral religion, the destiny of the soul depended on the human actions of one's descent group. Now, in Christian times, it is God, not the living, who presides over the soul's destiny. Now, even if lyrics are changed and totally reorganized, does it really matter for the singers and for the dead? Don't they still sing badong and dondi' songs up to now? How could we measure the efficacy of the new lyrics on the soul's journey? Nowadays, it may be that quantity—of animals, of singers, and of guests—has replaced quality, that is, of the texts, and of the relationships between visible and invisible worlds. Thus, secularization has not necessarily led to loss of the social importance of songs.

For the participants, ritual time also has changed. As one informant told me,

In older funerals, people would stay a long time. Guests would sleep together some nights, whereas nowadays, people stay one or two hours and then go back. . . The other day, the badong dance lasted only one hour, whereas in the past, the lamenting dance would last all night and till dawn. People today have a conception of efficient time—they know the time. Before, they would stay all night to speak together, but now people who come to funerals already think of their work of the following day in the rice-fields or elsewhere. (Pa' Pong Masak, p.c.)

### Rising-Sun Ritual Songs

Musics of rising-sun rituals are today divorced from their original context. Simbong or nani, the large male and female chorus, is now sung for three kinds of ceremonies: house rituals, church ceremonies, and governmental festivals.

In former times, simbong was only performed if two buffaloes were killed; thus it occurred exclusively in the highest-level feasts of the rising-sun side (*merok* and *bua*).<sup>37</sup> Now, with the lesser sacrifice of twenty pigs, it is possible to perform the song in any ritual, as for a ritual when a house is being repaired or rebuilt. Interestingly, I once witnessed a schoolteacher replace the traditional priest, reading the old traditional text collected by the Dutch linguist H. van der Veen many years ago (Veen 1965).

I have made a few recordings of simbong in church consecrations. The original melodies remain but song texts have changed, praising God (*Puang Matua*—"old God") and Jesus (*Puang Jesu*—"God Jesus"), where they previously praised high-ranking nobles. Simbong is also often sung between rounds in volleyball competitions, at Protestant lectures, and between performances by bands with electric instruments. Church festivals, now performed to replace the old rising-sun rituals, have appropriated some of their decorum, animals, and songs.

During the New Order, imposed by Suharto between 1965 and 1998, the government wanted the different ethnic cultures to promote and build the national culture by transforming the religious music in folklore (*seni budaya*). Thus, in Toraja, not only does the church use old ritual melodies, but the government does as well, for example, in Independence Day celebrations (August 17), or to welcome an important visitor. Traditional songs in such contexts praise national values, featuring certain words which were leitmotifs of Suharto's Indonesia: *Kemerdekaan* (Independence), *Pancasila* (Five Principles of the Constitution), and *Pembangunan* (Development). The singing of patriotic songs formed part of the culture of the New Order, characterized by impressive pre-staged, well organized, nationalist ceremonies (Dijk 2003:41). In Tana Toraja, singers wore Indonesian flags on their heads instead of old ritual head ornaments (gold and human hairs from head-hunting). For the national day, the traditional song is converted into a nationalist song, as in the following text blending Toraja and Indonesian vocabulary (marked with asterisks), adhering to the style of traditional Toraja poetry:

Umpana'ta' kada misa'	Laying down the foundation towards a single word
untannun tengko situ	weaving unity like a plow.
Anna dadi Pembangunan*	So that Development be born
na kombong kamarampasan	and peace be fashioned.
Mennoto' lan Pancasila*	Rooted in the Pancasila
siulang Kemerdekaan*	linked with Independence.
Kurre-kurre sumanga'	Come, come, vital energy. <sup>38</sup>

The lyrics have been changed, but the traditional poetic form (two-line strophes plus a clausula) remains, as does the melodic structure. Although often instructed to sing such songs, singers are generally willing to sing any kind of song, if they are paid for it. They often perform for folkloric shows, at local competitions, or in village feasts celebrating the return of migrants visiting their families, and also for national audiences in Jakarta. Some of these new performances, far from the rituals in which these songs originally appeared, have acquired the character of sports exhibitions, in which traditional religious and social roots are no longer visible.

### Artistic Changes

The incorporation of rising-sun melodies by the state and by Catholic and Protestant churches certainly helps to maintain musical aspects of Toraja music. Parts of the old melodies are still practiced, albeit in new contexts. But if we look deeply, many other elements of both the music itself and the performance context have been significantly altered. On the purely musical level, five main changes can be identified:

- (1) The rising-sun melodies based on drone style are now reduced to one type only, the syllabic type (which is the one that renders the poems most comprehensible).
- (2) The duration of the performances has been reduced from fifteen to four minutes. Song leaders time their performances by looking at their watches. As a result, the singers cannot make the long vowel alterations, *basse*, in which they would move collectively from one vowel to another in waves.
- (3) In the new contexts, polymusical performance sometimes disappears. Instead, performers follow the Western stage format, with only one musical group being heard at a given time. However, polymusical performance may still happen at syncretic rituals featuring the mixing of Catholic and traditional elements.
- (4) Lyrics are impoverished as national propaganda or Christian homilies replace traditional metaphors. Only a single, transparent meaning is hammered home, whereas formerly the songs displayed much ambiguity of meaning.
- (5) Today, all *simbong* poems end with the same verse, whereas the songs formerly ended with different symbolic and enigmatic verses.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, Toraja traditional songs can be said to suffer from deterioration of texts and melodies through restriction of variety and duration. The intrusion of the Church and national politics has congealed music in a sweetened model, freezing a given tune in one version only.

Performance contexts have also changed in their own way. In house festivals, performers appear on a stage, in a formalized “folkloric” fashion. Singers rely on microphones to project their sound. Moreover, some singers were previously honored by a reward (*toding*) that signified a link between giver and taker. Today the *toding* is forbidden; instead, a plate is put in front of singers, and the money that accumulates on the plate is shared among all the singers after the performance. The singers’ attitude towards payment has also changed, in that they will not come to a festival if the promised payment (different from what goes on the plate) is insufficient, whereas formerly they would come, often compelled by family links.

Today, music of the rising-sun rituals can be said to primarily serve the Indonesian state, churches, or tourism. In 1998, twenty-four thousand foreigners came to Toraja. Tourism can be said to have positive consequences insofar as it helps the Toraja to be proud of their culture. But it also tends to turn cultural practices into commodities proffered to consumers. For tourist performances, dances and songs are performed on stage or in hotels. Since they are paid, the performers perform anything requested, enacting every kind of ritual music or dances except funeral songs.

In spite of these changes, some dramatic elements are preserved in Toraja funerals, including their setting and ritual practices. One might well ask what the continued significance of these elements is for Toraja people. In Catholic funerals, traditional artifacts such as effigies, banners, and sticks remain. Most Toraja no longer understand their significance, but are probably afraid to suppress these signs that still are believed to somehow ensure the efficacy of the ritual.

## Conclusions

Traditional Toraja music, aside from its generally unarticulated aesthetic importance, was significant in three fields. As ritual, it renewed social tradition and helped the flow of souls from west to east. As a local political event, it served as a means of enhancing one's social prestige. Lastly, it functioned as a symbol of regional identity. Is music still significant in these respects?

Despite musical and religious changes, rituals remain a part of Toraja life. Much of Toraja identity and culture persist, reinforced by the continued importance of ceremonial debts, names, genealogies, ancestor rituals, funerals, house ceremonies, and the moral value of reciprocal relationships between lineal and affinal kin. The Toraja still feel obligations to their family and to their community. To renounce one's descent is very rare. Thus, at funerals and house festivals, families continue to meet for ceremonies that become bigger each year. It is not surprising, then, that music, despite all of its transformations, carries on and contributes to collective cohesion. Music also has still a role in enhancing social prestige. For example, in 1993, I saw a whole Catholic family bless their house by inviting five choruses of *simbong* to play.

Regarding regional identity, I would say that today both traditional and Christian Toraja music (such as the *pompang* bamboo pitch tubes) serve as a flag to identify the Toraja outside of the region. Today, two dynamics are present in Toraja: the inclusion of aspects of Christianity in the ancient songs by changing their sense and contexts, and the incorporation of aspects of native songs into the Christian church music. Such practices may correspond to those suggested by Lorraine Aragon (2000:311), who writes, "Christianity serves as a focus for political unity among small-scale populations, aiding them in their negotiations with national majorities affiliated with other world religions."

However, the ritual music has undeniably been modified in a way that sacrifices its former efficacy and expressive potency. In the ancestral religion, music was an important realm of human activity, linking humans and immaterial entities and creating a web of symbolic, social, mythic, and artistic forms. In the new contexts, can the songs retain or regain the ability to symbolize, or to constitute interaction between different intangible worlds?

The changes in Toraja music exhibit a clear dichotomy between traditional and modern, as the changes were provoked by interference of an ideological nature. With the arrival of missionaries who brought Western musical idioms, forbidding some songs and modifying others, changes were imposed by outsiders and accepted by the Toraja. Most likely the changes were accepted because they were associated with a foreign life-style, perceived as superior and reinforced by the national values: an education-modernity-democracy complex very different from the traditional social system.

Today, apart from a few anthropologists, the only people who seem to be interested in the old culture are the working groups from the old Protestant Church, such as Gereja Toraja. They collect, write down, and publish books of traditional religious speeches (Sarira n.d.). Very few people are in fact concerned about the survival of Toraja music. There is no cultural center or library of Toraja culture. The local radio does not broadcast any traditional music, instead favoring spiritual songs.

What should be then our involvement as ethnomusicologists? Should we cooperate with the new powers, in order to help them to maintain some of the old musical idiom in new contexts such as local radios, schools, and new feasts? Alternately, should we remain detached observers, waiting for the future to show if the replacement of the traditional divinities by Jesus can manage to provide a context for the dynamic rearticulation of traditional music, such that it might again serve as more than entertainment or a regional symbol?

## Acknowledgments

Warm thanks go to Philip Yampolsky, Peter Manuel, Michael Tenzer, and David Lerouge, who helped me to improve this paper.

## Notes

1. Philip Yampolsky also presented a paper for the 1998 Annual Meeting of the Association of Asian Studies entitled "Inculturation Songs of the Catholic Church in Indonesia."

2. Before 1930, musical data about neighboring areas can be found in Adriani and Kruijt ([1912-1914] 1950), Kaudern (1927, 1929) and Kunst (1942). These sources give some useful particular details on instruments and dances. After 1930, other data, somehow more reliable, can be found in Holt and de Maré 1939. A few recordings have been published, including *Music of Sulawesi* (Folkways FE 4351, 1973), *Les Musiques de Célèbes (Indonésie): Musique Toraja et Bugis* (Société Française de Production Phonographique 72.906, 1976), and more recently, three CDs, of which one focuses exclusively on the Toraja (*Indonésie, Toraja. Funérailles et Fêtes de Fécondité* [CNRS-Musée de l'Homme: Le Chant du Monde LDX 274 1004, 1995]), and the others focus on Sulawesi (*Music of Indonesia Vol. 15: South Sulawesi Strings* [Smithsonian Folkways SF CD 40442, 1997], and *Music of Indonesia Vol. 18: Sulawesi: Festivals, Funerals and Work* [Smithsonian Folkways SF CD 40445, 1999]). Oral literature has also been studied, in Veen 1965 and 1966.



3. If it is not yet possible to define musical Austronesian features, we may nevertheless say that Toraja music belongs to a musical complex that may be identified in inland and mountainous areas by such features as: the predominance of choral singing, with distinctive scales (in South and Central Sulawesi, and the Lesser Sunda islands); the use of a set of tuned instruments, including bamboo tubes, wooden keys, rocks, xylophones, gong rows, and drums (in Kalimantan, Sumatra, Sulawesi, Eastern Indonesia); and private singing, or solo playing of a soft instrument (such as a tube-zither, flutes, jew's harp, mouth organ, or boat lute). See Rappoport 2000 and the CD set *Music of Indonesia* (Smithsonian Folkways, Vols. 1–20).

4. Musics from the “Indianized cultures” (Java, Bali, parts of Sumatra, and south Borneo) feature gamelan music, different performing arts such as wayang, puppet theater, and masked dance (*topeng*), accompanied by gamelan, *macapat* poetry, and often the *ronggeng* dance. About the Indianization of these areas and its influence on art and culture, see Lombard 1990.

5. See, e.g., the similarities evident in *Music of Indonesia Vol. 8: Vocal and Instrumental Music from East and Central Flores* (Smithsonian Folkways SF CD 40 424), and *Music of Indonesia Vol. 9: Vocal Music from Central and West Flores* (Smithsonian Folkways SF CD 40 425).

6. My data derive from my fieldwork conducted since 1993 in the Toraja Sa'dan region, numbering twenty-one months in the course of several stays, mainly in the northern and western part of Sa'dan Toraja region.

7. The house, approximately sixty feet long, stands on piles, consisting of curved roof, walled inner rooms, and rectangular base. Only one family is supposed to live inside. The rice barn, a smaller replica of the house, also stands also in front each house. See Kis-Jovak et al. 1988 and Waterson 1991.

8. For example, the living must not sleep with their heads to the south, because south is related to death.

9. Henceforth in this paper, for convenience, I will sometimes use “east” for the rising-sun rituals and “west” for the setting-sun rituals.

10. The Toraja are organized in three classes in the north and four classes in the south.

11. Ethnologist Hetty Nooy-Palm (1986:152–53) translates *pembalikan* as “conversion.” If conversion means to change direction, it does not indicate the reversal implicit in the word *bali*, meaning to invert in the opposed direction.

12. According to a song leader, a good vocal ensemble has to extinguish or to smooth all differences.

13. See Rappoport 1999. An audio example can be found in track 7, CD2 of the CD *Les Danses du Monde* (CNRS-Musée de l'Homme: Le Chant du Monde CNR 574 1106.07, 1998), in which two choruses of *simbong* and *nani* are juxtaposed.

14. My “father,” Lumbaa, is probably one of the last rising-sun traditional priests (*burake tattiku*) from the north, and a great master of language and ritual. His eight children are all Christianized and have moved far away to Malaysia or Irian Jaya. I have known him since 1993; in 2000, he spent a full night choosing new ancestral names for me, my daughter and my husband, then calling me *Rante Datu*, “Queen of Earth,” my daughter *Lai' Tasik*, “Girl of the Sea,” and my husband *Tangke Langi'*, “Branch of the Sky.” For our adoption ritual, he sacrificed a chicken, gave the best parts to the gods, and covered our fronts with chicken blood (*toding*).

15. Series of homologies are given in detail in Rappoport 1997:418. Some binary opposites are also found in Nooy-Palm 1986:322.

16. See Bigalke 1981 and Volkman 1985, who writes that “Not until the late 1950s did fears of the *to sallang* (Muslims) converge with increasingly strong Christian education to produce massive conversions in the highlands” (1985:37).

17. The first Catholic School (Christelijke Toradja School) was built later, in 1937, and up to now, Christian Catholicism is less important than Protestantism.

18. Zending meaning “mission.”

19. See Bigalke 1981.

20. Four Christian wings were in place at that time: Calvinist, Lutheran, Remonstrant, and

Mennonite (Pelras 1972). After 1949, the Toraja Church became independent from the Dutch Calvinist Church.

21. The text of this lecture, "Conferentie: Toean<sup>2</sup> pendeta, Goeroe<sup>2</sup>, Indjil, beberapa goeroe kepala sekolah dan beberapa penatoea dari Res: Rantepao dan Makale dengan pemerintah di kantor" (Conference: Ministers, Catechists, some School Teachers, and some Old Men), held in Rantepao, 1929, was given to me by Urbanus Tongli.

22. At the bua' feast I attended in 1993, I did not witness any particular lewdness aside from jokes of the to minaa.

23. As the old priests are forbidden; in their stead families call "a good speaker," who is usually invited for weddings, funerals, and house festivals. He is not a specialist of the ritual, as is the to minaa, but he may be called *pandelo lila* or "trilling tongue."

24. The songbooks are: *Soera' pa' poedian: Napopenani to sarani lan tondok Toraja* (Voice of Praising: Songs of the Christian in Toraja Country); Naoki' Pangokiranna J. Bout dio Huizen; and *Zangbundel in de Tae-taal ten gebruike van school, huisgezin en gemeente (Soera' Penanian, passikola sia to sarani dio tondok Toraa) Gereformeerden Zendingsbond* (Songbook for Schools, Families and Towns, Union of Reformed Missionaries), 1927.

25. Anthropologist Nigel Barley ([1988] 1989:79) describes in a very colorful way the consequences of Christianization on music, writing,

Christianity is a religion with many faces. It may be frowzily ceremonial, embarrassingly emotional, frostily ascetic. Each culture takes what it likes from the religion it is offered. In the export of date-expired religions from the West, one factor has constantly impressed the Torajans about Christianity—the possibility of forming choirs. Their traditional religion makes much use of choral singing in an extensive repertoire of songs for all occasions. The arrival of church singing and the guitar have allowed this ancient root to blossom. In the evening, Torajan resound to the strum of instruments and the lilt of voices. On Sundays, they shake to the power of flexed vocal cords.

26. Fritz Basiang was one of the composers of these devotional, Toraja-language songs (as are presented, for example, on the locally distributed cassette "Lagu-Lagu Rohani Toraja. Efata. Evi, Ute, Basiang").

27. For the making of such tubes, see Patadungan 1973:68–69.

28. The Indonesian word *inkulturasi* means here to introduce traditional culture in church ceremonies. According to Minister Kobong (p.c.), whereas the Protestant Church is oriented towards "contextualization," introducing Church values into native concepts, the Catholic Church aims more for towards "enculturation," bringing native concepts into the Church. A representative Christian songbook is *Petoendan: Soera' Kareba Kasaranian Illalan Tondok Toraja, Mesoen dio mai Zending Christ. Gereformeerde Kerk dio Mamasa Anna Pitoe Oelena Saloe*. (Awakening: Letter of the Christian News in Toraja land), issued from Zending Christ Reformed Church at Mamasa and Pitu Ulunna Salu.

29. In Europe, this was the subject of many debates in the sixteenth century (cf. Weber 1982).

30. Perhaps this is due to the ever-increasing number of people attending the Pentekosta Church, that has actually nothing to do with the goals of the "inculturative" songs of the Gereja Toraja (Reformed Calvinist Church).

31. For discussion of Indonesianization, see Sutton 2002 and Picard 2002.

32. In 1993, Lisu, a sixteen-year-old college girl who would return home to the mountains every Saturday from town, told me how she hated the old rituals of her father and grandfathers, and how the money wasted on them could be better used to educate children. She regarded the people who still performed them to be "backward and dirty."

33. Becker ([1972] 1980:36) cites two Javanese saying,

We are no longer tied to provincial music, whether Javanese gamelan, Sumatran music or the music of other islands. Our new soul prefers music that can portray the turbulence of the soul, the contrasts of life and thought, feelings of ecstasy, not merely relaxation, en-

tainment while chatting and eating friends peanuts as is usual with our indigenous music. If Jaap Kunst . . . says that most of our music which is loved and praised has a magico-religious quality, we say we no longer enjoy music which is magical and primitive, and our religious feelings have changed.

34. Sometimes also, to supplement the church's narrative song, the guests are given a small written text describing the life of the deceased, and a poetic portrait of the deceased, and some spiritual songs.

35. The Bible is cited to support this reform: "The Christ is a God that come to save everyone and not only for one group only" (John 3:16, in Sampe 1992:108).

36. Badong was performed before and after the dead were transported down from house to rice granary, from rice granary to the center of the courtyard, then from the courtyard to the ceremonial field, and lastly, from ceremonial field to burial place.

37. In 1993, there was a great traditional *bua'* feast where the song *simbong* should have been sung. But the family had no money to invite a group of singers, so the five or six traditional priests had to sing the song alone in the house. The irony is that now, since Christians are usually richer than adherents of the old religion (who are usually elderly), it is mainly the Christians who can afford to invite singers for any kind of feasts, provided that it is on the right side.

38. Recorded at Ulusalu, on 17 August 1993, for the celebration of Independence. The English translation has been done with Stanislas Sandarupa.

39. See Rappoport 1997.

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