

Exploration Aesthetic Values and Meaning Local Wisdom of Tongkonan Traditional Houses as Identity Toraja Tribe Society

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ABSTRACT

The traditional Toraja house known as Tongkonan is a work of aesthetic expression and architectural image of the Toraja tribe that has the value and meaning of local wisdom in its architectural design. This study aims to further study the Tongkonan house and explore the aesthetic value and meaning of local wisdom contained in the Tongkonan traditional house as the identity of the Toraja tribal community. With qualitative research methods and data collection techniques using library studies from several sources of documents or literature related to the research topic, it can be seen if visually, the architectural design construction of the Toraja traditional house (Tongkonan) consists of the legs formed by wooden poles, the body part which contains the spaces that are lined up and the upper part is a roof made of bamboo which is divided into two and arranged overlapping each other. Each of its components is considered to have visual and ritual elements that have symbolic meaning, both in the form of the Tongkonan itself as a whole and in its complementary visual elements. From the results of this study, it can be concluded that the Tongkonan house is not only a residence for the Toraja people, but in it there are various functions and meanings that cover all aspects from belief to life which become an identity for the Toraja people themselves. both in the form of Tongkonan itself as a whole and in the complementary visual elements. From the results of this study, it can be concluded that the Tongkonan house is not only a residence for the Toraja people, but in it there are various functions and meanings that cover all aspects from belief to life which become an identity for the Toraja people themselves.

KEYWORDS

Aesthetics;
Value and Meaning;
Local Wisdom;
Toraja;
Tongkonan House

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1. Introduction

Indonesia is a multicultural country that has 1,340 tribes and 2,500 regional languages (Sitokdana, Tanone, and Tanaem 2019). As a multicultural country, each region of Indonesia has a unique and distinctive cultural diversity (Prabowo et al, 2015: 51). This cultural diversity gave birth to various local wisdoms. Local wisdom is a positive habit that exists between humans and nature or the surrounding environment, which have values and become characteristics of certain communities (Tondi and Iryani 2018), (Sunarmi 2021). Meanwhile, according to (Meutia and Araby 2020) local wisdom is knowledge contained in society as a result of a lifestyle that is balanced with nature. From the several definitions of local wisdom, a common thread can be drawn regarding local wisdom, namely knowledge or habits that are passed down from generation to generation and have values that are characteristic of certain communities. Local wisdom is closely related to community culture. The cultural diversity of the local community can be seen from the existence of traditional houses owned by the local community which are

almost in every corner of the country. A traditional house is a building that has a form, structure and function that has its own characteristics (Sunarmi, Kusmadi, and Sumarno 2017). Traditional houses are often inherited by their owners from generation to generation from the previous generation to the present. Traditional houses are usually used by local people to carry out various social and religious activities. In the construction of traditional houses, the local community usually uses the same techniques and materials as the previous community, which reflects that the traditional house is formed based on the traditions that already exist in the local community (Haripoza 2016).

One of the traditional houses that has a strong local wisdom value and meaning is Tongkonan House. Tongkonan house is one of the traditional houses originating from Toraja with distinctive features and characteristics. Toraja itself is one of the ethnic Indonesians who live in the mountainous region of the northern part of South Sulawesi with an estimated population of around 1 million people, with 500,000 of whom still live in Tana Toraja Regency, North Toraja Regency and Mamasa Regency with riches and all the uniqueness of local wisdom. the culture it has. Most of the culture that exists in the Toraja tribe is spiritual which is symbolized in various forms of art including in the Tongkonan traditional house. All rituals related to this traditional house are very important in the spiritual life of the Toraja tribe. All family members are required to participate because it symbolizes their relationship with their ancestors and must adhere to the traditional values contained in the original Toraja beliefs. For the Toraja people, Tongkonan is not just a house, but Tongkonan has a very deep meaning. What is quite interesting is that every visual element of a traditional Toraja house has a basic philosophy that covers all aspects of life and is meaningful in accordance with the reflection of the ideals of the Toraja people based on local wisdom of Toraja culture (Patriani 2019). Based on the explanation above, this study aims to study further about the Tongkonan house and explore the aesthetic value and meaning of local wisdom contained in the Tongkonan traditional house as the identity of the Toraja tribal community.

2. Method

The research method is a scientific method used to obtain data with certain aims and objectives (Lasa, 2019:2017). In this study using a qualitative research method through a descriptive approach. Qualitative research is an investigative process to understand social problems based on creating a complete holistic picture formed in words, reporting the views of informants in detail, and arranged in a natural setting (Ulber Silalahi, 2009:77). Qualitative research deals with ideas, perceptions, opinions, or beliefs of the people being studied, all of which cannot be measured by numbers (Sulistyo Basuki, 2006:78). The data collection techniques used in this study used literature or document studies. This technique is done by reviewing or conducting research on several sources of documents or literature related to the research topic, both from photos, theories, journals, articles, papers and other written works that have been published as supporting material. From the data - the data obtained are then presented in the form of analysis. In addition to the form of analysis, the author also presents data in the form of research photos in order to confirm and clarify the results of the study. The last process is in the form of re-testing the validity of the data obtained by using data triangulation so that the data obtained is valid data and is relevant to research topics related to Exploration of Aesthetic Values and Meaning of Local Wisdom of Tongkonan Traditional Houses as Identity of Toraja Tribal Society.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Tongkonan House Concept

The term Tongkonan itself according to (Aziz 2004) comes from the basic word "Tongkon" which means sitting and there is a suffix "an" which makes Tongkonan have the meaning of sitting or occupying. Formerly Tongkonan was the center of government, customary power and the development of the socio-cultural life of the Toraja people as well as being used as a stopover and a meeting hall for kings and nobles of the Toraja tribe. Tongkonan houses cannot be owned individually but are passed down from generation to generation by a bond of one descendant or clan of the Toraja tribe. According to St. Hadidjah Sultan

and Karina Masya Sari (2014), a Tongkonan is not only a place to sit together and as a place to live for the Toraja people alone but also contains functions and meanings that come from the philosophy of local wisdom of the Toraja people which includes all aspects of life (Arrang and Agustang 2020). The function of the Tongkonan for the Toraja people is as a place for the family to perform ceremonies related to the belief system, kinship system, social system and so on. In addition, Tongkonan also functions as a place to discuss and decide on the rules in society that regulate the social interactions of the Toraja people. Then when studying the location and the ceremonies carried out, Through its symbols, it will be known that Tongkonan is not only a social symbol but also includes a symbol of the universe. Therefore, the Toraja people really hold the Tongkonan house very sacred. Based on the stories of the ancestors, Tongkonan was built on the basis of the Toraja people's respect for Puang Matua or the Creator in Heaven. This belief is called the *Aluk Todolo* belief. Thus, in making a Tongkonan house, it is necessary to think about spiritual art according to the way of life of the Toraja people in the *Aluk Todolo* belief.

3.2. The Influence of the *Aluk Todolo* Belief System of the Toraja Tribe Community on the Tongkonan House

At first, the Toraja people embraced an ancestral belief called *Aluk Todolo*. *Aluk* can be interpreted as a rule or ceremony and *Todolo* means ancestors or ancestors. So, *Aluk Todolo* can be interpreted as a belief from ancestors or ancestors (Said, 2004:26). E. Bernard M. from the Department of Tourism, Arts and Culture, Tana Toraja Regency, explained that *Aluk Todolo* is the basis of every aspect of the life of the Toraja people, including their customs. Thus, it can be said that *Aluk Todolo* is an ancestral belief that forms the basis of every aspect of the life and customs of the Toraja people. The embodiment of this belief can actually be found in the traditional house buildings of the Toraja people, namely Tongkonan. The teachings of *Aluk Todolo* became the basis for spatial planning and at the same time the discovery of the architectural embodiment of Tongkonan (Rahayu 2017). According to the teachings of *Aluk Todolo*, the universe (cosmos) is divided into three parts, namely first the 'Upper World' is at the highest level, *Ulunna langi* (head of the sky) is the abode of Puang Matua (God the Most High), who maintains the balance of day and night. in the world and is associated with the 'sun'. Which is something independent of anything, called *allo* (daylight/light) and identified as male, above, bright and good. Second, 'Middle World' is on the surface of the earth where humans live (*padang*), and are obliged to carry out offering and worship ceremonies in every phase of their life. In addition, this world is a meeting place between the 'Upper World' and 'Underworld' because it connotes harmony, mutual cooperation and most importantly represents the meaning of harmonization. In the belief of *Aluk Todolo*, harmonization is the balance of natural order, the balance of orders and prohibitions that regulate social balance, the balance of horizontal mobility and the balance between East, West, North and South. Third, the 'Underworld' is underwater, identified as inferior and bad (hell). This section is supported on the head of the god Pong Tulak Padang who supports and gives spirit to Tongkonan and human life on earth. This mindset is finally realized on a micro basis in the spaces within Tongkonan. The division of the universe based on the *Aluk Todolo* belief then became the basic concept for the realization of the Tongkonan house formation as shown in Figure 1.

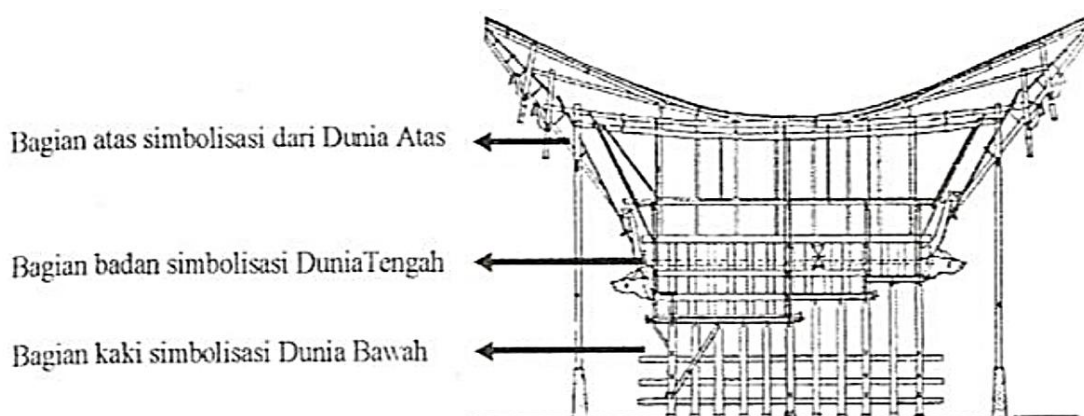


Fig. 1. The division of the universe in Tongkonan is based on the belief of *Aluk Todolo* (Aziz 2004).

From the mindset that forms the basis, it can be seen that Tongkonan is a stilt house with three main parts which are a picture of *Aluk Todolo*'s philosophical beliefs. Thus, Tongkonan house is a 'small world' (microcosm) of the 'universe' (macrocosm) as a cosmological view based on the teachings of *Aluk Todolo*. This *Aluk Todolo* belief also makes Tongkonan not only function as a residence for the Toraja tribal community, but Tongkonan is also a center for organizing ritual events in Toraja. Broadly speaking, traditional ceremonies or processes in Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi can be divided into two parts, namely:
a) *Aluk Rambu Solo'*

The traditional ceremony of *Rambu Solo'* is a traditional ceremony of mourning/death for the Toraja tribe. Literally in the Toraja language, *Rambu Solo'* means falling smoke, where the sun's rays begin to fall so that at first the implementation was carried out after 12 noon. Generally, the *Rambu Solo'* ceremony consists of 2 ceremonial processions, namely: a funeral procession and an art procession. The procession is carried out in harmony in a funeral ceremony that shows the respect of the Toraja people to their deceased ancestors, Figure 2.



Fig. 2. Ceremony Procession of *Rambu Solo'*. (Source : pasangmata.detik.com & lokalisme.id)

b) *Aluk Rambu Tuka'*

The traditional ceremony of *Rambu Tuka'* is a traditional ceremony of thanksgiving for the Toraja tribe. *Rambu Tuka'* in Toraja language literally means rising smoke or upward direction, meaning that the smoke of the offering rises to the sky before the sun reaches the zenith. *Rambu Tuka'* signs are often also called *Aluk Rampe Matallo*, rites in the east. The offerings are addressed to the gods and to the ancestors who have become gods, who are now believed to inhabit the northeastern sky. The rites in *Rambu Tuka'* are interpreted as a form of request to get blessings and all the necessities of life in this world. Some of the events included in *Rambu Tuka'* are *Ma' Bua'*, *Merok*, *Mangrara Banua*, and *Rampanan Kapa'*. The activities of the two traditional ceremonies, namely *Aluk Rambu Solo'* and *Aluk Rambu Tuka'*, were mostly carried out in the Tongkonan House area, Figure 3.



Fig. 3. Ceremony Procession of *Rambu Tuka'* (Source : rhimanovel.wordpress.com & jendela-seni.blogspot.com)

3.3. Tongkonan House Parts and Their Functions

Based on the *Aluk Todolo* which is the ancestral belief of the Toraja people and the cosmology of traditional Toraja houses, the vertical structure of the tongkonan and its structural system is divided into 3 main parts (Sir 2015), namely:

a) Bottom house/leg (*Sulluk Banua*)

The bottom of this Tongkonan is under the house which is formed from the connection between the pillars that support the body of the house (*kale banua*) and tendrils (*roroan*), Figure 4. In the past, this pit functioned as a place to confine animals, namely buffalo and pigs at night and did not have a religious function. The natural stone used as the foundation shows that they are trying to protect the wooden poles from groundwater and prevent the building from sinking because of the soft soil (Suwaondo, 1982:77)



Fig. 4. *Sulluk Banua* (Source : tamaramustikasari.blogspot.com)

b) Body House (*Kalle Banua*)

The Tongkonan body house according to the teachings of *Aluk Todolo* is the center of all aspects of life concerning aspects of livelihood, daily activities, holding ceremonies in the belief system and the place where the extended family of the Tongkonan owner conducts deliberations (Stephany 2009). Tongkonan body parts consist of spaces lined up from north to south and are rectangular in shape. The front room (*Tangdo*) facing the north serves as a resting room and bed for family guests as well as having a religious function as a place to present sacrifices at the offering ceremony and worship of *Puang Matua*. The middle room (*Sali*) is wider and slightly lower than the other rooms. It is divided into the right (east) part where the sacrifices are offered in the *Aluk Rambu Tuka'* ceremony and the left (west) for the animal sacrifices in the *Aluk Rambu Solo'* ceremony. In the western part of Sali there is one small window and one larger window which its use is for removing corpses that are stored when they are about to be ceremonious. The door is a special door that is provided for the entry and exit of the spirits of the ancestors. In addition to religious functions, this room also functions as a family bed, kitchen, dining area and a place for family gatherings or deliberation. The back room (*Sumbung*) which is also commonly referred to as *Pollo Banua* (tail of the house) is located in the south and is used as the bed for the nuclear family, Figure 5.

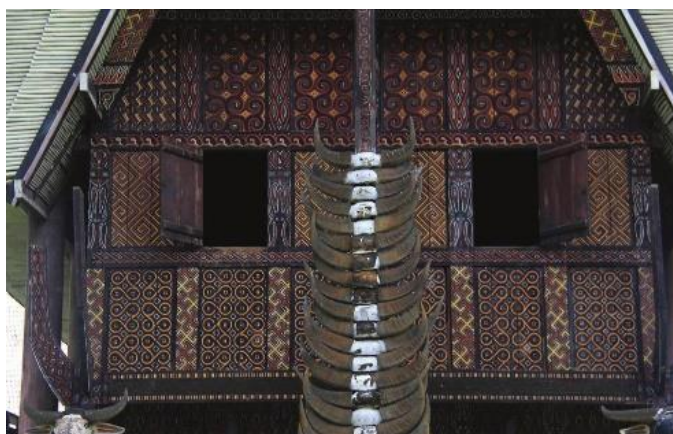


Fig. 5. *Kalle Banua* (Source : docplayer.info)

For the Toraja people, the direction of the wind is considered as something sacred. The direction of the wind affects the Toraja people in making decisions. This can be seen in the spatial arrangement of the Tongkonan house which is based on the division of the four cardinal points as shown in Figure 6 (Patriani 2019).

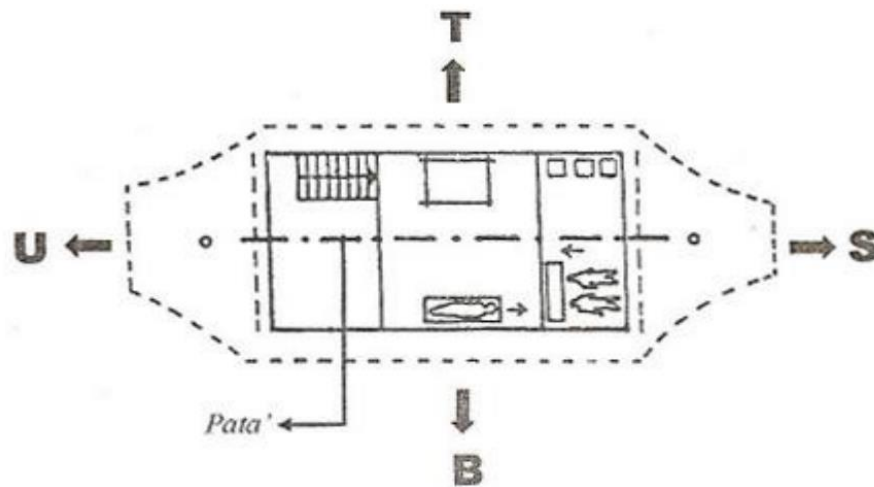


Fig. 6. The cardinal directions in the Tongkonan spatial arrangement (Source : Said, 2004)

The spatial arrangement is arranged in such a way as to facilitate the implementation of the rituals in Tongkonan. The following is a description of the embodiment of *Aluk Todolo's* belief in each cardinal direction towards spatial planning in Tongkonan: The northern part is called *Ulungna lino* (head of the world) or *lindo puang* (face of kings). This section is connoted as the head, the front, the top, the part that is respected and is considered a sacred place where *Puang Matua* resides as well as the place where the gods enter the house. This area is located at the front of the Tongkonan and in carrying out the ritual functions for the ceremony of offering and worshipping *Puang Matua*. The southern part is called *Pollo'na lino* (tail of the world) connoted as feet, bottoms, tails, followers and dirty places. For the Toraja people, in the south there is *Puya* realm where the spirits of the dead are guarded by *Pong Lalondong* (god of death). This section is used as a sleeping area for family members where the position of the head according to their belief must face north to get the blessing of *Puang Matua* to avoid all kinds of diseases. The eastern part where the sun rises, *rampe mata allo* (*rampe*: side, *allo*: sun) is connoted as 'life', representing happiness, light, joy, and life-sustaining activities—where fireplaces are placed. Its religious function is as an area for the implementation of the *Aluk Rambu Tuka'* ritual, a place of worship for *Deata-deata* (rulers and guardians of the earth) and is located on the right side of the Tongkonan inner space.

The western part where the sun sets (*rampe matampua*), refers to 'death' and represents the dark element, position and all things that cause distress. The western part of this space religiously functions as a place to lay the body with the head facing south where the peaceful nature (*Puya*) is located and the place for the first ceremony of the dead to be performed in Tongkonan. In addition, it also functions as a place of worship for the Tomembali Puang (the spirits of the ancestors who have become gods or usually called (*todolo*) in the implementation of the *Aluk Rambu Solo'* ritual and is located on the left side of the Tongkonan inner room. The East and West parts are located on the right and left sides of the living room. The division between the right and left parts is marked by *pata'* (the wood crosses from the front room to the back and divides the body of the house symmetrically on the floor).

c) Top House (*Rattiang Banua*)

The top of the Tongkonan is the roof of a house made of bamboo which is divided into two equal sizes and arranged overlapping each other. Some Toraja people consider the shape of the Tongkonan roof as an abstraction from the shape of a boat. This is based on the alleged existence of 'boat' cultural ties brought by their ancestors. In addition, the relationship between the shape of the roof and the belief in *Aluk Todolo* is found in the community's belief that the spirits of the dead will use boats to sail to the realm of spirit/peace (*Puya*). This allegation is reinforced by the curved line of the back of the Tongkonan roof which has similarities to the curved line of the keel of the boat. There are also some local community

leaders who interpret the line and shape of the roof as a depiction of buffalo horns related to their belief in '*tedong garonto'eanan*' (buffalo as the main symbol of property). Rattiang Buana is functioned by the Toraja people to store cloth and heirlooms in the form of swords, kris, spears and so on, Figure 7.



Fig. 7. Rattiang Banua (Source : rumahmewahcantik.blogspot.com & wikipedia.org)

3.4. Ornaments on Tongkonan House

In the Tongkonan house there are ornaments in the form of carvings that adorn the wooden walls that have been processed into boards. The carvings that fill the entire body or walls of this house basically consist of five main carvings in Toraja culture called *passura'*. The carvings on Tongkonan each have philosophical values and meanings as well as placements that have fixed rules. The five main basic forms of Tongkonan house carvings are;

a) *Pa' Tedong*

Pa'Tedong comes from the word *tedong* which means buffalo. Therefore, this carving is in the form of a buffalo head. This carving is general so that it can be used by anyone and is usually carved on the wall supporting the body of the house. The meaning of this carving is welfare for the Toraja people, because the buffalo is the animal with the highest social value which refers to social status. For this reason, for the Toraja people, buffalo is used as the standard or measure of all wealth, Figure 8.



Fig. 8. *Pa' Tedong* carving pattern (Source : docplayer.info)

b) *Pa' Manuk Londong*

Pa'Manuk Londong comes from the word *manuk* which means chicken and *londong* which means male. This carving in the form of a rooster (chicken *sella' mabusa baba'na* and chicken *koro-koro langi*) is usually found on the front and back of the Tongkonan traditional house on the triangular top board covering *Rattiang banua*. Usually the rooster carving is placed on top of the *pa' barre allo* carving. Symbolizes wise and wise leadership, can be trusted, his understanding and intuition is right and always tells the truth, Figure 9.



Fig. 9. *Pa' Manuk Londong* carving pattern (Source : sunrise.maplogs.com)

c) *Pa' Barre Allo*

Pa' Barre Allo comes from the word *barre* which means rising / round and *allo* which means sun. The shape is like a sun circle. This type of carving is often found on the *rattiang banua* on the front and back of the house. Has the meaning of belief that the source of life and everything in the world comes from the Creator, and the owner of the Tongkonan always shines and shines that is timeless (eternal), Figure 10.



Fig. 10. *Pa' Barre Allo* carving pattern (Source : torajasatu.com)

d) *Pa'Sussu'*

Pa'Sussu' (line/scratch) is an engraving in the form of parallel vertical or horizontal lines with no variation and no color. This carving has the meaning that Tongkonan has a role in the customary area. This colorless line symbolizes the unity of society, Figure 11.



Fig. 11. *Pa' Sussu'* carving pattern (Source : atemalem.com)

e) *Pa' kapu' Baka*

Pa' kapu' Baka comes from the word *dikapu'* which means filled to the brim and *baka* which means the back of the basket. These carvings are in the form of basket covers that are often used by indigenous peoples to store property. This carving symbolizes wealth and nobility, and the owner of the house has leadership that is difficult for others to imitate and is good at keeping family secrets, Figure 12.



Fig. 12. *Pa' Kapu' Baka* carving pattern (Source : ettapedia.org)

In addition to the carvings (*passura*), the Tongkonan house also has an ornament in the form of a buffalo head made of wood using real buffalo horn. This decoration is called *kabongo* which has the meaning of Tongkonan, the leader of traditional power. Above the *kabongo* is placed a head to neck decoration of a rooster as if perched on a *kabongo*. The decoration is called *katik* which means as a rule of social order in the customary area controlled by the Tongkonan concerned, Figure 13.

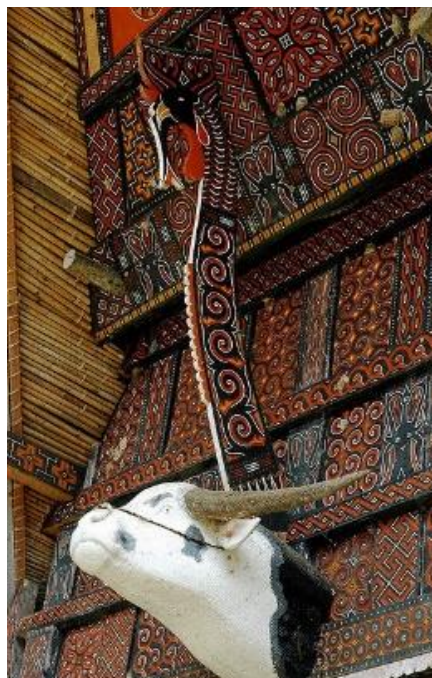


Fig. 13. *Kabongo* and *katik* ornaments (Source : kipbrispdr.org)

The existence of buffalo horns arranged in piles on the front of the house is also an element of decoration on a Tongkonan. The buffalo horn ornament in front of the tongkonan symbolizes the economic ability of the owner of the house. Every traditional ceremony in Toraja, such as a funeral, will sacrifice a large number of buffalo. The buffalo horn is then attached to the tongkonan belonging to the family concerned, Figure 14.



Fig. 14. Buffalo horn ornament on the front of the Tongkonan
(Source : hardianimalscience.wordpress.com)

Tongkonan House Type; there are three types of Tongkonan known by the Toraja indigenous people, namely:

a) Tongkonan *Layuk*

Tongkonan *Layuk* has a function as a center of customary power and a place for holding customary deliberations/important meetings of traditional leaders and compiling *alok sola pemali* (rules and prohibitions) related to social and religious issues of the community. This Tongkonan is occupied by the traditional leader or village head to live daily life, Figure 15.



Fig. 15. Tongkonan *Layuk* (Source : repositories.kemdikbud.go.id/)

b) Tongkonan *Pekamberan* atau *Pekaindoran*

Tongkongan *Pekamberan* atau *Pekaindoran* was established by the rulers of each region to regulate customary government based on the rules of Tongkongan *Layuk*. This Tongkongan acts as the manager of the customary government and is usually inhabited by nobles and prominent families.



Fig. 16. Tongkongan *Pekamberan* or *Pekaindoran* (Source : repositories.kemdikbud.go.id/)

In addition to daily life, Tongkongan is also used for family meetings when holding traditional events/ceremonies as well as being a place to judge someone if they violate *alok sola pemali* (rules and prohibitions).

c) Tongkongan *Batu A'riri*.

Tongkongan *Batu A'riri* does not have a role of power in custom, but rather acts as a bond in fostering family unity and inheritance. The structural form or overall form of the three types of Tongkongan traditional houses are similar, while the difference lies in the use of ornaments or the type of carving used and the social status that occupies the Tongkongan house. The most striking differences can be seen in the use of the *A'riri Posi* (central pole), the use of buffalo head ornaments (*kabongo*) and the use of the chicken head symbol (*katik*). These three elements are specifically intended for the Tongkongan *Layuk*, while the Tongkongan *Pekamberan* or *Pekaindoran* are only allowed to wear *kabongo* and *katik* decorations. As for the Tongkongan *Batu A'riri*, these three elements are not allowed to be used, Figure 17.



Fig. 17. Tongkongan *Batu A'riri* (Source : repositories.kemdikbud.go.id/)

3.5. The Meaning of Tongkonan Traditional House

According to (Fenn and Geertz 1974) culture is something semiotic or semiotic, namely things related to symbols that are publicly available and known and enforced by the community concerned. Because culture is a woven of meanings, and humans are animals trapped in webs – which they woven themselves – from these meanings. It is also mentioned that culture is contextual and contains public meaning - because it is accepted by all cultural actors-because it is appropriate, developed, and developed by cultural actors in and around their socialization environment. Likewise, the Tongkonan traditional house for the Toraja people has the meaning of symbols that describe the values of life in Toraja society (Pakan, Pratiknjo, and Mamosey 2019). Tongkonan houses are considered as heirlooms and property rights from generation to generation. The Tongkonan traditional house, which is full of carvings, has a meaning, which symbolizes the social status of the Tongkonan owner occupying the upper layers, such as getting to know a person's background or social status and surname just by asking where the Tongkonan comes from. Furthermore, it was stated that a person in a pattern of life which means that the mindset is manifested in behavior must be placed within the framework and structure that has been institutionalized in adat, because people are part of a community alliance rooted in Tongkonan (Kobong 2008). Therefore, Tongkonan House has become an identity for the Toraja people.

4. Conclusion

Based on the results of research and discussion, it can be concluded that Tongkonan House as a work of aesthetic expression and architectural image of the Toraja tribe has visual elements that are symbolic and full of meaning. This happens because the principles of Toraja people's life are guided by traditional values and local wisdom contained in the *Aluk Todolo* beliefs, so the existence of the Toraja traditional house or known as Tongkonan becomes part of their ritual life. Visually, the shape of the Tongkonan house design consists of the bottom/legs (*Sulluk Banua*) formed from wooden poles, the body (*Kale Banua*) containing lined spaces and the top (*Rattiang Banua*) roof made of bamboo, which are separated into two and arranged overlapping each other. Each of its components is considered to have visual and ritual elements that have symbolic meaning, both in the form of the Tongkonan itself as a whole as well as its complementary visual elements such as ornaments and some existing carvings. Tongkonan as a traditional house of the Toraja people is not just a dwelling but has various functions and meanings. According to the Toraja people's philosophy of life, the house has a broad meaning because the culture, attitudes, and behavior of the Toraja people are built in a building and its shape is also related to the historical background of their ancestors. Therefore, the Toraja people are very sacred and guard the Tongkonan house, because it includes the identity of the Toraja community itself.

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