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LIVING DEATHS: ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF DEATH RITES IN PAUBOKOL COMMUNITY, REGENCY OF LEMBATA, NTT

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ABSTRACT

Death is a part of the reality that will come to everyone. It is not a silly reality and it is not the reality that ends one's life, instead the reality carries oneself to the two-dimensional new life. First, dimension of eternal life that is personally lived by oneself and at the same time related to theology and the religion studies. Second, the dimension of social life among the one's living family and at the same time related to the realm of customs and culture. By the ethnographic methods, this research is more focused on tracing the practices of death rites to uncover the power of death to revive the community. The results of the research show that the death rites are aimed at the organization for better community to live together. Through the death rites, the relatives are asked to be introspective, open, and ready to reconcile with anyone not only with those who are directly in conflict, but also with all people who are potential for conflict as anticipatory actions.

A. INTRODUCTION

As the human eternal reality, the event of death has invited diverse responses from co-living communities. There is a theological response that struggles in religions.¹ There are scientific responses that holistically wrestled in thanatology studies² behind the partial responses in each scientific field. There are also cultural responses that flow naturally in the experience of human life that manifest in a variety of rites and cultures.³

In every religion, there must be a response to the death in the name of theological teaching⁴. In Christianity, for example, this issue has been

discussed in the context of theodicean problem.⁵ Death is discussed as part of the religious life paradox. On one hand, it is true that God is good and loving, perfect, and powerful, but on the other hand, the reality of death seems to break the truth of the faith. On the contrary, Al-Qurthubi from the perspective of Islam views death from a more positive perspective. Death is contemplated as an eternal secret that demands the depth of faith to understand it.⁶

Responses from the scientific field arise when humans are dealing with the event of death itself, especially in the moments before death.⁷ Discussions of medical expertise whether to fight for life or to let go are at stake here. The ethical

¹ Hiroshi Obayashi, *Death and Afterlife: Perspectives of World Religions*, ed. by Obayashi Hiroshi (New York: Preager, 1992).

² David E Balk David K Meager., 'The Essential Body of Knowledge for the Study of Death, Dying, and Bereavement' (New York: Routledge, 2013).

³ C. G. M Robben, Antonius, 'Death, Mourning, and Burial: A Cross-Cultural Reader' (London Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2018).

⁴ Fitria Rahmi, 'RELIGIUSITAS DAN KESEPIAN PADA LANSIA PWRI CABANG KOPERINDAG SUMATERA BARAT'.

⁵ Hipolitus Kristoforus Kewuel, 'Memandang Tuhan Dari Balik Pengalaman Kejahatan, Penderitaan, Dan Kematian', *Journal Pendidikan Agama Katolik*, 4.2 (2010), 264 – 278.

⁶ Imam Al-Qurthubi, *Rahasia Kematian, Alam Akhirat, Dan Kiamat* (Jakarta: Akbar Media, 2017).

⁷ Kfir Levin, Graham L. Bradley, and Amanda Duffy Kfir Levin Graham L. Bradley, 'Attitudes Toward Euthanasia for Patients Who Suffer From Physical or Mental Illness', *OMEGA—Journal of Death and Dying*, 0.0 (2018), 1–23 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0030222818754667>>.

choice of euthanasia is also an important part of the scientific bets to face the reality of death. In this context, science faces ethical problems; Whose death is it? At this point, the struggle for thanatology inevitably has to deal with the conscience, dialogue with culture is required.⁸

That is why, in facing this complex and difficult problem, Kung (2002) expresses some of his views on death in several perspectives at once, namely; medical, philosophical, and theological.⁹ The reality of death is not easy to understand. Each cultural group survives and actively puts meaning to death as a form of struggle against the experience of loss and deep sadness within them.¹⁰

Stevenson (2017) offers a different perspective that the reality of death needs to be approached scientifically to prepare young people with adequate knowledge about the reality of death.¹¹ Stevenson bases his studies on the context of the child's world; what do children need to know about the reality of death and when do they have to start learning about the reality of death? This will help children and also adults to think about death; how to anticipate and face it.¹²

The responses to death indicate the level of society civilization. There is something unique in each civilization. The uniqueness is a kind of wealth as the strength for anyone, especially for the community itself.¹³ Misunderstanding the reality of death will spay people from an important learning process about the reality of death.¹⁴

The individual dimension of death speaks about fate of the human 'soul' in the life after death. This is the field work and study for religion and theology. Theologians talk about the fate of individuals after death and then we know the particular terms like, heaven and hell. Heaven is a place for individuals who are considered as a good person and graduate from life on earth. They receive reward from God. In contrast, hell is

a place for individuals who are deemed to have failed or not successful in carrying out the life in the world. They get punishment in eternal life. They are considered to have gotten the good in this life so in the eternal life they get unfavorable rewards. Apparently in this condition applies the theory of life balance. The situation of eternal life is described as a reflection of real life in the world.¹⁵

Boli Ujan (2012) gives a clear explanation of what is happening in Lembata community. He describes the traditional processes of reconciliation as the community's preparation for facing the final court situation in the afterlife. Reconciliation steps in the real world are seen as the part of an effort to wash the sins and to ease the steps toward the journey to eternity.

The research results want to emphasize that cultural activities like in Paubokol community also emphasize the social dimension. It must be continuously processed in various events of their lives, including in the event of death. This apparently does not only apply in traditional societies, but also in modern societies. In this perspective, the reality of death can be understood as being permanent and the same reality. However, at the same time, reality of death becoming an open reality to interpret and given meaning by anyone in religious, scientific, and cultural perspectives.¹⁶ For example, Warren stressed that medical treatment in the work of the medical world though it is necessary to use a cultural approach for patients who are in dying experiencing.¹⁷

B. METHOD

This research employed qualitative method with ethnography. According to Spredly (1997), data collection is done by the researcher through several activities such as determining the research location, selecting the informants, interviewing, and making ethno graphical notes.¹⁸

This method requires researcher to live together with the peoples of Paubokol Community, Regency of Lembata since June to August 2020. Therefore, the researcher can obtain the data in three ways. First, through direct interactions which flow naturally in the rhythm of the people's lives. Second, through in-

⁸ Tashel Bordere, 'Culturally Conscientious Thanatology', 35.2 (2009), 2-5 <<https://labs.psych.ucsb.edu/~kim/heejung/pearsonkimshermanforum.pdf>>

⁹ Hans Kung, *Eternal Life: Life After Death as a Medical, Philosophical, and Theological Problem* (WIPF and STOCK Publisher, 2002).

¹⁰ Dairine M Pearson, Heejung S Kim, and K David, 'Culture, Social Support, and Coping With Bereavement for Asians and Asian Americans', *Diversity Issues in Thanatology*, 35.2 (2009), 7-8.

¹¹ Robert Stevenson, 'Children and Death: What Do They Know and When Do They Learn It?', in *Children, Adolescent, and Death* (New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 3-24.

¹² Claudia Lingertat-Putnam, 'Helping Children and Adolescents Think About Death, Dying and Bereavement', *OMEGA - Journal of Death and Dying*, 78.1 (2018), 100-101 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0030222817736401>>

¹³ Deborah Ascher Barnstone, 'The Kultur-Zivilisation Dichotomy in the Work of Adolf Rading', *New German Critique*, 36.108 (2009), 39-71 <<https://doi.org/10.1215/0094033X-2009-010>>.

¹⁴ Fikri Mumtazul, 'Pendidikan Kematian: Memaknai Maut Menjadi Sebuah Kerinduan', *Jurnal Mudarrizuna Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh, Indonesia*, 4.1 (2014).

¹⁵ Bernardus Boli Ujan, *Mati Dan Bangkit Lagi (Ritus-Ritus Pemulihan Menurut Orang Lembata)* (Maumere: Penerbit Ledalero, 2012).

¹⁶ Ricard Kalish, *Death and Dying: Views From Many Cultures*, (New York: Routledge, 2019)

¹⁷ Barbara Jones Warren, 'The Cultural Expression of Death and Dying', *The Case Manager Volume 16*, 2005, pp. 44-47.

¹⁸ P. Spredly, James, *Metode Etnografi* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1997).

depth interview with the informants whether they are randomly chosen or specifically selected in order to obtain particular information. Third, through researcher's observation which obtained from nonverbal experiences in some meetings and interactions with people and other things that provide clues and enrich researcher's information. For example, researcher's involvement in a death rite will provide him information that can be used to enrich his research data.¹⁹

Data processing is done with classifying or grouping the data which later sorted to find the relevant and non-relevant data for the research material. This step might still require the triangulation process or the clarification process of the field data either from the experts or the informants to ensure whether the obtained data are valid or not. After sorting the relevant data, the researcher writes a report that can be accounted for. Later, the researcher can also write other scientific papers as part of the research results distribution.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The death theme in living context of Paubokol community tends to be discussed around sin or guilt and reconciliation. Sickness is a part of the journey toward death and Paubokol community have cultural rites that will be done as healing efforts. When death arrives, various cultural activities are done as a visualization of people in the area who also reflect on the fate of mortal body and the eternal future of the spirit. The cultural activities after death tend to be directed as a form of togetherness and as an effort to reconcile in order to build a better coexistence for the living family and relatives.

1. Variety of Rites Before Death

If a family or relatives member falls severely ill for a long time, other than medical treatment, Paubokol community also try to treat him/her through cultural approach. The primary intention is the preparation of reconciliation (*tulu nua*).

There are two rites conducted as a preparation for the reconciliation rite (*tulu nua*) or rite seen as the conflict settlement rite from the cultural lane. The first one is *lagas nua* rite. This rite is intended as the early effort to distangled many problems causing a conflict or even the problems causing other person's death whether it is intentional or not.

Lagas nua ceremony is done inside the house of the sick and attended by all of the family and relatives. An intermediary or connector (*lala alap*) will come as a mediator from the conflicting side, and also *molán* or someone who is believed to have particular competence in the healing process. *Molán* is distinguished from *dukun* because, according to Paubokol community, *dukun* carries a negative connotative meaning like witch, while *molán* carries a positive ones which is healer and helping the settlement of a customs conflict within the people.

The involved parties in the *lagas nua* rite are all the tribe family member, especially those involved in the conflict. *Lagas nua* rite expects peace from them in order to prepare for a bigger and more specific rite, which is *tulu nua* rite. This rite is intended to fix everything that has been wrongly done, including customs violation as one of the healing power and more importantly *tulu nua* rite is also intended to cut the sickness curse, which is caused by that mistake, so it will not happen again in the future.

The second rite is *seri mirek*. This rite is intended as a form of empathy from the family members to the sick, despite the sickness comes from self-mistake or the mistake of other family or relatives, including the mistake of late ancestors.

Seri mirek rite is done by locating a candlenut in the right corner of a tribal elder family member for one night. When locating the candlenut, these words must be spoken; "*Ina ama molán matan kniring wakon. Mio lua ilur put kakem me mirek or. Nenga bletes blenam, lau kam orem anak. Sape lin lodo na sedana ena.*"²⁰

Tomorrow at dawn, before the sun rises, the candlenut must be cracked by the same person. If the candlenut is full or round, then it is a sign that the *tulu nua* rite will be held near perfect in solving the problem. However, if the candlenut is shattered to pieces then Paubokol community believe it is a sign of the *tulu nua* rite that will be held later cannot completely solve the problem. Therefore, it needs more consideration and discussion. After that, the candlenut pieces are chewed and rubbed to the whole body of the sick and he/she can take a bath after two days. Furthermore, if the candlenut happened to be rotten when being cracked, then the family must immediately gather and discuss as well as reconsider the intention of *tulu nua* rite that will be held. The people believe that it is a bad sign which must be considered before facing an even higher risk.

Such phenomena show that Paubokol community truly trust symbols. They will interpret

¹⁹ Raoul & Ronald Cohen Naroll, *A Handbook of Method in Cultural Anthropology* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1970).

²⁰ Wawancara dengan Bapak Thomas Igo Udak dan Lambertus Ua Ujan pada tanggal 28 Juli 2019 di Desa Paubokol, Kabupaten Lembata, NTT.

any phenomena in life as message that needs response. The negligence of responding symbols means failed in getting life meaning.²¹

2. Variety of Rites Surrounding the Deceased

In general, the activities after someone passed away will be done accordingly to prepare the funeral. Bathe the deceased is a common custom done by society everywhere. The custom requires male body to be bathed by male and female body bathed by female. However, among Paubokol community applies an uncommon custom. If the husband dies, the wife has the right to bathe him, but if the wife dies, it is the sister in law who has the right to bathe her.

The next rite is dressing the deceased. If the deceased is a man, then it is his father or brother who should dress him. But if the death is a woman, then it is her mother or sister who should dress her. Next to the deceased, placed a sarong of Paubokol community, which is *kreot* or the original weaving sarong commonly used by women if the deceased is a woman, and *nowing* or the original weaving sarong commonly used by men if the deceased is a man. Along with putting the clothes, these words are spoken, "*Towinga palenga mo ale lolo me untuk mojjp moe je alapsa no lewu nuba.*"

The rites of "giving" clothes and "placing" sarong next to the deceased are the beginning of the following rites, which are *owan* rite or provision of grave supply that later followed by the other relatives. The relatives will come in turns with mourning in different intentions. Every provision must be directly noted by the family as provision that should be replied equally. In particular circumstances, there are relatives who come with customary nuances. They come to deliver a custom debt and it is a sign that the family needs to consider the resolution later.

All the clothes later will be sorted by the core family. Some are put inside the coffin and buried with the body, but the others will be left and distributed to the relative, which is to the *bine makin* or the family from the sister of the death. It is a form of response because in *pnebo* in the third day, the *bine makin* side will sacrifice an animal as a form of respect to the *opu alap* or the family from the brother side.

The clothes that were not placed inside the coffin will be flapped on top of the body as a sign that the essence of those items will be still carried by the death to the afterlife. Later, those clothes will be hung around the coffin.

Therefore, the characteristics of exchanging customs in Paubokol community are revealed a little through the pattern of grave supply provisions and traditional ceremonies held in the

death occurrence. There are no free gifts. Every gift must always be returned. Gifts without return will be noted as family's debt and are ready to be revealed and billed anytime by the parties involved. Giving return in Paubokol community is a giving as in the concept by Marcel Mauss, which is equal giving with what have been received.²²

There is a kind of heart-to-heart communication rite to understand the condition of the family who live oversea; "*Ina atau ama. Amam, inam, kakam, wajimu yang no kriag ro alus re, nawa takuna olinga a. Ke mo jaga wekim di alus, Ake tiwa sugaw bae, eka ate da smeli tite. Mo tenar di olinga kei. ke mo geji pa ma jaga wekim di alus. Sampe amam, inam, kakam, wajim da olingi.*"²³

Toward the coffin closure and burial, a handshake ceremony among the core family with the deceased is held as a sign of saying goodbye forever, physically. This ceremony is normally started by the tribal leader mouthing these; "*Inaga/Amaga. Tite mojjb selama tunen pira me, tite ka ten snaren melan sama-sama. Ara me re mo molu. Pana alaus2 ma mengadapa alapsa. Pek kam bae. Susah senang, tue ma du blele kame.*"

After the tribal leader mouthed those words, the ceremony is continued with the coffin closure procession. The family entitled to plug the nails for the coffin closure is the *opu alap* or the uncle. Before the coffin is closed, *opu alap* will stretch a traditional sarong to cover the body and place the coffin lid, after that he will nail the coffin lid.

Furthermore, when the coffin has been nailed, some family members will carry the coffin and walk it to the synagogue. In this procession, sad church songs will be sung as part of the farewell and as a plea to God to welcome his/her soul in the holy heaven. The procession then continues to the cemetery for the burial ceremony. The funeral ends with laying the coffin within the grave and bury it with soil. After the grave is perfectly covered, on top of the fresh or wet soil a handful of dry soil is sown in the middle part as a preparation for *tagam wuok* ceremony which will be held in the third day.²⁴

According to the belief of Paubokol community, the death will give sign or symbol to the family regarding the cause of his/her death. After sowing dry soil, the tribal leader will mouth these; "*Eka ma mataj me re nora nuaja kniringa, atau eka nora ata wa do tupa tbajak mo re ma nokani we kama soi nubu bara.*"

²² Marcel Mauss, *The Gift* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

²³ Wawancara dengan Bapak Yohanes Swetir Pegan dan Gaspat Tala Lamak pada tanggal 29 Juli 2019 di Desa Paubokol, Kabupaten Lembata, NTT.

²⁴ Angelica D. Fajardo, 'Accordions Can Cry: Music as Healing for Latino Bereavement', *The Forum: Association for Death Education and Counseling*, 35.2 (2009), 11–12.

²¹ Ernst Casierer, *An Essay On Man: An Introduction to A Philosophy of Human Culture* (New York: Yale University Press, 1962).

The above statement clearly shows that the end of the procession of death among Paubokol community is an expression of curiosity about the causes of death as a door to reconciliation efforts for living people. It is difficult to understand why Paubokol community think so far when sometimes it is clear before the eyes that a person has died due to a certain disease he/she had suffered. This attitude can only be understood as long as we realize that whatever the reason, the reality of death is still a reality that is difficult to understand, blurred and constantly separates questions.²⁵

This communication and also the communication while waiting for relatives who have not yet arrived from a distant domicile, at the same time illustrate the intimate relationship patterns between Paubokol community and the spirits of their ancestors.²⁶ For them, the bodies of the deceased relatives may be destroyed, but their spirits are still alive between them and hence there is still a new relationship model as a sign that they are still related even though they are different from nature. That is why Paubokol community deeply respect the spirit and the ancestors. The cultural rites are the forms of the respect. It is made clear in the discussion about the relation of soul and body by Donceel (1967), as well as Leahy (1989) elaboration on nature and human soul.^{27,28}

3. Variety of Rites in Post Burial

There are three rites during the post burial. There is *bale osa* or the rite marking the mourning period, *tagam wuok* or the rite finding information about the cause of death, and *pnebo* or the rite clearing the memories or can be interpreted as the closing rite for the funeral. Through these rites, Paubokol community seems to be undergoing a process of restoration of grief because of being left behind by family or close relatives.

Bale osa is a mourning rite which held for three days and nights after funeral. The mat and bed that was last used by the deceased will be used as a symbol of the person presence during the period of mourning. Family and close relatives will take turns to accompany it. During this period of mourning, members of the core family may not carry out activities at home. Food

and drink needs will be served by neighboring family.

Bale osa rite is interpreted as a chance to reminisce and telling stories about the deceased. On top of the mat and bed, a *kreat* is placed for woman or *nowing* for man and also the casual clothes that are usually worn by the deceased. Beside the bed, there is always a candle that keeps burning.

While accompanying the mat and the bed, family members keep talking about their dead relatives who are sometimes followed by tears and remorse, if during their lifetime there are less pleasing occurrences between them. Regarding eating and drinking, they take turns at neighbors' houses.

The first day after burial, *tagam wuok* ceremony is held which supposed to be held on the third day. *Tagam wuok* in this phase is called *Bleket* which intended to obtain information earlier about the cause of the death.

In *tagam wuok – bleket* ceremony, early in the morning one of the family members is sent to the tomb and see a sign or symbol on top of the sown dry soil. For example, if there is blood symbol on the tomb and then it is interpreted by *molan* as a sign of murder has taken place, so the family begins to discuss to determine the answer. Choices of answers can be varied. It could be a direct murder by the involved; it could be by other family members; or even murder by the ancestors that have never been known by the family. It could also be due to indirect involvement by the person concerned or other family members in a particular murder case.

With this, families are expected to discuss until they find the answer. After feeling confident with a certain answer, the person who sent to the tomb earlier, is asked to return to the tomb to see whether the sign has gone or remain. If the sign is gone, then the interpretation of the cause of death is correct, but if the sign remains, then the discussion must continue to get the correct answer.

If the *tagam wuok - bleket* rite is not successful in finding the answer, the process is continued in *tagam wuok* rite on the third day. If on the third day they still cannot find the right answer, then the family will keep the mystery of the cause of death which could, at any time, take a life again. If the answer is right, then it will be re-clarified at *tagam wuok* rite on the third day or at *pnebo* which will be followed by further discussion regarding the problem resolution. The cause of death is believed can only be stopped asking for sacrifice if the problem is solved through customs in the context of *tulu nua* or reconciliation.

The next rite is *pnebo* which marked by some particular activities. The first activity is *basa*

²⁵ J Fabian, 'How Others Die—Reflections on the Anthropology of Death', *Social Research*, 39.3 (1972), 543–67.

²⁶ Sri Meiyenti, 'PERUBAHAN ISTILAH KEKERABATAN DAN HUBUNGANNYA DENGAN SISTEM KEKERABATAN PADA MASYARAKAT MINANGKABAU'.

²⁷ F. Donceel, J., *Philosophical Anthropology* (New York: Sheed Ward, 1989).

²⁸ Louis Leahy, *Manusia, Sebuah Misteri: Sintesa Filosofis Tentang Makhluk Paradoksal* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1989).

meka. This activity is carried out by nieces. They wash dirty clothes in a river especially the clothes of the deceased. They go to the river and come back from it without looking back, without talking between them, and without greeting the people they meet along the road. This is done because of the understanding that they are still in an atmosphere of sorrow.

The second activity is *lep latar* which is done as a teamwork between the nephews and nieces. The nephews pick up an old coconut in the garden without dropping it, split and shred it and gives it to his nieces or sisters to oil their own hair as a sign of the mourning period ending.

The third activity is *kedar knawi* which is done by the uncle and aunt. They must pound and clean the rice in front of the house. The skin is left scattered as a symbol that the remnants of wasted rice will grow and develop naturally a lot. Then the rice is cooked and after done it is put in a skillet or a place to clean rice as a beginning of the next activity which is *ka klok kdatek* or known as eating in a hurry and in irregular atmosphere.

Such activity will leave a lot of food scattered on the floor. The leftovers are believed to be part of the spirits of deceased relatives, especially those who have just died.

After eating, the event continues with delivering trays. In this event, the nieces are responsible to record, guiding, and delivering the food to the whole family. Other family members prepare the *pnebo* party aimed at the spirit of the deceased. In this process, the nieces will wait the food in the right corner of the house. The food is stored in *tenata* or baskets. When storing the food, father or the eldest child says this; "*Ina, ama, mio talinga porenga anem punasa me, we da do saing raing, ta paraw boy, diri tobe alapa, we na ato glaup bae.*"

The nieces are responsible to prepare, organize, and distribute the food and drink whether it is still raw or cooked. The raw materials that have been collected are cooked together by the whole family members together. After cooking, all food must be collected in the place or room where the nieces are at. From there, all food and drinks are distributed to every guest who comes.

Furthermore, there is *wai etik* ceremony which is done on the fourth day after the burial. This ceremony is intended to share the things left by the deceased including the clothes left from the grave supply. The items are distributed in the hope that those who receive them will always remember good services of the deceased.

The last ceremony is *lulum osa*. This ceremony is done by the nieces tidying up the mat and the dry clothes after *basa meka* ceremony. Those items will be stored neatly in the house. In this ceremony, the sister also prepare an animal.

Lulum osa and *wai etik* ceremonies are carried out simultaneously to strengthen kinship, and kinship as a symbol of mutually reinforcing after the death of a family member. The series of ceremonies is closed by the tribal leader saying this, "*Kakanga, wajiga, orega anaga, binajga makiga mio swaolmi. Tite nua kniri si gero jema jua be re tite pekena tite me lodo. Mila wala re no nora panawa kei, ke me tite bambe jema jua ta mojjip tite snaren melan e.*"

D. CONCLUSION

Death is an occurrence of limit in a human life,²⁹ but it does not mean that death breaks the life spirit. This research results shows several points as a joint learning to face the reality of death.

First, the reality of death must be accepted by all the livings. It is shown from the communication pattern of the Paubokol community with the spirit of the death. It is during the communication while waiting for the far relatives to come, while dressing the body, while saying goodbye before the coffin closure, and the last time on top of the grave asking for information about the causes of death. All the analogies used in the dialogues are the living analogies. Person who just died is not seen as helpless, but he/she is treated as a living person who are able to do something just like the livings.³⁰

Second, the reality of death pushes reconciliation and process of better life order for the livings. Starting from falling ill, the death, and the rites after death, almost all of them urge reconciliation, from resolving a misconception until the bigger case like murder. Those are intended to realize the concept of reconciliation in the *tulu nua* rite.

Third, the death rites among Paubokol community are more oriented to the significance of the livings. Death of a family member is only a media of reminder to together resolving the damaged life and make it even better. The spirit of the death is taken as the side effect of the worldly settlement from the problems of the livings. Maybe that is the difference of seeing death from cultural point of view which contemplate death from the religion window in Paubokol community. It is distinct from the African-American people in Omaha, Nebraska

²⁹ Karl Jaspers, *Perennial Scope of Philosophy* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1949).

³⁰ Edith; Adrian Coyle Steffen, 'I Thought They Should Know... That Daddy Is Not Completely Gone: A Case Study of Sence-of-Presence Experiences In Bereavement and Family Meaning-Making', *OMEGA—Journal of Death and Dying*, 74.4 (2017), 363–85 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0030222816686609>>.

which the death rituals are majorly influenced by Christian religion.³¹

Fourth, the reality of death strengthens the cultural competency to find strategies in varieties of rites facing it. In a similar way, DeSpelder (2009) embeds this belief in his class learning method where the materials are less favored or even boring. DeSpelder believes that in such situation the students' cultural competency must be elevated through varieties of learning strategies. Thus, what is less interesting or even scary can be favored and endeavored because the materials are beneficial for them.³²

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³¹ Larry C Menyweather-Woods, 'Death Rituals in the Heartland: African Americans in Omaha, Nebraska', *The Forum: Association for Death Education and Counseling*, 35.2 (2009), 9.

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