Tradition and Transformation of the Myth of the Origin of the First Humans in Toraja, Mamasa, and Mandar: A Comparative Historical Study

M Irwan¹, Th Enny Anggraeny²

¹ Master's Degree Student in Literature at Sanata Dharma University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia ² Lecturer in the Master's Program in Literature at Sanata Dharma University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Corresponding Author: M. Irwan, irwansyamsir17@gmail.com

Abstract: This research aims to examine and elucidate the tradition and transformation of creation myths in Toraja, Mamasa, and Mandar, originating from folklore and evolving into a historical source in Mandar. Toraja, Mamasa, and Mandar are three major cultural regions in the provinces of South Sulawesi and West Sulawesi, historically united by a common history that begins with the myth of the creation of the first humans. According to the origin stories, these three ethnic groups share a connection with the same first human ancestor, involving the creation of the ancestral figure believed to be the first descendant, the spread of descendants in the three regions of Toraja, Mamasa, and Mandar, and a shared historical belief. The research aims to analyze the types and motifs of these stories, identify similarities and differences, and uncover the values embedded in the myth of the creation of the first humans. The study adopts a comparative historical approach developed by the Finnish school in Helsinki. Data collection methods include field studies employing observation, interviews, recording, translation, and documentation. The research results provide insights into the tradition and transformation of these folklore narratives based on their types and motifs. The examination of the values within these myths emphasizes the importance of unity and cohesion among the three major cultural regions. A significant contribution of this study is to offer a perspective to Indonesia, a diverse nation, on the value of unity amid differences.

Keywords: Toraja, Mamasa, Mandar, Oral Literature, Folklore, History

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I. INTRODUCTION

The threat to the extinction of literature, history, and oral culture becomes increasingly apparent with the presence of economic globalization and lifestyle changes. We witness the gradual extinction of oral traditions with the passing of storytellers and folk narrators. Without genuine efforts to record and document them, we risk losing valuable information about the heritage of our ancestors in the past. Amid the fading influence of oral culture, there is a glimmer of hope with the emphasis on the importance of culture in creative economic production. Intellectuals turn back to their cultural traditions to reveal the uniqueness that can be elevated to the scale of creative economic production, including the richness of oral literature. The choice to record and document oral heritage has now become a condition sine qua non.

Stories about the first human are quite common in literary works, often serving as markers for the collective history of a specific nation or race. One example is the story of Adam and Eve, frequently referenced as the origin of the first humans on Earth created by God. The story of Adam and Eve is even believed to be true as it is a marker written in the sacred scriptures of Abrahamic religions such as Christianity and Islam. Interestingly, stories with similar motifs, set against the backdrop of the sky, earth, rivers, and the like, also exist in the narratives that have developed in the archipelago. The difference lies in the fact that these widely circulated stories in the archipelago are considered profane, merely entertainment for the people.

In the Eastern part of Indonesia, precisely in South and West Sulawesi, there are four conceptions of the first human (Idham: 2010), namely tokombong in bura (from river foam), tobisse in tallang (from bamboo), tonisesseq in tingalor (from a shark's belly), and tomenete in tarauwe (from the rainbow). This research will be specifically focused on the three major ethnic groups that are well-known: Toraja, Mamasa, and Mandar. These three ethnic groups have complex narratives about the origin of the first human. In summary, based on the narratives of local adherents in Toraja, the story begins from the sky. The main character is named Puang Matua, a deity considered to have created everything. When humans were to be created, Puang Matua brought a basket of gold placed in a gust or a pair of pipes. This is where Datu Laukku, the figure who became Pong Mula Tau, or the first human in Toraja, was created. After the creation of Datu Laukku, he descended to the earth.

Puang Matua gave him the Aluk rules, which means a way of life. Datu Laukku also met Tokombong in Bura, originating from river foam. Tokombong in Bura then became the partner of Datu Laukku. The marriage of Datu Laukku and Tokombong in Bura then gave birth to another figure named Pong Patimboro. Pong Patimboro continued the journey to Mamasa and then gave birth to descendants that ended up in Mandar. The next figure is Imanyambungi, who later became the first in Mandar.

The stories mentioned above, as myths, meet the criteria of at least being an imaginative construction of the society narrating them. However, interestingly, the mention of actual places and names of figures still persists in historical literary narratives in Sulawesi. In the Memorie Van Overgave, the archive of Assistant Resident Leyds (Poelinggomang: 2015), two figures mentioned, namely Pongka Padang and Imanyambungi, are considered as the generation leading 41 groups scattered in the West Sulawesi Region. This implies a transformation that occurred in the inheritance of these stories in the context of the conditions of society in each era.

Questions that then arise include whether, as usual, folk stories about the first human in the archipelago are merely entertainment? Can't these folk stories serve as markers of identity and reveal cultural values in their communities? How do traditions and transformations of folk stories occur? These questions can be the catalyst for this research. Folk stories are not just meaningless tales. Folk stories in the archipelago, such as Sangkuriang in Java, explaining the origin of Mount Tangkuban Perahu, the story of Lake Toba in Sumatra, explaining the origin of Samosir Island, and I Lagaligo in Sulawesi, the world's longest epic, can provide insights into the language, culture, and local traditions that are still preserved to this day.

Although Toraja, Mamasa, and Mandar are geopolitically separated due to being in different provinces and districts, the folk stories that have developed in the community become a history that binds them together. From the genealogy traced in these folk stories, the communities in these three ethnic groups were separated for the purpose of continuing their descendants, and this separation can still be traced in their history. This proves that the traces in terms of culture, traditions, and values of the community can be seen through folk stories.

As a heritage of oral tradition, folk stories are still valid as a gateway to understanding many markers of the community. Folk stories are usually quite complex, describing a region as a setting, as well as the characters and personalities involved, albeit with the imaginative touch of the storyteller. This is nothing more than to add an impression as entertainment so that the audience is interested in listening to the story. What is interesting is that one storyteller can have a different version of the story than another storyteller, giving researchers diverse references to see the codes embedded in the stories, which can then be tracked one by one in the community. The differences in versions and variants in folk stories are a common fact and a characteristic of oral traditions, allowing exploration by storytellers.

In this modern era, despite the richness of oral traditions in the archipelago, we must still acknowledge that the fruits of oral traditions, such as folk stories, are on the verge of extinction. The shift of society to various new media has caused our folk stories to be increasingly overlooked. This is even more threatening because the existence of storytellers in certain areas can be counted on fingers, and they may no longer be able to tell stories due to old age. Moreover, many storytellers are reported to have passed away, making it somewhat difficult to hear the original stories unless they have been passed down to their children and grandchildren.

The role of academic scholars, as researchers in the humanities, is crucial in overcoming these issues so that the heritage of our oral traditions continues to be researched, discussed, and published to inspire the spirit of the next generation. Toraja, Mamasa, and Mandar are three large regions in South Sulawesi and West Sulawesi that are regularly visited by tourists, both regionally and internationally, due to their exotic landscapes, thus significantly stimulating the local tourism industry. This, of course, cannot be denied as a way to introduce the region to a broader audience. However, research based on oral traditions will be a narrative contribution to increase public interest in the region. Because, it must be acknowledged that various tourist attractions, both natural and cultural, visited by many people, cannot be separated from the stories and myths that have developed in the community. These narratives deserve to be known and passed down as a wealth of knowledge about values and wisdom that can continue to support unity among regions and nations. This research uses the approach and theory of Comparative Historical to map the oral stories.

II. EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURE

1.1 Mythology in Human Civilization

Myth (in Wadiji: 2011) is a term that originates from the Greek word "muthos," literally meaning a story or something spoken by people. In a broader sense, mythology can also be interpreted as a statement. In English, the equivalent term for myth is "mythology," which refers to the study of myths or the content of myths. Mythology or myth is a collection of traditional stories that are usually passed down from generation to generation within a nation or community.

According to Levi Strauss (Ahimsa: 2001), myth differs from the common understanding of mythology. In the structuralist perspective of Levi-Strauss, myths should not necessarily be considered as events that actually occurred in the past. A story or history that is considered true by one society may be seen as a fairy tale by another society. Myths are also not sacred stories, as what is deemed sacred by one society may be regarded as ordinary by another. In Levi-Strauss's structuralism, myths are considered as fairy tales—stories or narratives born from human imagination, even though the imaginative elements may be inspired by human life. Fairy tales are a way for humans to express their thoughts, as humans have absolute freedom in reasoning. Many fairy tales we encounter are impossible events, such as tales of the clever mouse deer or the golden cucumber.

1.2 Historical Comparative Approach

The historical comparative approach (in Taum: 2011) is another term for the Finnish school that developed in Europe for identifying folk tales. The methodology of this research involves classifying folk tales, and this school uses two basic criteria: type and motif. Types are classified as the genre of the story, such as animal tales, legends, or anecdotes. Meanwhile, motifs are based on the concept or elements of the story, the actions of the characters, or specific objects. According to Teeuw (1984:288), the objectives of the historical comparative approach are: a) to demonstrate the relationships between various samples of folk literature; b) to reveal patterns of the spread or migration of folk literature; c) to trace and explain the origin of a folk tale; and d) to determine, as much as possible, the original form of a folk tale that has undergone various transformations.

1.3 Tradition and Transformation of Folk Tales: From Myth to History

Transformation (in Nurgiyantoro: 2010:18) is a change, a change in something or a situation. If the thing or situation that changes is culture, it is that culture that undergoes a transformation. According to Istanti (2010:243), the shift in nuances or culture is essentially a form of transformation that follows the times and the thoughts of its imitator. In addition, the imitator also integrates the "parent text" being copied with the situation and nuances of the time so that the result of the copying is accepted by readers in the present. If the society changes, the imitator will also adjust a particular work according to what can be accepted by them.

According to Josseling De Jong (in Koentjaraningrat: 1999:XII), the entire structure of society is closely linked to the belief system of the respective community, especially related to the totemism complex dominated by religious ceremonies in the form of initiation ceremonies and strengthened by sacred tales, whether in the form of literature or oral tradition.

History (in Gazalba, 1981: 13) is a depiction of the past of humans and their surroundings as social beings, compiled scientifically and comprehensively, covering the sequence of facts from that time with interpretations and explanations, providing an understanding of what has passed. Emphasized by Widja (1989: 9), history is a study of what humans have experienced in the past and has left traces in the present, where attention is primarily focused on the events themselves. In this regard, it is especially focused on specific aspects and the developmental sequence arranged in historical narratives.

1.4 Research Method

This research employs a field research method, specifically by selecting a particular place or region to obtain data. The study is conducted in the field where the informants are located, aiming to collect data for analysis. The research approach used is qualitative, specifically based on the approach of oral tradition research, utilizing observation, interviews, documentation, transcription, and translation.

1.4.1 Observasion

Observation The data collection process begins with observation, meaning conducting research in the field to observe the object under study. According to Margono (2007:159), observation techniques are used to observe and monitor changes in social phenomena that grow and develop, allowing for changes in those assessments. Observers can focus on specific moments, enabling them to distinguish between what is needed and what is not. Like most oral tradition research, the researcher in the observation process determines informants or sources that will support finding research data, including agreed-upon time and location.

1.4.2 Interview According

To Sutopo (2006:69), human sources are crucial in descriptive qualitative research as informants or sources. Interview techniques are necessary to gather information from data sources, and Taum (2011:239) divides the interview process into two stages: free interviews, allowing informants to speak freely, and directed interviews, asking pre-prepared questions to get a comprehensive and in-depth overview. In both processes, the researcher prepares a recording tool to document the informant's narrative during the interview. The type of interview used in this research is a free interview, letting the informant freely discuss the story being studied.

1.4.3 Data Analysis

There are two stages in the analysis this research. The first stage is tanscription. Transcription is the process of converting auditory data into written form. In Endraswara (2009:227), the stages in transcription include: Rough transcription: presenting what is heard through recordings or field notes as it is, without worrying about punctuation, capitalization, and so on. Perfect transcription: matching it with the recording. If there are unclear words, they are repeated until the sound is clear or meaningful. Text formatting, including punctuation, begins to be corrected. The second stage is translation. The next process is translation, which involves language conversion. In this research, translation will be done in two stages: first, translating literally into Indonesian based on what was obtained in perfect transcription, and second, translating into more formal Indonesian or easily understandable language.

2.5 Data Presentation

In presenting data, after collecting data using the above methods, the presented data will be in Indonesian. The discussion will then cover three stories related to the theory of historical comparison, presenting motifs and types of stories, and their transformation from myth to history.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1. Creation Myth of Man

3.1.1 Creation Myth of Man in Toraja

Here is the origin story of Toraja people based on the narration of one of the Aluk Todolo adherents, the ancestral religion.

Above the sky, the creator named Puang Matua departed to the west to fetch a basket of gold. Upon returning, Puang Matua formed a sturdy pot for pure gold, and a pair of pipes of the same size were erected in the middle of the sky; a pair of pipes stood on the top of the curved holder known as sauan sibarung. The creator placed pure gold grains into sauan sibarrung, and from it emerged Datu Laukku, our human ancestor. Allo tiranda, the ancestor of poison, La Ungku', the ancestor of cotton, Pong pirrik-pirrik, the ancestor of rain, Menturini, the ancestor of buffalo, Menturiri, the ancestor of chicken, Riako, the ancestor of iron, Takkebuku, the ancestor of rice. This is the process of the creation of our ancestors that occurred under the power of Puang Matua.

The lives of these eight creatures began above the sky. Puang Matua gave Datu Laukku a rule or provision known as sukaran aluk, which would be followed by the descendants of Datu la Ukku'. Datu Laukku then married Tokombong di Bura, meaning the woman from the Sa'dang river, who later gave birth to numerous descendants that continued in Mamasa. One of these descendants is Pong Patimboro. (Recorded by the author in Tallung Lipu village, Toraja, April 2023)

3.1.2 Creation Myth of Man in Mamasa

Here is the origin story of Mamasa people based on the narration of Aluk Mappurondo adherents, the ancestral religion of Mamasa. The Mamasa story begins with the name Pong Timboro, later known as Pongka Padang.

One day, Pongka Padang set out to explore the river to Tabulahan. He was accompanied by one of his children named Tammalilin. While they were journeying through the forest, Pongka Padang saw smoke rising in the distance. He felt that someone behind the mountain was burning something. They traversed the mountain on foot. However, Tammalilin, not halfway through the journey, breathed his last breath, and he was buried on the mountain. The mountain is now called Mambuliling. Meanwhile, when Pongka Padang arrived at the source of the smoke he saw, he met a beautiful woman who introduced herself as Torije'ne. Torije'ne came from the sea and drifted into the Tabulahan river in Mamasa. Pongka Padang and Torije'ne fell in love and married, giving birth to numerous descendants. (Recorded by the author in Balla, Mamasa, April 2023)

3.1.3 Creation Myth of Man in Mandar

The narrative in Mandar has been recorded in the Pattidioloang lontar, or the ancient Tetuah lontar. The story sounds like this:

One day, Pongka Padang descended from the sky and arrived in Sa'dan Toraja. Pongka Padang then went to Mamasa and met Torije'ne. Tori'jene gave birth to a child named Tometeeng Bassi. Subsequently, Tometeeng Bassi gave birth to Daeng Lumalek, and Daeng Lumalek gave birth to eleven children. The eleven siblings were as follows: Daeng Tumanang lived in Peurangan, Lamberesusu lived in Makka, Daeng Manganna lived in Tabulahang, Sambalima lived in Tabang, Pullaomesa lived in Ulu Salu, Taandiri lived in Mamuju, Daeng Palullung lived in Sendana, Todipikung lived in Malakbo, Taluwattu lived in Mambu, and she gave birth to three children: I Manriwa (the grandmother of the people of Matanga), Sappawiwa lived in Tawang, and the

third one lived in Mambu (the grandmother of the people in Padang). Topanibulu went to Bone, and Topalik lived in Lemo (Napo). Topalik gave birth to Tobittoeng, and Tobittoeng later married the son of Tomakaka Napo, giving birth to Taurra-urra. Then Taurra-urra married the daughter of Tomakaka Lemo, who later gave birth to We Apas. The marriage between We Apas and Puang di Gandang (the son of Tomakaka Napo) resulted in the birth of Imanyambungi, who became Todilaling, the first king of Mandar. (Recorded by the author in Mandar, June 2023)

3.2 Story Type Analysis

The story types based on these three narratives can be categorized as religious tales because they are related to beliefs in the creator. The creator, in a transcendental sense, is above the sky. The main characters in the creation stories of Toraja, Mamasa, and Mandar have three layers. Firstly, Puang Matua, the main creator who initiated the process by forming a sturdy pot and pure gold. Puang Matua then inserted grains of pure gold, creating the next character, Datu Laukku, the second layer who became the ancestor of humans. The continuation of this story involves the marriage of Datu Laukku to Tokombong in Bura, a female figure from the foam of the Sa'dan River in Toraja. This marriage gave birth to numerous descendants who spread to Mamasa and Mandar. Regarding beliefs, this creation narrative is believed by the Toraja community who adhere to the ancestral religion known as Aluk Todolo. Aluk Todolo functions as the rules of life that regulate the lives and deaths of the Toraja people and is still believed by the majority of them.

In Mamasa, although the local religion is referred to as Aluk Mappurondo, the concept remains the same, and the creation narrative is still regularly narrated by the elders of Aluk Mappurondo. In Mandar, although there is no longer a local religion as understood in Toraja and Mamasa, the concept is called Ada' Tuho, meaning there are customary rules that must be followed peacefully and complement each other, related to agreements between kingdoms. The names mentioned in the creation narrative in Mandar, including their regions, are essential to determine specific policies.

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From Toraja to Mamasa, the story type remains the same but is a continuation of descendants. Creation begins from the sky to the river in Toraja, and its characters develop on earth. In Mamasa, the story becomes more dramatic, with the conventional meeting of two human pairs caused by causality, such as the smoke from a distance that Pongka Padang sought, becoming the reason for the meeting with Torije'ne. In Mandar, the story tends to focus more on the mention of names of descendants and their places of residence afterward, including regions that have entered the geopolitical structure. The mention of names and important places in the creation narrative reflects relevant historical and geographical values in policies and social orders.

3.3 Story Motif

The motif of the Toraja, Mamasa, and Mandar stories falls into the category of creation stories, specifically about humans in this context. This can be observed in the sequence that begins with the narrative about the figure Puang Matua, believed to be the ruler of the universe. In the story, there are elements of specific objects such as gold, which later becomes the material for creating humans.

The first human or the first ancestor of humans is called Datu Laukku. Datu Laukku is created amidst the creation of buffalo, chicken, iron, cotton, and rice. At least, that's how the Toraja community narrates the creation of humans. This creation narrative then continues in Mamasa and Mandar as the development of descendants. The three stories from Toraja, Mamasa, and Mandar cannot be separated from each other because they are interconnected. This narrative can serve as a symbol of unity for the three ethnicities, even though they have been divided within the geopolitical structure of governance.

3.4 The Toraja, Mamasa and Mandar Stories as Myths

In the structure of the creation stories from Toraja, Mamasa, and Mandar, we can observe mythological sequences that provide mystical and mythical dimensions to the narrative. Some mythological sequences that can be observed include:

(1) Originating from the Sky: The narrative begins with the main character, such as Puang Matua, considered to originate from the sky. This concept is a common mythological element in folktales in the archipelago, creating a dimension beyond the human world.

(2) Bringing a Basket of Gold: The scene where a character brings a basket of gold becomes a mythological element that reinforces the irrational aspect of the story. Gold is used as the material for creating humans, adding a magical nuance to the process.

(3) Humans Created from Gold: The concept that the first humans were created from gold is a mythological element that signifies an extraordinary and magical creation process, surpassing the bounds of rationality.

(4) Marriage with a River Being: The story of marriage between humans and beings from the river, such as Datu Laukku with Tokombong in Bura, Toraja, is a mythological sequence illustrating the relationship between humans and magical elements of nature.

(5) Arrival of a Woman from the Sea: The arrival of a woman from the sea, as seen in the Mamasa story, creates a sense of wonder and connection between humans and the mysterious power of the sea.

(6) Boat Stranded on the Mountain: A boat stranded on the mountain is a scene that reinforces the mythological elements of the story, indicating the meeting or interaction between two different worlds.

(7) Marriage with a Woman from the Sea: Marriage between characters like Pongka Padang and Torije'ne illustrates the mythical relationship between humans and creatures from the sea, creating a spiritual and magical dimension.

With these mythological sequences, the creation stories of the first humans in Toraja, Mamasa, and Mandar become more than just historical narratives, involving elements that surpass rational understanding and opening a window into the mystical and mythical world.

3.5 The Toraja, Mamasa and Mandar Stories as History

In the structure of the creation stories from Toraja, Mamasa, and Mandar, there are rational points considered close to historical sources because they are measurable and traceable. Some rational aspects worth noting in this context are:

(1) Birth of Descendants: Although the story begins in the heavens, the sequence of born characters has a clear order. The narrative about the birth of descendants forms a lineage that can be followed distinctly, providing a structured foundation in conveying history.

(2) Mention of Place Names or Regions: The names of places or regions mentioned in the story still exist today and have become an integral part of the geopolitical structure of South Sulawesi and West Sulawesi. References to places such as the Sa'dang River, Tabulahan village, and the names of places in Mandar provide a measurable historical dimension.

(3) Human Dispersion: The creation narrative in Mandar presents human dispersion concretely, mentioning specific names and places that are not just imaginative but still exist today. This provides a strong basis for tracking the journey and spread of communities.

(4) Character Portrayals: The portrayal of characters in the story reflects common human aspects, such as Torije'ne's beauty as a woman. This understanding can be seen as a historical marker, depicting the values and identity of people in the past.

Through these rational points, the creation stories from Toraja, Mamasa, and Mandar not only contain mythical and mystical dimensions but also embed traces of history that can be followed and understood. The combination of mythological elements with measurable elements adds depth to the story and enhances its historical and cultural value for the local communities.

3.6 Mhytical Values of Origin

The narrative of the creation of the first humans in Toraja, Mamasa, and Mandar has consequences for the spread to various regions. Despite creating barriers, these communities found a political commitment that strengthened and affirmed their unity. In Mandar, the pinnacle of this political commitment is known as Allamungan Batu di Luyo. Allamungan Batu di Luyo serves as the stage for a grand meeting attended by kings representing the kingdoms in pitu baqbana binanga (seven kingdoms at the estuary) and pitu ulunna salu (seven kingdoms upstream). The fourteen kingdoms, stemming from the early myth referring to the descendants of I Pongka Padang, are scattered in Mamasa and Mandar.

Tomepayung (the one with an umbrella) leads the kingdoms of pitu baqbana binanga, with Balanipa as the center of power. Meanwhile, the kingdoms of pitu ulunna salu are led by Londodehata, affectionately known as Neneq Tomampu Raja Rantebulahan. The pledge of cooperation and unity was initiated at Allamungan Batu

di Luyo, with the pledge stating the joint monitoring of enemies from the mountain direction by pitu ulunna salu and from the sea direction by pitu baqbana binanga. The separation between black and white eyes symbolizes the division between the seven kingdoms upstream and the seven kingdoms at the estuary.

In this pledge, Pitu Ulunna Salu and Pitu Baqbana Binanga are likened to a single integrated eye with black and white colors. Allamungan Batu di Luyo, also known as Sipamandaq, meaning mutual reinforcement, becomes the root of the Mandar community's unity. As a symbol of unity that is continuously upheld, Allamungan Batu di Luyo and its pledge reflect the cultural heritage and values that shape their collective identity.

The pledge asserts that the scattered Mandar community in the mountains and coastal areas is one family or one kinship that cannot be separated. As written in the pledge, the Mandar community must support each other, strengthen their bonds, and uphold the good name of Mandar in the present and future.

IV. CONCLUSION

The narrative of the creation of the first humans in Toraja, Mamasa, and Mandar illustrates a complementary unity. The presence of creation stories in traditional societies in these three regions serves as evidence that, despite being separated by political boundaries, they still share a collective memory in their kinship processes. Even though these regions are divided by national borders, the memory of ancestral stories remains a unifying marker. The inclusion of magical elements such as the origin from the sky, the use of a gold container, and the creation of humans from gold, alongside rational points integrated with measurable historical sources, represents an intelligent transition born from our storytellers.

Folklore texts play a central role in building cultural continuity and identity. Through the inheritance of folkloric texts, younger generations can delve into the historical roots and values that shape their society. In an era of technological advancement and globalization, folklore texts become a central point that connects the past, present, and future. Therefore, preserving, analyzing, and passing on these stories are essential for a deeper understanding of cultural heritage, strengthening identity, and preserving unity amid the dynamics of changing times.

The role of the younger generation in discussing and passing down traditional folklore narratives is a key factor in preserving this cultural heritage. By continuing to discuss and respond to oral traditions, the younger generation can ensure that these stories remain alive and relevant in the future. Folklore, when lifted and discussed, holds diverse and valuable potential for the future. The transformation of these stories from imaginative constructions into historical records reinforces their existence as an integral part of the civilizations of South and West Sulawesi, represented by these three ethnic groups. Increased discourse on folklore is expected to engage the interest of the younger generation in responding to and preserving oral traditions as a precious treasure for the nation.

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