

The Tradition of Honoring the Death and Respect for the Corpse of a Covid-19 Patient in Manggarai

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Abstract. The Covid-19 pandemic has caused the death of loved ones. This study will highlight changes or shifts in the implementation of traditional rituals in honoring the corpses caused by Covid-19 in Manggarai. Through a literature approach and field studies, this research found that: 1) the Manggarai people respect the dead so as not to be disturbed by the spirits of the dead, 2) the ritual of honoring the dead involves the presence of the entire extended family (Wa'u, Anak rona and Anak Wina) as well as other residents in the village, 3) the traditional ritual of honoring corpses in Manggarai is contrary to the health protocol rules that prohibit people from gathering, 4) there are shifts and changes in the implementation of the death ritual during the Covid-19 pandemic in Manggarai, 5) the changes are related to the place and time of the ritual implementation and 6) the changes only affect the social aspect of the ritual but does not reduce its spiritual dimension. This paper argues that in the death of a loved one, the bereaved family is in dire need of social and spiritual assistance. The traditional ritual of honoring the corpse in Manggarai is a response and a way to overcome the pressure/depression due to the death of a loved one. With this ritual, the bereaved family gets support from others and experiences spiritual comfort. The shift and change in rituals during the Covid-19 period occurred as long as it did not reduce the comfort and spiritual satisfaction of the bereaved family. It concludes that in the death of a loved one, the bereaved family desperately needs spiritual comfort rather than social support.

Keywords: Covid-19, Corpse, Manggarai, Funeral Rite.

1 Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic has had an impact on all aspects of human life. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) reported the difficulties of developing countries in settling their debts and planning development. The McKinsey Consulting Agency also declared the Covid-19 pandemic as a major disaster that took its toll on humans. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), regional quarantine policies in various countries have affected 2.7 billion workers, or 51% of the total workers worldwide (Muhyiddin, 2020). Ngadi and Purba (2020) research found that the percentage of layoffs of workers/employees in Indonesia at the end of April 2020 was 15.6%, divided into 1.8% layoffs with 13.8% layoffs without severance pay.

Almost all countries experience an economic recession, and every leader finds it difficult to reconcile economic interests and health interests. The Covid-19 pandemic has encouraged various parties to make modifications and adaptations in the design of development planning (Muhyiddin, 2020).

The rapid and widespread Covid-19 has dramatically affected the psychology of society and human behaviour. Studies conducted by Pratama and Hidayat (2020) and Rayani and Purqoti (2020) stated that patients who were confirmed positive for Covid-19 suffered from psychological stress such as depression, anxiety, and fear ostracized from the community when they were known to be suffering from Covid 19. Likewise, policies for handling Covid-19 such as social distancing, physical distancing, lockdowns often cause various psychological impacts on the world community (Perry, Whitehead, and Grubbs, 2020). Quarantine itself increases anxiety, and isolation causes depression (Rubin and Wessely, 2020).

Cultural situations, psychological pressure, economic demands, and employment opportunities often ignore health protocol rules during Covid 19. According to Perkasa (2020), six factors affect adherence to health protocols, namely 1) sense of crisis and seriousness of the Covid-19 outbreak or disaster; 2) policy synchronization, especially between the regions and the central governments; 3) the existence of disobedient groups or government figures due to various motives such as political motives; 4) the level of synergy between the government and the private sector; 5) sanctions for violators of health protocols, and 6) public trust in the government.

A study by Linley and Joseph (2004) also confirms the human ability to adapt and perform positive coping when experiencing difficulties or distress. There are adaptive coping and maladaptive coping. Adaptive coping is related to the individual's ability to protect themselves appropriately, such as getting closer to God. Maladaptive coping is related to the individual's inability to protect himself, resulting in distress, anxiety, and obsessive compulsions (Hanum, 2020). Javamard's research (2013) shows that the practice of religious beliefs can make individuals or groups have good resilience. According to de Madeiros et al. (2017), religiosity makes it easier for individuals to follow the rules such as health protocol rules.

Žižek (2020) argues that the Covid-19 pandemic may help people to discover life more meaningful. It can be a special moment to find new meaning and rebuild harmonious and productive relationships with nature, fellow humans, and God. Azzulfa (2020) conducted a study on traditional marriage traditions in Sumbawa and concluded that the validity or legitimacy of a marriage did not depend on the normal traditional process. According to him, marriages carried out without a customary ritual during the Covid-19 period were still legal.

Siti Arafah (2020), in her research on the marriage traditions of the Palopo community, found that changes in people's behaviour due to the Covid-19 pandemic did not eliminate the sacred, social, and moral values of the marriage custom. At the same time, the research of Sahurudin, Sukri, and Arrozi (2021) revealed the socio-cultural transformation of the Sade-Lombok community during the Covid-19 pandemic through a dialectical process between the government, the community, and tourism actors. Opposition to the Covid-19 pandemic can encourage the discovery of local wisdom. For example, Aji Nugraha (2020) researched the local wisdom of the Bedouin community in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic.

This article will explore the tradition of honouring the corpses of Covid-19 patients in Manggarai. There are several questions to focus on in the research. How is the rite of honouring the corpse in Manggarai? How is the ritual carried out during the Covid-19 pandemic? To what extent has the Covid-19 pandemic affected the implementation of the ritual? There are several studies on honouring corpses during the Covid-19 pandemic, such as those conducted by Sari and Wahid (2020), Angelina Putri et al. (2021), and Sudarsana (2020). Sari and Wahid talked about the phenomenon of rejection of the bodies of Covid-19 patients, Angelina Putri about funeral traditions during the Covid-19 period in Trunyan, Bali, and Sudarsana talked about the effectiveness of the crematorium during the Covid19 pandemic.

This study focuses on the effect of the Covid pandemic on honoring the corpse in Manggarai. So far, there has been no similar study in Manggarai. Indeed, many previous studies on Covid-19 in Manggarai, such as those conducted by Widyawati and Lon (2020), Regus and Mantovany (2020).

2 Research Methods

This research uses a literature and field study approach. The literature study was conducted to obtain information about the tradition of honouring corpses in Manggarai, health protocol rules, policies during the Covid-19 pandemic, and various studies on honoring corpses during the Covid-19 pandemic in various other places. This section will explain the custom of the Manggarai people in the rite of honouring death. The literature study also includes various research results on honouring corpses in Indonesia. This data is critical to forming a more comprehensive frame of mind about changes in respect for the dead during the Covid-19 pandemic.

The field study was directed to find data on implementing the rite of respect for the corpses of Covid-19 patients. The approach was qualitative, and data were collected using interviews and observations. Respondents were determined purposively. Some respondents are close relatives of the deceased; some are neighbours who witnessed the funeral rites. In addition, there is also a traditional spokesperson. The questions asked to respondents are open-ended, where respondents have a vast space to describe their experiences in respecting corpses during the Covid-19 period. In addition, observation was done when the researcher visited the bereaved family in several cases of death due to covid 19.

3 Results and Discussion

The Rite of Honoring the Death in the Manggarai Community

Manggarai people have great respect for corpses (dead people); they are willing to spend a tremendous amount of money and sacrifice much time to honour the corpse of the dead. They offer at least 3-5 pigs (plus horses and or cows or buffalo) and spend 4-6 days honouring the dead bodies. Verheijen (1991: 213) notes that extraordinary respect for the dead often obscures and overrides his reverence for God (Mori Keraéng). Such respect occurs because the Manggarai people have the belief that everyone has *asé ka'é weki* who often function as guardian angels and or *wakar* (souls). When a person dies, his soul still lives on. For the Manggarai people, death is the end of life in this world and the beginning of new life in the other world (*pa'ang be-lé*). Erb (1999: 48) writes: "In Manggaraian ideas, death is a thought to be a completion, a natural resolution of life, as well as an extension or beginning of a new life".

People who have died are called *ata pa'ang be-lé* (the people who live next to the village gate). They live not far away but very close to the living. Their existence and life in the other world have a significant influence on the fate of those who are still alive in this world. Therefore, the living must respect the dead. The obligation to honour the dead is as valuable as respecting the living. People who neglect this obligation will be rebuked through illness or dreams or visions of *ata mbeko* (shaman). When living people experience difficulties or disasters, or illnesses, it is a sign that their ancestors are angry or unhappy with their way of life. To avoid this, they have to do specific ceremonies/rituals such as *téng hang* (offering the food), *kando*

nipi (ritual for eliminating disaster indicated in dreams/nightmare), bola kaba bakok (oath for white buffalo), repairing graves, and so on.

The dead have eternal life (mosé téding lén). The word lé(n) refers to the mountain or mountains where the water springs. It also refers to the source of blessings, the place of the dead, and the place of the source of life. The dead people return to the source of life and live together with the source of life. They become friends of Almighty God (Mori Keraéng) and act as intermediaries between people living in this world and Mori Keraéng. Manggarai people call the spirits of their ancestors with the words empo, ceki, wura. The relationship of the living with the ancestors is very close and even closer than their relationship with God. In traditional prayer, living people always ask for the help of empo/ceki to continue their prayers and intentions to God. In their belief, living people do not deserve to speak directly to God (Mori Keraéng) but through empo/ceki/wura. They cannot directly mention Mori Keraéng's name but ask for the help of empo/ceki/wura to convey their request (Verheijen, 1991: 213-214; Janggur, 2008: 49).

Verheijen (1991: 213) notes that the recent deceased is still in the vicinity of the house. Therefore, Manggarai people are terrified of people who have just died and respect them, especially around the time of their death. They perform many rituals to honor the recently deceased, such as lorang and loling, ela haéng nai, manuk welang wié and lonto walu, tekang tana, ancem peti and boak, saung ta'a and kélas. Lorang is an event to mourn the corpse at the grieving family's house. The bereaved family, neighbours (pa'ang olon gaung musi), and friends (haé-reba or haé-molas) must mourn the corpse in turn, while touching and rubbing the corpse. For this reason, the body is buried at the grieving family's house with the head facing the front door of the house. Usually, the body is placed on a mat, covered with a songké and a white cloth (shroud). The ritual in which the family and friends mourn the corpse is called loling.

When someone has just died, asé kaé or wa'u, anak rona, and anak wina are obliged to offer a pig or chicken (ela haéng nai or manuk haéng nai) for each. If this is not done, they will get a curse (nangki), and they will experience many disasters and difficulties in their lives (Erb. 1999: 48). At this event, all villagers and the entire extended family must attend and pray together, asking for blessing for the dead. The offering of the pig is also considered as a sign of love for the dead. Some of the contents of the prayer are as follows: Nggo'o nana/weta, woko lu tbénta de Mori Déwa agu awit de Mori Jari, hi peang ela haéng nai agu ho'o rokot daku te widang haéng agu Morin agu Ngaram. Ite kali ga, néka ba labang hau, néka pola tongkéng, néka lako agu rabom, néka ngo agu jogot. Nggeluk kali ité ngger olo ranga de Morim (Thus, brothers/sisters, because you are following the call of Almighty God and the invitation of God the Creator, outside the pig, is a sign that we are present and bless you, and this is a shroud as your clothing to face God and the Owner. Go without taking other sick or healthy people. Do not go either with anger or malice. Go sincerely to the house of the Lord).

In the past, burial was carried out on the day of death or the following day. Today burials are often postponed until all of the children or close family members are present. Consequently, the burial was carried out two or three days after death. In addition, they also have a habit of keeping watch as long as the body has not been buried (welangwié) and three or five nights after burial (lonto walu). On the first night, when the corpse is at home, they offer a chicken (manuk welang wié/welang bakok/tokong bakok). In this event, the bereaved family begged for protection from the dead to be safe during the vigil until morning. They will say the following prayers: Dengé tara dia'an le hau...(name of the deceased), ho'o manuk tetokong bakok mbakung de hau, porong emo oné hau kali irus oné isung, agu lu'u oné mata, di'a-di'a hau lakom, wal idi'a agu morin (Listen carefully, we offer chicken to watch over your corpse. Hopefully, it is enough to cry for your death; have a safe journey and answer God's call well).

Burial of the body begins with the ceremony of *te kang tana* (digging the grave). At that time, the grieving family offered a horse/chicken/pig to ask for help from the dead so that during the excavation of the grave, there will be no difficulties such as rocks. This intention is stated in the prayer: *Dengé le hau, ai gula ho'o cau ela te te kang dia tana, landing nio manga watang pangga, ronggo do'ong, watu lipét, jaga wa, reba lalong, ela laing te kang di'a tana, neka do'ong laing, ho'o dé adakn ga.* (You listen...this morning we offer a pig for digging the grave so that we have no difficulties in doing it). Furthermore, they hold *ancem peti* ceremony where the entire grieving extended family apologize, give their blessing for the dead, and ask for help for those still alive.

Their prayer is: *Ho'o paku di'am peti ga, landing nio hau, toé campit dara kopé, ko hena le limé, mésén ka'éng le Jari, bénta le déwa, landing émé lata, mangan mata de hau ho'o, lerum mopo. landing de hamin ga, tak di'a peti dité lami ta, podo di'a hau le hami tai, landing néka nuk keluargam kolé hau ngger musi, nggeluk kéta lakom kali hau ta, kamping morin agu ngaran* (Now we close the coffin; you die not because of fighting or conflict but God's calling. If you die because of other people, you know better what to do. We just close your coffin very well and let you go. Please, do not disturb your family behind; you may go sincerely to be with God). After that, the body is carried to the cemetery.

After the funeral, people stay awake for three nights (*cekitelu*) or five nights (*ceki lima*). They pray for the dead during the vigil, comfort each other by playing *ceha-kila* (hiding the ring) and gambling cards. From the day of death until the *saung ta'a* event, the living must obey the *ireng botek*, namely following several prohibitions such as not being allowed to go to the garden, not being allowed to take a bath, not being allowed to beat drums and gongs, not being allowed to take a bath, not being allowed to clean the funeral home, and so on. In addition, they also serve food to the death (*hélang*) when the living families have breakfast, lunch, and dinner. Manggarai people believe that people who have died still often come to their homes until a feast of *kélas* is held. Therefore, they often keep the shroud in their bed (Verheijen, 1991) as a symbol of the presence of the dead.

On the third or fifth day after the burial, a *saung ta'a* event is held, namely a "temporary *kélas*". This event is carried out by offering a pig and reciting a traditional prayer. They expressed their willingness to let the dead go to God on the condition that they are not allowed to take their loved ones or valuables with them in their homes or gardens. For this reason, they provide the dead with provisions to live in the other world (*pedeng bokong*), and this event is considered as a sign of his/her new birth in the other world. In some places, this event is called the *séwar waé ata mata* event (separating the water of the dead), which is a separation event between the dead and the living. Some call it the *wéntar locé* event because at this time, the mats used during the time of mourning are cleaned. This event marks the end of mourning, and the bereaved family can return to their normal activities.

The closing and culminating event for the dead is the ritual of *kélas*. They offer buffalo and pigs at the feast while expressing their willingness to release the dead to go to God and live there. At this time, they give him/her the provision of life forever (*pedeng bokong tédeng lé*). They imagine the dead living in the other world as they live in this world. For the bereaved family, the most important thing is that the dead person does not take his/her loved ones and valuables with him/her in the house, in the garden, and in other places. In their prayers, they again begged him/her to leave sincerely, without taking any living relatives or possessions with him, such as crops, (*Ai lesu ho'o muing adak kélas, pedeng bokong kudut tanda muing béo agu golom hau, kudut be sina muing hau, be céé muing ami. Kudut hau kali ga, néka pa oné anak, néka kawé asé kaém, néka ndol ata haé golom. Hau kali ga tukang gerlé, tonim ngger cé*).

In the past, the graves of the dead were located at the gate of the village called pa'ang. Every villager must be buried in that place. If a villager dies in a distant place, his body/corpse will be brought back to be buried in that place. In some instances, where it is challenging to bring the body back, ba watu (ba tana) ritual is carried out, bringing grave land or stones far away to their hometown to make their graves in the village. At that time, the extended family holds the ritual of ela haéng nai, saung ta'a, and kélas.

Findings

Health protocol rules regarding funerals during the Covid19 period require the burial of bodies without family or other relatives. Consequently, the burial of the corpse should not be carried out with various rituals that gather many people. This policy is undoubtedly contrary to the tradition of honouring corpses in Manggarai, which requires extended families and villagers to gather. This study found that during the Covid-19 period, the traditional ritual of honouring corpses in Manggarai experienced the following changes or shifts.

First, the burial of the bodies of Covid19 patients was carried out by Covid-19 Task Force officers by following strict health protocols, and traditional rituals still were carried out at the funeral home (the house of the bereaved family) without the body of the dead (corpse). This case occurred for a Covid patient who died in the hospital. The Covid Task Force carried out the full burial of the bodies without involving the family. The dead body (corpse) was also not taken to the funeral home but directly from the hospital to the burial place (cemetery). The whole family was not present at the funeral.

However, the extended family continued to hold traditional ceremonies to honor the corpse at home. The events carried out included ela haéng nai, lonto walu, and saung ta'a. All these rituals were carried out without a corpse; relatives and friends continued to mourn those who died without a body/corpse; there were no ancem peti and boak rituals. The ritual was carried out at the funeral home because the family left behind (the bereaved family) did not suffer from covid 19. Only the dead who suffered from covid 19.

Second, the burial of the bodies of Covid patients was carried out by the Covid Task Force Team and attended by the nuclear family but without the presence of extended family and neighbours. Besides, the rituals for honouring the dead were held by the extended family in another house, namely the house of the deceased's parents. This case occurred when people died at home, and all the residents suffered from Covid. When a family member died, the Covid-19 task force team handled the funeral arrangements with stringent health protocols. Relatives and friends were not allowed to come to the house because there were still patients who suffered from Covid 19. In such a case, the extended family gathered to do traditional rituals in another house, namely the house of the deceased's parents. At the event, the wife and children of the deceased were not present physically but virtually (online). All traditional ceremonies were still carried out.

Third, the burial of the bodies was carried out by the Covid-19 task force team without the presence of the family and traditional rituals. The traditional rituals were postponed until a specified time later. This case occurred because the family member died in a faraway place like in Java caused by Covid 19. In this case, the bereaved family could not hold traditional rituals until they took and brought gravestones to their village. Instead, the bereaved family just prayed for the dead. The prayer was usually done in a Catholic manner.

Fourth, when the traditional ceremony of honouring the corpse was carried out either at the funeral home or in another house, the number of participants who attended the rituals was relatively more petite than usual. The number of people attending was reduced by 50%.

Participants who attended also wore masks and did not stay long in the house of the bereaved family. People tended to attend the rituals without joining the banquet.

Fifth, when traditional rituals could not be carried out (either partially or wholly), the grieving family relies on personal prayers to God. They prayed according to the beliefs of the catholic faith. Maria, for example, said: When my husband died, I just prayed and surrendered to God. I am sure that the Lord Jesus will pick my husband up in heaven." Furthermore, she also said: "I am strong because I have a faith that my pain now is nothing compared to the suffering of Jesus on the cross. Jesus understands my suffering and will help me."

The death of a loved one brings deep sorrow to family members. According to Malinoski (Geertz, 1992), death creates a deep emotional ambivalence between love and fear. In many cases, death causes depression, crisis, fear, anxiety, and a lack of life energy. The situation is even more tragic when the death is caused by Covid 19. During the Covid-19 pandemic, grieving families face various pressures in many aspects. From the social aspect, they are under pressure because neighbours or other residents shun them. Psychologically they get scorn and negative stigma related to the Coronavirus. This social depression is increasing when the government implements various policies to deal with Covid 19, such as social distancing, physical distancing, and lockdown or quarantine (Perry, Whitehead, and Grubbs, 2020; Rubin and Wessely, 2020).

This research shows that the life of the Manggarai people is inseparable from the traditional rite of honouring the corpse. During the Covid-19 pandemic, the tradition of respecting the corpse is still carried out. The tradition maintains societies from any challenges (Durkheim, 1992). It serves to overcome depression due to the death of a loved one and maintain the resilience (endurance) of grieving families. According to Linley and Joseph (2004), various rituals performed are ways and strategies to adapt to find positive coping. There are adaptive coping and maladaptive coping. Adaptive coping is related to the individual's ability to protect them appropriately, such as getting closer to God. Maladaptive coping is related to the individual's inability to protect him, resulting in distress, anxiety, and obsessive compulsions (Hanum, 2020).

Every ritual, including honouring the dead, helps the bereaved family accept the mourning event with kindness and patience (Bell, 1997). According to Reis and Menezes (2017), this death ritual significantly reduces anxiety and increasing self-endurance. Rituals of honouring the dead involve many people directly or indirectly providing social support to the bereaved family. Tyler et al. (2020) argue that social support is crucial in increasing resilience (endurance) to face internal and external pressures. Social support is a reciprocal interaction that shows a form of care and assistance from individuals or groups to those who need it (Sarafino and Smith, 2014). With this social support, people experiencing difficulties or grief feel cared for, respected, and loved (King, 2017; Feldman, 2012). Social support makes individuals feel comfortable and able to control their emotions to solve problems well (Liu et al., 2015). According to Serafino and Smith (2014), social support consists of four aspects: 1) emotional aspects in the form of attention, care, motivation, empathy, and encouragement, 2) instrumental aspects in the form of condolences or other tangible assistance, 3) informative support in the form of advice, direction, information and advice on what to do, and 4) collegial or togetherness aspects during times of grief or hardship.

Furthermore, this research shows that during the Covid-19 pandemic, there were several changes and shifts in the traditional ritual of honouring corpses in Manggarai. This change occurred at least related to the time and place of the ritual. When a death due to Covid-19 occurred in a hospital and confirmed that no one has Covid-19 at the funeral home, the funeral service will still be held at the funeral home. When the deceased family member was suffering

from Covid 19, the place for the ritual was moved to another house. In some instances, the implementation time is postponed until security is guaranteed from the threat of Covid 19.

The changes or shifts above are considered a continued impact of the spread of the Coronavirus where individuals or groups are required to make various changes in life because they have to accept and comply with health protocols (World Health Organization, 2020). Gudykunts and Kim (2003) argue that when dealing with a different environment, people must carry out adaptation, namely the process of adjusting themselves to the demands of the environment. According to Geertz (1992), change is the essence of culture, which is always dynamic in dialectic with the environment it faces. ParsudiSuparlan (1986) says that culture results from the creation of human knowledge in understanding and interpreting the environment it faces.

These changes and shifts aim to reconcile health protocols and customary demands (Ting-Toomey, 2004). By making changes or shifts in time and place, the Manggarai people negotiate two conflicting interests without sacrificing one of them. They try to obey the tradition of honouring the dead and also obeying health protocols. Negotiations like this happen as long as they do not negate each other. When one has to negate the other, then rational considerations can be an option. According to rational choice theory (Ritzer: 2005: 357; Wirawan, 2013: 211), when a person is faced with making a choice, he or she has a preference order of the various available options according to his rational considerations.

Interestingly, changes and shifts in the implementation of the ritual of honouring the dead during the Covid-19 period occurred as long as they did not negate or reduce the spiritual dimension of the event. The burial of corpses during the Covid-19 period requires the bodies to be buried without the presence of family or other relatives. This study proves that the ritual of honouring the corpse was still carried out during the pandemic Covid-19 because the rituals are essential for the safety of the deceased and the fortitude of faith for the grieving family. When traditional rituals cannot be carried out, grieving families rely on private prayer. In short, during the Covid-19 pandemic, Manggarai people rely more on spiritual support in dealing with depression due to the death of a loved one.

Thus, this study is in line with several other studies which confirm that the practice of religious beliefs can make individuals or groups have good endurance (Javamard, 2013). Religious rituals can help individuals have positive emotions even when they are in trouble (Rutten et al., 2013) and divert positive coping (Southwick and Charney, 2012). They become a healthy coping strategy and a source of energy to be optimistic (Brewer-Smyth & Koenig, 2014). They can reduce anxiety and increase hope (Reis and Menezes, 2017). Prayer in these rituals makes people optimistic in the face of difficulties or grief (Zenevicz, Moriguchi, and Madureira, 2013) and even makes it easier for individuals to follow the rules such as health protocols (de Madeiros et al., 2017).

According to Bowles and Arnup (2016), individuals who have good resilience will be easier to adapt when dealing with disruptive situations such as the Covid-19 pandemic. These individuals can take positive meanings from the challenges they face. For him, the challenge of the Covid-19 pandemic is interpreted as a special moment to rebuild harmonious and productive relationships with nature, others, and God (Žižek, 2020).

4 Conclusion

Manggarai people have a tradition of honoring the corpse in the face of depression due to the death of a loved one. With this ritual, the grieving family does not only get social support (such as attention and empathy from others) but especially spiritual support, namely the safety of the deceased and peace for those left behind. During the Covid-19 period, the implementation of the traditional ritual of honoring the corpse underwent changes and shifts. Changes and shifts are made by not negating the essence of the ritual of honoring the corpse. These changes and shifts are a form of negotiating two conflicting interests, namely traditional rituals that involve many people and mandatory health protocols that prohibit people from gathering.

These changes are carried out by maintaining the spiritual meaning of the traditional ritual of honoring the corpse. During the Covid-19 pandemic, the ritual of honoring the corpse was carried out not primarily to get social support (from extended family and friends) but mainly to ensure confidence in the deceased's safety and the peace of life for the grieving family.

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