RESEARCH ARTICLE

Portuguese representations in the Semana Santa ritual in Larantuka

Saferi Yohana*

Abstract: The encounter of Indonesian society with foreign cultures leaves a mark on a culture, leaving traces in the form of narratives and symbols. In Larantuka, the encounter of local culture with the Portuguese leaves the Semana Santa tradition or Easter tradition which in the oral narrative and ritual process still presents the Portuguese style. This research was conducted to find out how the presence of Portuguese culture functions in the Semana Santa tradition in Larantuka; and why Portuguese heritage is maintained and preserved in the tradition. Data collection utilized participatory observation, interview, and literature study methods. The results showed that the Semana Santa ritual as a Portuguese heritage still takes place as an annual ritual, the use of Portuguese language in the ritual, symbols, and the Confraria brotherhood formed by the Portuguese. Three important points that become the reason for the Portuguese presence in the Semana Santa ritual are the acculturation process, narratives in collective memory, and the obedience of tradition actors in carrying out ancestral messages.

Keywords: Traces of the Portuguese, Local culture, Semana Santa, Larantuka


Kata kunci: Jejak-jejak Portugis, Budaya lokal, Semana Santa, Larantuka

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1. Introduction

The presence of the Portuguese through the propagation of religion by missionaries left behind Portuguese Catholic symbols and ritual practices that still exist in Larantuka region. Churches, chapels, monasteries, prayer gardens, and various Catholic symbols can be easily spotted if one strolls around Larantuka city. Several online media have named Larantuka as the veranda of Vatican of the Vatican of Indonesia because the population are dominantly Catholic and the tradition of Semana Santa or Easter week is still practiced. A religious ritual with Portuguese touch which is claimed to be hundreds of years old.

In this ritual, one can find ornaments left by the Portuguese with various historical backgrounds which have been passed down from generation to generation by each generation of the tribe in Larantuka known as the Semana tribe. This tradition, which began in 1617, still presents a procession full of solemn silence. It enables anyone who comes on pilgrimage to have spiritual experiences. In addition, Semana Santa also becomes a journey to remember the history that the Portuguese were once present and that they were the ones who introduced this tradition.

Studies on Semana Santa have been written by da Santo (2010); Tukan (2010); Mulyati (2019); Narasatriangga et al. (2018); Viola (2013). A study on the Portuguese presence in Indonesia was written by da Franca (1985). Da Franca writes a general overview of the forms of Portuguese heritage that can still be witnessed when traveling to regions in Indonesia that were once under Portuguese authority, such as Larantuka. The most recent study was written by a Catholic priest with a focus on history and liturgy of the Semana Santa tradition (Monteiro, 2020). This paper aims to be a complement to existing studies. It specifically maps how Portuguese culture is still maintained within the community of Larantuka, particularly through the Semana Santa ritual. Thus, there are two questions that will be answered in this paper: (a) how is Portuguese culture functioned in the Semana Santa tradition in Larantuka (material evidence)?; and (b) why is Portuguese heritage preserved and maintained in the Semana Santa tradition in Larantuka?

This research is based on the argument that the presence of foreign nations in an area has been marked by material cultural heritage in various forms. These forms of heritage become part of the cultural treasure that shows the cultural accommodation between foreign cultures and the culture of origin. Foreign cultures do not generate resistance in society, and it is caused by people’s cultural appreciation of foreign cultures and also by cultural awareness regarding the importance of two or more culture encounters to enrich local cultural diversity and wisdom.

2. Literature review

2.1. Cultural Acculturation

The process of cultural change can also occur as a result of the presence of religion in the local community, which is then favorably received (Ajawaila, 2014; Haryanto, 2015; Marzali, 2017; Wellfelt & Djonler, 2019; Hallatu et al., 2019). In acculturation, there is an adaptation process between cultural groups that experience changes. This process occurs in the long run in response to external demands. In the socio-cultural process, adaptation that occurs can be known through cultural knowledge, the degree of contact and attitudes between groups (Berry, 2005). The adaptation process in a religious practice can strengthen social functions for the community since religion and local culture have an
integration function (Basyir, 2019), where integration occurs when the adoption of a new culture is carried out while maintaining one’s own cultural heritage (Zhang et al., 2018). When religion and culture merge in acculturation, social processes will still have an influence even if the original culture is not eradicated (Weke et al., 2018).

To study the process of acculturation in a simple way, Koentjaraningrat's writings below can at least provide an overview of what needs to be considered when studying acculturation issues, including: 1) the condition of the receiving community before the acculturation process begins; 2) individuals from foreign cultures who bring elements of foreign culture; 3) channels through which foreign cultural elements enter the receiving culture; 4) parts of the receiving community who are affected by the elements of the foreign culture earlier; 5) reactions of individuals exposed to elements of foreign culture (Koentjaraningrat, 2015:205).

### 2.2. Collective Memory

The concept of collective memory always refers to past representations in a cultural group, either those that are experienced directly or those that are obtained from oral narratives from generation to generation. Cicourel (2015) mentioned that collective memory has different interpretations or connections between individuals, hence it requires a level of analysis. When individual memories are put in a particular context with a particular group, memories from the past are created (Halbwachs, 1992). Collective memory is crucial to communal life because it is one of the foundations for implementing socio-cultural practices as well as the reproduction of rules (Cicourel, 2015). In addition, collective memory also becomes one of the sources for a sense of unity within a community group (Gongaware, 2003). According to Gongaware, reviving collective memory can be done contextually and instrumentally.

Even in the context of religious rituals, people who still adhere to oral traditions have a collective memory that is culturally created through narratives, symbols and religious rituals (Lattu, 2019). It is in line with Olick (2007) that collective memory is made of shared symbols and narratives, like the Semana Santa ritual which became a tradition of Larantuka people. The rites that take place every year serve as "reminders" of events that have occurred in the past, hence indirectly the existence of oral traditions does not just disappear (Lattu, 2019). Apart from going through the annual ritual, writings about Semana Santa and its historical background can easily be found in online media, books, research journals and local Larantuka songs which are also forms of collective memory of oral traditions and experiences. This way of remembering the past can affect the understanding of the past itself so that what is shared about the past in various forms cannot be separated from what is internalized.

### 2.3. Cultural identity

Discussion of collective memory cannot be separated from the formation of a cultural identity since the two are related (Gongaware, 2003; Halbwachs, 1992). As Levi Strauss said, the formation of a cultural identity is not due to isolation but precisely to interaction within a cultural group (Alam, 2014). A person’s travel experience from one place to another (such as immigrants and tourists), besides influences the acculturation process, also influences the modification of identity to adapt to a new environment when faced with making decisions that vary in complexity and impact (De Villiers, 2015). In addition, tourism also has an impact on how local people perceive themselves, their identity and culture (Heldt Cassel & Miranda Maureira, 2017). Meanwhile, religious studies can
contribute in the form of identifying the identity of a cultural group (Verkuyten, 2007; Rozi, 2013).

Regarding cultural identity, Hall (1990) rejects the perspective that cultural identity is permanent. According to him, cultural identity actually needs to be seen from differences, meaning that in similarities, differences need to be seen as things that form "what we really are" so that the question "what have we become?" arises in the long process of historical intervention. Cultural identity is an identification point made in historical and cultural discourse, in which everything historical undergoes transformation. For Hall, cultural identity always comes from a place with history. Thus, cultural identity also dissolves in this transformation, and continues to move, not constant. Identity becomes something that is open to be reinterpreted, changed and utilized in social processes (Ramstedt 2011). According to King (2017), identity will always go towards the process of ‘becoming’ because it is always tied to the process of cultural construction and transformation, both of which will influence each other. Rozi (2013) adds that identity changes that lead to cultural changes can also occur in open societies in diverse ethnic communities.

3. Method

The research was conducted in Larantuka on groups that uphold the tradition. People who carry out this tradition include Presidenti Confraria or the son of the descendant of the king of Larantuka, Prokrurador, Confraria members, Mama Muji, members of Semana ethnic group; as well as the church. According to history, the influence of the Larantuka kingdom was significant in the process of developing Catholic teachings with all the traditions inherited by the Portuguese. As a result, people who still participate in the Semana Santa tradition today are the descendants of the Semana Santa performers who maintain and preserve the sacred tradition.

This research employs ethnographic methods as a basis for obtaining writings about a culture. Direct participation during Semana Santa, observation, and in-depth interviews were parts of the data collection process. Given that the field observation process can only be done once, gathering information about the Semana Santa procession is supported by watching broadcasts of the procession on the YouTube page as well as reading SemanaSanta-related books and leaflets obtained from the church during Semana Santa.

The emphasis of this research is on qualitative data, which is achieved by explaining the results of observations and then interpreting them while still relying on the concepts found in the theoretical framework. The analysis process is as follows: reducing data into a more systematic form, describing research data, and drawing conclusions based on the data collected. Thus, the description of this entire research is how Larantuka people describe and tell themselves.

4. Result

From the long procession of Semana Santa, symbols that represent the existence of Portuguese are visible to the naked eye, from the attire, religious statues, ornaments, to language. Below is the description of what the Portuguese have left behind in Larantuka, particularly in the Semana Santa tradition.
4.1. Semana Santa Procession

The Semana Santa procession in East Flores is held in three locations, namely Larantuka, Konga, and Wure. On the peak night of the procession, these three locations have their own unique qualities while holding the same Good Friday tradition. The similar procession is also held in European countries such as Portugal and Brazil, taking example from the procession held in Braga, Portugal. The procession of delivering spiritual items that will be used during the holy week actually starts on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. The people in charge of executing the parade are the brotherhood of Santa Cruz and the brotherhood of Misericordia. On Thursday, the Ecce Homo procession, a statue of Jesus wearing a crown of thorns, is held. Meanwhile, the Lord’s tomb, a statue of Mother Mary, and Virgen de los Dolores are all paraded on a procession on Friday evening.

Black clothing with a covered head is a symbol of mourning (adapted from http://semanasantabraga.com/). As displayed on the YouTube page with the keyword ‘Semana Santa Braga’, there are many videos that show how festive and solemn the process of Semana Santa is. People who follow the procession are not involved in the parade. They just stand and watch the procession. There are also banners and flags, bright lanterns, people dressed in black robes, and people riding horses in the parade. Several sequences involve retelling biblical stories, such as the triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem, Mary and Joseph’s journey, and the mystery of the crucifixion. With the accompaniment of a marching band, the parade looks lively. This little description of Semana Santa that took place in Portugal is not intended to be used as a comparison, but as an illustration that the procession in Larantuka has adapted to local culture.

4.2. Brotherhood Confederation

The peak of the Semana Santa procession is on Good Friday, when Catholics around the world commemorate the death of Jesus Christ. On that day, all holy symbols, ornaments, and objects brought by the ancestors are taken out of the repository, enthroned, and carried in the procession. This journey is not a carnival show. This is a depiction of the Stations of the Cross which is implied through the symbols carried in the procession. A depiction demonstrating that the Portuguese were once present in Larantuka, in the rituals, symbols, and memories that have become part of Larantuka. A depiction that this procession is a social reality that presents the passage of time and its relation with past brotherhood groups.

This brotherhood group formed by the Portuguese was named Confraria Reinha Rosari. It was officially formed by Padri Lukas da Cruz, OP in 1564. The formation of this lay brotherhood group aims to assist the priests in developing and maintaining the faith of Catholics in the Larantuka area. At that time, only certain people were chosen to become Confraria, such as village officials, teachers, prominent people (Yan Fernandez, 2020). Ernst Vatter (1932) mentioned that Confraria’s tasks at that time included praying for people who were dying, granting repentance and forgiveness from God, and 'taking care of the dead'. Confraria became the vanguard of the defense of the faith of Catholics when the priests were not present.

Anyone can join Confraria today as long as he is a married man and has a good life in the family, church and society. In Semana Santa, Confraria’s task is organizing and conducting devotions with the people. It starts with the recitation of Semana then serving during Lamentation on Trewa Wednesday and Good Friday. Confraria members also become maestri or presenters of praise during the lamentation or procession, be the
kesumi team or officers who have been sworn in to decorate/dress Tuan Ma and Tuan Ana, and are in charge of parading Tuan Ma’s tumba during the procession. While on duty, Confraria members wear white robes/opac with blue laced medals. On each side of the medal there is Saint Dominic picture with the inscription Sancto Dominico Ora Pronobis and on the other side is depicted the Blessed Virgin Mary Reinha Rosary giving the rosary to St. Dominic with the inscription Regina Sacratissimi Rosary Ora Pronobis.

4.3. Language

Below are some borrowed words that are still used today in Larantuka as well as in the Semana tradition and the Confraria brotherhood group. These vocabularies are taken from a list of Portuguese vocabulary in Flores as written by Pinto da Franca, which then the writing is adjusted according to findings in the field:

**Table 1.** Portuguese vocabularies in terms of religion and the functions of the Confraria brotherhood structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Larantuka (Local Term)</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armida</td>
<td>Ermida</td>
<td>Hermitage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kontas</td>
<td>Contas</td>
<td>Rosary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confreria</td>
<td>Confraria</td>
<td>Confederation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapel</td>
<td>Capela</td>
<td>Chapel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menino Jesus</td>
<td>Menino Jesus</td>
<td>Jesus as baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mataraka</td>
<td>Matraca</td>
<td>A sound instrument made of wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muji</td>
<td>Musico</td>
<td>Musician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ornamento</td>
<td>Ornamento</td>
<td>Ornament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permesa</td>
<td>Promessa</td>
<td>Intention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persisan</td>
<td>Procissão</td>
<td>Procession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semana</td>
<td>Semana</td>
<td>Week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesta Vera</td>
<td>Sexta-feira Santa</td>
<td>Good Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trewa</td>
<td>Trevas</td>
<td>Darkness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presidenti</td>
<td>presidente</td>
<td>President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prokurador/prokado</td>
<td>procurador</td>
<td>Proctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irmao</td>
<td>Irmão</td>
<td>Brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domingu Ramu</td>
<td>Domingo de Ramos</td>
<td>Palm Sunday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mardomu</td>
<td>Mardomo</td>
<td>Host</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tori</td>
<td>Oratorio</td>
<td>Small chapel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skriban</td>
<td>escrivão</td>
<td>Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tesar eru</td>
<td>tesoureiro</td>
<td>Treasury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perpetu</td>
<td>perpétuo</td>
<td>Eternal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reinha Rosari</td>
<td>Rainha Rosário</td>
<td>Queen of Rosary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Not only is Portuguese vocabulary still heard in Larantuka, but Portuguese language is also still used in rosary devotion activities. These prayers are passed down verbally from one generation to the next. However, today, in order to make them simpler to understand, the prayers recited are beginning to be documented in a book. These prayers were composed using the traditional Larantuka utterances and pronunciations as a guide. The following is the rosary devotion in Portuguese Larantuka (Marian Chapel):

1) **Sinal da cruz:**
   Em nome de pai, e do filho. E do espírito santo... Amen

2) **Símbolos Dos Apostolos:**
   Creo e’m Deus, pai todo poderoso Criador do seu e da tera, e e’m Yesu Cristo seu único Filho nossa senhor que foi concebido pelo poder, de Espírito Santo, na seu de virgem Maria. Pade e’e u sob Pontio Pilatos, tuicruxi fido morto e sepultado. De ceu aos internos, qo tersero dia resu sí toudos mortos. Subio sentado adireta de Deus pai todo po do roso. De onde hade virajulgar, Es vivos e mortos Cre-ona espírito Santo, na Santa Igreja Katolika. Na comuni cacao dos santos, Na remição dos pecados. Na resuci cao da carne, na vida eterna... Amen

3) **Gloria:**
   Gloria ao pai e ao Filho ao Espírito Santo. Asim como era no poricinpio eagora e sempre. Partodos os seculos dos seculos... Amen

4) **Pai Nosso:**
   Pai nosso que es tais no eu, santi ficado o voso nome venha anos ovos reino, sejaveita o voso vontades, assim na tera como no ceu. O pao nosso de ca da dea, nos dai hoje perdo ainos as nos sas ofonsas, assim comonos pere do amos, aqem nostem ofendido e na nos Dai cair em tanta cao mas lifrai nos domal... Amen

5) **Ave Maria:**
   Ave Maria cherde grasa, osenhor o con vosco, Bendita sais vos entre as mulheres e bendito eu fruto do voso ventre Yesu. Santa Maria ma e’ de Deus roga i pornos, Peca dores egora ena hora da nossa morte... Amen

6) **Deo Ste:**
   Deo ste salve filio de deo spadre. Deo ste salve mai de deo filho. Deo ste salve skola deo spiritu sangto. Deo ste salve trepetua santisima trindadi. Pai noso ... Ave Maria ... Gloria.

7) **Salve Regina:**
   Salve Regina mater misericordia decora spera nosa salwe dewa damo deco dado demento sperando, demento corando desta waliga Maria skoyo warga noso Misericodia yoyo ano pekerjaan diasvera dosa nosa Yesu proto doto wente clamente opia dosa do semper werjen Maria yoga sporna santa, maide deo pekerjaan bernoda permesali cristu amen... Yesu

Rosary prayer is a repetitive prayer where the content is the essence of the gospel message, the echo of Mary prayer (Seri dok. Gerejawi no 63, 2003). Pray the rosary means praying with Mother Mary. In Semana, the rosary prayer is a prayer recited in Portuguese. It starts with 1) the cross sign, 2) The Apostles’ Creed, 3) Glory be to The Father, 4) Our Father, 5) Hail Mary, 6) Trinity Prayer which are parts of rosary (Monteiro: 2020:85), and 7) Salve Regina.

### 4.4. Symbol

Below is the description of the types of existing spiritual objects which are still used in the **Semana Santa** ritual. Each heritage is maintained by the semana tribe in Larantuka.

1) **Statue of Tuan Meninu** (Baby Jesus in manger, 4 angels and 2 lambs/oxes), statue of the golden-crowned **Maria Deo Senhora** (Mary the Mother of God), statue of crucified Jesus made of tusk, statue of St. Paul, statue of St. Ignatius Loyola, big
counter. It is placed in Tuan Menino chapel and owned by Kinta Besar, Nalele, Pohon Rita tribe groups.

2) Diaz tribe’s cross, Ama Kelen tribe’s cross, and Ama Hurint tribe’s cross.

3) Golden-crowned Mary Reinha Rosary with thirty two jewels, golden rosary necklace, and golden-headed staff. They are placed in the Mary Chapel owned by Ama Kelen and Ama Hurint tribes.

4) Golden-crowned Mary Reinha Rosary with thirty two jewels, golden rosary necklace, and golden-headed staff owned by Ama Kelen, Ama Hurint placed in the Mary Chapel.

5) Maria Misericordia owned by Mulawato tribe

6) Tuan Trewa, Jesus corpus, owned by Kapitan Jentera tribe – Fernandez Aikoli


8) Ornamento of the passion: cross and serai, genda do, giant de morti, tangan dayabu, lantern, krenti and krona spina, nail and hammer, purse, staff and sponge, javelin or spear, dice in a plate, crock, cross. These objects are stored in Tuan Ana chapel.

The list of relics above are only a small part of what the Portuguese have left behind in Larantuka. It requires special time and further research to record all of Portuguese heritage and its history spread in Larantuka as a whole outside the Semana Santa tradition (like the existence of Portuguese descent) including those in the two special regions or obrigado which also become a place where Semana Santa takes place, namely Wure and Konga.

5. Discussion

Even though the Semana Santa tradition has changed, the presence of the Portuguese can still be identified in a vague or real way during the Semana Santa ritual, thus the results of the analysis reveal what factors influence why this tradition is still being preserved in Larantuka. Actually "middle way" is the meaning of Larantuka with the etymology of laran (way) and tukan (middle). However, several things became the reason why I used the meaning of Larantuka in interpreting the Semana Santa tradition. This cannot be separated from the acculturation process that occurs in Larantuka, especially in this tradition. Looking back a bit, this acculturation process occurred in the past when Larantuka used to be a meeting point between local people and foreigners who came to trade. Larantuka was also used as a diaspora fort for Portuguese traders in the seventeenth century when the Dutch ruled.

The acculturation process of Dominican missionaries with this integration pattern leads to an adaptive response so that the acceptance of religious teachings occurs as if without a hitch. Carrying out religious rituals as a way of life then became a new life for the Nagi people of their time. When Catholic teachings began to be accepted in Larantuka, devotion began to be taught. Easter rituals begin. The tori and chapel became a gathering place for collective devotions to replace korke. The adaptive response made by the ancestors of the Nagi people can be seen in the peak procession in Semana Santa believing in armida-armida. The person in charge of the armida was a member of the Semana tribe, which at that time was a tribe related to the King. In the past, these tribes were tasked to guard regional security. When the King walked to visit his territory, the area would become his stopover.
Besides the stories passed down about Portuguese heritage, the construction of symbols that are clearly visible in Larantuka city, such as spiritual statues, tori and chapels, also become a narrative that forms a collective memory that Larantuka is a small city that presents the Portuguese in every corner. The development of globalization has then intrigued people to perpetuate memories of the story or history of Semana Santa in writing, both in books and academic papers, online and offline mass media, loose notes on blogs, to songs. Mama Mujj's group began to perpetuate prayers in Portuguese and Latin from spoken to written in order that the implementation of the tradition can be continued by the next generation. As long as the Semana Santa ritual continues, memories of the past can be transferred to the next generation and can be the basis for social relations.

Larantuka is also known as the city of Reinha or the city of the Queen. The city which is under the protection of Mother Mary as Queen for Catholics in Larantuka. The cultural closeness that has been formed through the figure of Mother Mary long before the Catholic religion developed. All spiritual symbols and statues used in the Semana Santa procession are sacred objects which are only removed when the procession is approaching its peak. The place where these goods are stored can only be taken by certain people or certain tribes which have indeed been passed down from generation to generation. For example, when talking about Tuan Ma, not everything can be described in detail. Only the kesumi team knows what this statue looks like without the coat on. They have beliefs about things that are taboo to talk about. In the words of mata liài, mulo tuto; mulo doto, badan piko, literally means eyes see, mouth close; mouth speaks, body perishes. Something will happen regarding Tuan Ma if what was seen in the room is revealed.

In 2020, Semana Santa could not be held due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The semana recitation activity had been going on for three weeks when the Bishop of Larantuka made a decision which raised pros and cons. In the end, people who carried out the tradition were only citizens and members of the church who, like it or not, have to follow the recommendations of the government and church officials for the common interest. Feelings of sadness were experienced by the Nagi people, especially the traditional practitioners. However, Semana Santa that was not held does not reduce the meaning for traditional practitioners because the spirituality of Mother Mary has been instilled in the hearts (Don Tinus, 2020). This event actually needs to be a reflection for those who attend Semana Santa only as a routine or as a performance so that they can find the true meaning of the event contemplated in the Semana Santa procession.

6. Conclusion

Semana Santa tradition is not an annual activity that is held as a mere habit. The People that carry out the tradition live the tradition with values that become the 'messages left' by the ancestors. Even though it has reached hundreds of years, this tradition has not faded and will continue to be held. The Portuguese heritage has integrated into the culture of the Larantuka people and belongs to the Larantuka people. The Portuguese who have been present in Larantuka and the Portuguese features that appear in the Semana Santa procession have become part of the life of the Larantuka people, especially those who carry out the tradition.

In the context of Larantuka, cultural acculturation is an adaptive response to the encounter of two different cultures. The meanings that existed in the previous local belief rituals are culturally renewed into religious rituals. The cultural changes that have occurred have not shifted the identity of the Larantuka people as the Lamaholot people, owners of
the *Semana Santa* tradition. Then, the collective memory which continues to be renewed every year, from generation to generation, from traditional performers to pilgrims, through chanting prayers, songs, through rituals, also becomes the basis for carrying out social practices and a sense of unity among people. The closeness to Tuan Ma, respect for the heritage of ancestral values are also the basis for the survival of this tradition.

There are other Portuguese heritage that can still be explored in more depth outside of the *Semana Santa* tradition such as the existence of tribes of Portuguese descent, borrowed words from the Portuguese language, as well as building forms and other things that can still be used as further studies on Portuguese heritage in Larantuka or East Flores more broadly.

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Saferi Yohana contribute as concepts, drafters, analyzer, interpreters, collecting data, and critically revising the article.

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