

## The Social Meaning of the Striped Buffalo in the Death Ritual of the Toraja Indonesian Community

FerdyKusno<sup>1</sup>, Jabal Thariq Ibrahim<sup>2</sup>, Asep Nurjaman<sup>3</sup>, Wahyudi<sup>4</sup>, Ishomuddin<sup>5\*</sup>

<sup>1,3,4</sup>Doctor of Sociology of University Muhammadiyah of Malang,

<sup>2</sup>Professor of Agriculture of University of Muhammadiyah Malang,

<sup>5\*</sup>Professor of Sociology of University Muhammadiyah Malang

*\*Corresponding Author: Ishomuddin, Professor of Sociology of University Muhammadiyah Malang*

**Abstract:** *The rambu solo ritual is a complex ritual involving elaborate burial and burial rituals. This complexity reflects the life philosophy of the Toraja people and their view of death, the deceased and the afterlife. At first rambu solo was associated with traditional beliefs related to AlukToDolo. The people of Tana Toraja have long performed a very unique death ritual, called rambu solo. Rambu solo is a funeral ritual as an embodiment of the philosophy of life and worship of the Tana Toraja community, in addition as a form of final respect to parents who have died for their services during their lifetime. Based on the problems mentioned above, the authors formulate several research questions, namely: (1) What is the social meaning of striped buffalo (tedong bonga) in the death ritual (rambu solo) of the Tana Toraja community? (2) What is the shift in the management of the death ritual (rambu solo) of the Tana Toraja community? Based on the formulation of the research problem, the objectives of this study are (1) to understand the social meaning of striped buffalo (tedong bonga) in the death ritual (rambu solo) of the Tana Toraja community. (2) Understanding the shift in the management of the death ritual (rambu solo) of the Tana Toraja community.*

**Keywords:** *Rambu solo, Social Meaning, Striped Buffalo, Tedong Bung, Aluk To Do, Tana Toraja*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Toraja people who live in mountainous areas still maintain traditions and culture inherited from their ancestors from generation to generation. Even though it has gone through cultural processes and assimilation, nowadays there are many Protestant, Catholic and Islamic religions, but rituals with the old belief (*AlukToDolo*) of the Tana Toraja people. Toraja is known as TondokLeponganBulan Tana Matari 'Allo which means this country which is round like the moon and sun is known to the world for its rich traditions and unique culture (Tangdialla et al., 2021). The traditional order of the Tana Toraja tribe is based on the AlukToDolo belief. Starting from the rules of belief, the rules of government and the rules of the Tana Toraja people. People in Tana Toraja hold to Puang Matua (God). The ancestors of the Tana Toraja people believed that Puang Matua came from the puya through the stairs. The belief of AlukToDolo has various ceremonies as expressions of sadness and joy, namely rambu solo as an expression of sadness and expressions of happiness as rambutuka.

The rambu solo ritual is based on the very strong beliefs of AlukToDolo (Ismail, 2019). The basis of the belief that the spirit of someone who has died will go to the realm of immortality, namely the realm of nirvana. A new life will begin, so that something that is offered either in the form of clothes, or tedong and slaughtered pigs becomes the provision of new life after death. The new life begins in puya also means the world of souls or spirits with its ruler called Puang La Londong. Family members who have died are not declared dead before the solo sign ritual is performed. The body is considered a sick individual, so it must still be treated like a living individual and need treatment. The body is placed in the Tongkonan traditional house which is usually built by the family at the front of the house where they live.

When an individual dies, people who adhere to the belief of Aluk to Dolo or "Alukta" believe that the individual is still alive in the world. Shows that the deceased just lay weak which is expressed through the words unnelong lending or gume,,lomasapi. The ritual of death is not a farewell ritual for the people of Tana Toraja, the ritual of rambu solo illustrates the value of kinship where the relationship between the bereaved family and the deceased continues to be established as in the ma"nene ritual.

This traditional image is a technique of maintaining "social interaction between living and deceased individuals". While the family is still planning to carry out the solo rambu ritual and resides at home or in a tongkonan, the body is not considered dead (Ismail, 2019). The spirit actually moves to puya after the ritual of the solo sign which is held as a death feast full of joy and is equipped with traditional symbols.

The rambu solo ritual is actually a ritual that is interpreted as a final tribute to a loved one who has died, it is also inseparable from the meaning of the symbols in the process and stages of implementing the rambu solo ceremony. This symbol can be in the form of a prayer uttered by To Minaa which means worship, worship and supplication. Other symbols can also be in the form of ceremonial equipment which means offerings to ancestors and is the last tribute to the deceased from the whole family, relatives and to the ma'rapu (big family community). In practice, the rambu solo' ritual is bound by a rule called aluk. The old belief of the Toraja people is that aluk was created in the sky. Therefore, aluk is divine and all creatures are subject to aluk (Tangdialla et al., 2021).

*Kobong* (Allolinggi et al., 2020) explained that the rambu solo (funeral ceremony) of the Tana Toraja community in South Sulawesi is a culture that contains strong local wisdom values. Rambu solo ' in Toraja language which means smoke down. The smoke that is directed downwards means that the offering ceremony (smoke) for the dead is carried out after 12 o'clock when the sun begins to move westward. According to Paranoan (Allolinggi et al., 2020) rambu solo' is a traditional death ritual for the Toraja people which aims to honor and deliver the deceased's spirit to the spiritual realm, namely returning to eternity with their ancestors in a resting place called puya (heaven). This ceremony is often referred to as the ceremony to complete the death by sacrificing chickens, pigs, and tedong. Tedong is the most important, meaningful and sacred animal in the solo sign ritual. Before the tedong is slaughtered, the tedong herders entertain the family and the community by means of fighting between the tedongs. It was a pride for the shepherds when their tedong fought. For the people of Tana Toraja, the ritual of fighting tedong is a local wisdom that must be maintained and preserved.

The rambu solo ritual is influenced by the social strata of society which are generally divided into four layers, namely the tana' bulaan or the aristocratic class; tana' bassi or middle class aristocrats; tana' sack or common man; and tana' kua-kua or servant groups (Panggarra, 2014). Social strata will be divided into several levels of ceremonies according to their respective characteristics in each customary area in Tana Toraja (Allolinggi et al., 2020).

The implementation of the rambu solo ceremony 'has been determined by adat (adat), according to the social class of the individual called tana'. Tana 'determines the form of the solo sign ceremony' one may perform. However, nowadays, the traditional rules are sometimes not followed by the family in carrying out this ritual ceremony." The function of tana' (social group) in determining the form of the ritual of rambu solo' which is the embodiment of a person's social status in carrying out the ritual. In the past, one's social status in Toraja society was only obtained through heredity, but now one's social status can also be obtained through achievement, especially in economic success. This can be seen in the rambu solo' ritual which can not only be carried out by nobles, but also non-aristocrats if they are economically capable (Hasbi et al., 2019).

In general, the depth of the rambu solo' ceremony in Tana Toraja has similarities, but there are characteristics of each particular customary area. Data from the Tana Toraja Culture Service (Allolinggi et al., 2020) that the level of rambu solo 'ceremonies in the area consists of 11 (eleven) levels, namely:

First, Alukrapasan is the highest level ceremony that only applies to high nobles (tana 'bulawan) or nobles (puang) by performing two ceremonial processions (dialukpenduan). The first procession was carried out in the Tongkonan area by sacrificing 8-24 buffaloes and several pigs. The second procession is the transfer of the bodies from the first ceremony site to RantePantunuan (a larger traditional ceremony area) by sacrificing 24 buffalo and several pigs.

Second, the Alukditandukbulawanni, which is a ritual procession carried out by high nobles (tana 'bulawantodi') by sacrificing two types of male buffalo (tedong bonga / or what is called "sign" tedong and the procession lasts one day. This ritual is usually performed for children of nobles who are not yet mature or for nobles who cannot carry out high-level ceremonies.

Third, the Alukdipapitungbongi, a ritual usually performed for high aristocrats (tana 'bulawan), cannot carry out the ceremonial alukrapasan. This level also applies to middle aristocrats (ma'dika/tomakaka) who have material abilities with the standard of slaughtering tedong 16-24. Fourth, Alukdipalimangbongi, which is the level of ceremony that applies to nobles with a standard of 6-8 buffaloes. Fifth, the Alukdipatallungbongi, which is a ceremony that applies to middle class nobles who do not have adequate abilities to carry out the dipalimangbongi ceremony and also applies to ordinary people (tana 'karurung).

Sixth, AlukPasangbongi, which is the ritual of the tana 'karurung community by sacrificing a buffalo. Seventh, *Alukdibaitungga*, namely the procession of rambu solo' by sacrificing a buffalo. Eighth, *ditebakanrompobai/didedekan* manager, a procession without sacrificing anything which is usually called a bongi. Ninth, Alukdisillik, which is a solo rambu procession performed for newborns and untreated babies who are buried in the trunk of a growing tree at the expense of a pig. Tenth, Toditanan, i.e. babies born but died in the womb are then put in a clay pot (*kurinlitak*) and planted/buried with the cost of an egg. Eleventh, Mangrundui ' / dipoyan wind / *ma'paundi*, namely a ceremony performed for families who at the time of burial there was no sacrifice as usual in the *rambu solo* ritual. In this ceremony, usually a tedong is slaughtered.

*Tangdilintin* (Tang et al., 2020) states that the rambu solo ritual is carried out in two processions, namely a funeral procession and an art procession which is usually carried out by the family of the deceased Tana Toraja noble group. The procedure for carrying out the 'rambu solo' ritual depends on the social stratification level of the deceased. In the Toraja tribe there are four levels of tana', namely *bulaan*, *bassi*, *karurung*, and *kua-kua*, each of which has a different practice term. The majority who carry out the rambu solo 'ritual which has a festive impression are usually carried out by a group of nobles from among the Tana' Bulaan (the highest aristocrat in the Toraja tribe).

Broadly speaking, the Toraja tribe has two important rituals, namely *rambututuka* (ritual of happiness) and *rambu solo* (ritual of grief). According to *Tandungnan* (Paranoan, 2015) rambu solo is a ritual that completes death. The Tana Toraja people believe that the traditional ritual of rambusolak is a form of respect and brings spirits to the spirit realm, to the realm of immortality and reunited with their ancestors called puya (heaven).

The people of Tana Toraja have the belief that the rambu solo ritual can make death perfect. People have a hunch that someone who has died and has not performed the solo rambu ritual, it is believed that the person is not dead. People who have died are treated as sick people. Families believe that their relatives are still alive, as people are rested in bed, offered food and drink, and asked to tell stories and tell jokes as usual, as was the person's habit during life. The treatment of the corpse is carried out by all relatives and the surrounding community (Muslimin, 2015).

Based on the research results of Hasbi et al.'s research (Lusi&Yuwanto, 2020) the solo rambu ritual has been adapted to today's conditions undergoing various transformations so that there are differences in rambu solo which is a tradition of the Tana Toraja people and is still preserved until now, the rambu solo ritual is a death ritual. Along with the development of the times the ritual of solo signs was adapted to the new belief held by the Tana Toraja people, namely Christianity. Most of the people of Tana Toraja have embraced Christianity and Islam. The shift or adjustment by the Tana Toraja people to the rambu solo ritual does not necessarily change the whole thing.

The implementation of the *rambu solo* ritual requires large funds, due to the large number of animals that must be offered such as tedong and pigs, and the length of time the ritual is carried out. Coupled with the characteristics of the tedong that is sacrificed for the rambu solo ritual, the tedong which has a unique characteristic, namely tedong bonga (striped buffalo). *Tedong bonga* is a mud tedong that is striped in color, some parts of the body are black and mixed with white. tedong bonga is a sacrificial animal that must be present in the rambu solo ritual, namely as a sacrificial animal that is offered to the Creator.

The solo sign ritual for the Toraja people is a culture that has the highest value compared to other cultural elements. For Toraja people, talking about funerals is not just about rituals, social status, the number of tedongs that are cut, but more about self-respect, shame (siri'). Families in Tana Toraja consider the rambu solo ritual to have very meaningful life values, one of which is maintaining relationships and maintaining brotherhood. Thus, the ritual of solo signs must continue to be preserved by the people of Tana Toraja.

Aditjondro (Patadungan et al., 2020) stated that the excitement of the rambu solo ritual can be seen from the social status of the deceased family, seen from the number of tedong and pigs slaughtered. The more tedong that is slaughtered, the higher the social strata of the family. The family from Tana Bulan slaughtered about 24-100 tedongs, while the middle class people slaughtered 8 tedongs plus 50 pigs. The strata of tana bullan and tana bassi slaughtered tedong ranging from 12 tails and above, as for the strata of tana karurung, it ranged from 4-12 tedongs to be slaughtered, while for the strata of tana kua-kua, at most 2 tedong were slaughtered (Palayukan, 2021).

Toraja people strongly believe that the many tedong sacrificed to keep the spirits of the dead safe also leave inner peace for all family members left behind in the world. The spirit that has been purified through traditional rituals will always be maintained watching over his grandchildren, including giving sustenance and rejecting reinforcements.

The more animals offered the better the position of the soul in Puya. Puya is eternal life according to the belief of AlukToDolo. When he got a position and became a puang in Puya, then he blessed his descendants who were still alive. If it is understood, it is not only social strata that makes the Toraja people make the tedong bonga as a sacrificial animal, but love for the family who has died. The family wants to give the best place, so that the deceased's family gets the most beautiful place in the afterlife. However, the wishes of the family who want to place the deceased in the most beautiful place must sacrifice a lot of funds.

According to Rombe (Saleh &Asnawi, 2014) in the past, for a nobleman a lot of tedong needed enough with two tedong as a standard for certain requirements (SapuRandanan) so now the amount depends on his financial ability, which can be up to hundreds of tails is a form of respect to his deceased relatives. The traditional rambu solo ritual is the embodiment of a public belief system that has universal values that can support national culture, the traditional rambu solo ritual creates a sense of togetherness and concern for other communities, traditionally the rambu solo ritual has many values that become the glue for the Toraja people.

Rambu solo is a "Gateway" for corpses to enter a new world. The number of tedong and pigs that are sacrificed increases the degree of the body when it is puya. The solo sign ritual for generations continues to respect their parents, so that the spirits of their parents get the most beautiful place in heaven. The solo rambu ritual for the Tana Toraja people is a form of love and devotion to parents and binds family friendships.

This research is interesting to do to understand and dig deeper into the Social Meaning of Striped Buffalo in Ritual of Death (Phenomenological Study of Tedong Bonga in Ritual Rambu Solo, Tana Toraja Community). Considering the presence of the tedong, the AlukToDolo belief is that it is the main offering animal and is considered sacred in ritual processions. This research is only limited to the social meaning of striped buffalo (tedong bonga) in the ritual of death (rambu solo). The meaning of tedong bonga in the rambu solo ritual is important to know. Based on the problems mentioned above, the authors formulate several research questions, namely: (1) What is the social meaning of striped buffalo (tedong bonga) in the death ritual (rambu solo) of the Tana Toraja community? (2) What is the shift in the management of the death ritual (rambu solo) of the Tana Toraja community? Based on the formulation of the research problem, the objectives of this study are (1) to understand the social meaning of striped buffalo (tedong bonga) in the death ritual (rambu solo) of the Tana Toraja community. (2) Understanding the shift in the management of the death ritual (rambu solo) of the Tana Toraja community.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. Traditional Rituals in the Procession of Death

Each ethnic group in the world has a different funeral ritual tradition. Toraja people in everyday life are bound by the prevailing customs system, so that it has an impact on the existence of traditional rituals as traditional rituals. Traditional rituals are presented starting from the procession of birth to death. One of the rituals used as a way of life for the Tana Toraja people is the ritual in the procession of death. The traditional ritual in the procession of the death of the Tana Toraja indigenous people is something that should not be abandoned. Carrying out traditional rituals for family members is a responsibility that must be carried out so that the deceased is peaceful in puya.



Paranoan (Guntara et al., 2016) the death procession of the Tana Toraja community is a traditional ritual that is useful as:

2.1.1. A family unit. This ritual is a place for the reunion of relatives, even with all friends or acquaintances. Family members visit, and trace the lineage while eating betel nut to strengthen extended family ties.

2.1.2. The container takes into account the inheritance. Ma'tallang is the offering of the deceased's inheritance by the son-in-law by giving an animal offering at the death ritual of the solo sign.

2.1.3. A place to share inheritance. it means getting the inheritance of "the dead" through mantunu (sacrificing tedong and pigs at the time of the death ritual of the dead. Those who have the right to participate in ma'tallang are the biological children of the dead, if the dead person does not have children, then his brother is obliged to carry out a death ritual and has the right to the property of the dead by way of ma'tallang.

2.1.4. A place of dignity. Children and families of "the dead" will compete to find tedong which has a high value in the context of Toraja culture.

2.1.5. Collaborative place. The tradition of sambanganongan (assistance from family or acquaintances as an expression of condolences) is intended to assist in the implementation of the solo rites of passage. All ongan offerings in the form of tedong and pork should not be rejected by the family of the "dead".

One of the traditional rituals that is still often performed in Toraja is the rambu solo ritual, which is a ritual event associated with death. Tangdilintin (Syarif et al., 2016) revealed that the ritual of the rambu solo is the part of perfection, as a new person it is considered truly dead, after the entire ritual procession is fulfilled and organized. If not, then the person who dies is only considered to be sick or weak, so he is still treated as he was when he was alive, which is to be laid on a bed and given food and drink, and even talked about.

The rambu solo ritual is a complex ritual involving elaborate burial and burial rituals. This complexity reflects the life philosophy of the Toraja people and their view of death, the deceased and the afterlife. At first rambu solo' was associated with traditional beliefs related to AlukToDolo. The people of Tana Toraja have long performed a very unique death ritual, called rambu solo'. Rambu solo is a funeral ritual as an embodiment of the philosophy of life and worship of the Tana Toraja community, in addition as a form of final respect to parents who have died for their services during their lifetime

### a. *Solo Sign Ritual*

Natsir (Syarif et al., 2016) reveals "the ritual of rambu solo aims to honor and free the spirits of the deceased, along with their ancestors who are housed in "Puya". Rambu solo 'performed by the Toraja people in Toraja (or Tana). Toraja). Rambu solo' is a traditional funeral ritual that aims to honor the spirits of returning to eternal life with their ancestors (Hasbi et al., 2019).

Sitonda (Hasbi et al., 2019) the ritual of rambu solo in the past was aimed at honoring and delivering the spirits of the deceased to the spiritual realm along with their ancestors located in Puya (hereafter). Toraja people believe that death does not only occur suddenly, but is also a stage of the process to reach Puya. While waiting, the corpse is wrapped in cloth and then placed under the Tongkonan. The dead spirit is believed to be still in a state of illness until the funeral ritual is over, then the spirit goes to Puya (Muslimin, 2015).

### b. *The noble values contained in the Solo Sign Ritual*

Tangkek et al., (Guntara et al., 2016) rambu solo ritual is a ritual related to death and mourning rituals. Most are expressed in death or burial rituals. In the stages of implementing the ritual, the solo sign is an event that contains religious and social dimensions. Kobong (Marwing, 2011) In practice, it is actually based on a social structure, namely a) Tana' bulaan (nobles), b) Tana' bassi (middle aristocrats), c) Tana' karurung (the artisans, skilled workers), and d) ) Tana' kua-kua or among the servants.

Paranoan (Guntara et al., 2016) 'rambu solo' ritual in Toraja culture has implications for four aspects, namely;

- a. Love, in the implementation of the rambu solo ritual, is a sign of affection for the family who has died. The people of Tana Toraja feel *ma busung* (cursed) if they don't ritualize their parents who died properly in accordance with the provisions of their tana (cultural measure).
- b. Prestige, the rambu solo ritual is carried out based on the dignity of a family family. The number of animal offerings that are sacrificed becomes a benchmark for the social status of the family.
- c. Religiously, according to the belief of *aluk to dolo*, the more *tedong* and pork that are offered, the easier it will be for the soul of the "dead" to go to *puya* (heaven).
- d. Economics, in the rambu solo ritual, there is an activity to distribute inheritance from people who have died. Families who are entitled to receive inheritance get a number of animals that are offered to the solo rambu ritual. To get as much inheritance as possible, families will compete to offer the most sacrificial animals.

The big and expensive sacrifice in the solo rambu ritual is based on four aspects (Muslimin, 2015), namely:

- a. Religious aspect. Toraja people believe that the sacrifice of the slaughtered *tedong* can save the corpse. The sins that have been committed in the world can be overcome by slaughtering as many *tedong* as possible, whose flesh is eaten by many people, including those who have been persecuted, scolded, or exterminated while the dead were still alive. When they eat beef, their sins disappear.
- b. Aspects of love to parents or family relationships. For the Toraja people, the concept of death is defined as the greatest position from the death of a loved one, such as parents, siblings, and spouse. Death is a symbol of permanent separation between family and loved ones.
- c. Prestige aspect. Toraja people believe that the more *tedong* that is sacrificed, the higher the social acknowledgment of the deceased's family. The slaughtered *Tedong bonga* are lined up in a wide field for people to see. Placing *tedong bonga* in a row aims to wait for its owner who is still in "rest time" (the dead). The spirit needs a vehicle in the form of *tedong bonga* to travel and the more the number of *tedong* slaughtered will speed up the deceased to go to heaven. The slaughter of tens of *tedong* and hundreds of pigs is the culmination of a funeral ritual which is also marked by a sign of stratification. The more *tedong* that is slaughtered shows that the deceased's family is devoted to the deceased. This is a symbol of self-esteem that is owned by the Toraja people. Therefore, there are Toraja sons who feel successful if they are able to slaughter as many *tedong* as possible in the *rambusolok* ritual, because it is a measure of success as well as a measure of prestige.
- d. Economic aspects. The *solok* sign ritual is in accordance with the family's economic readiness because it requires high costs. For nobles who are financially capable, usually they will immediately hold a ritual when a family member dies, but for ordinary people, they will wait until they have enough money. To wait for the adequacy of the cost, the corpse is usually laid in *Tongkonan* and prepared to eat and drink the person's life. In preparing for the last position, each family member tries earnestly to provide or donate all his wealth for the purposes of the last position. This is done because it will determine the acquisition of inheritance distribution of wealth. For the people of Tana Toraja, each heir who gives the most participation or sacrifices the most *tedong* at the time of *rambu solo*, then the person concerned automatically has the right to get more inheritance than the heir who sacrifices a little *tedong* (is an unwritten agreement or simultaneous consensus in Toraja society).

In the *rambu solo* ritual, the corpse will be delivered to the cliff. According to the belief of the Toraja people the higher (the rock cliff cave) where the body is located, the faster the spirit will get to *nirvana* (*Puya*), the spirit world/afterlife, which is south of the Tana Toraja area. The "world of rest", where the immortals are where the ancestors gather. In this place, the spirit of the deceased will transform into a wandering spirit (*Bombo*), a ghost-level deity (*KeMebaliPuang*), or a protective spirit (*Deata*). The realization of the transformation depends on the perfection of the solo sign procession. *Tedong* and the pigs that were sacrificed, property and other ornaments were the main provisions and equipment to be used in the occult. Before the body is buried, it is first performed thanks to the body and accompanied by hymns. If the nuclear family agrees on a time for *rambu solo*, all family members without exception will come to *Tongkonan* with sacrificial animals (*tedong* and pigs) as a form of condolence. The more animals sacrificed in *rambu solo*, the higher the degree of the person who dies when he enters *nirvana*.

### a. *The Striped Buffalo Symbol (Tedong Bonga) in the Solo Rambu Ritual*

Striped buffalo or tedong bonga in the Tana Toraja community have a very high meaning of social interaction in the Tana Toraja community, especially in the implementation of traditional death rituals according to the AlukToDolok belief. Tedong is a symbol of the meaning of the rules governing the implementation of ritual funerals, tedong has economic meaning for the community in the social, economic and cultural fields, very high economic value and tedong has a religious meaning as in every death ritual, tedong is the main benchmark for rituals as a sacrificial animal. so tedong has philosophical, socio-cultural, economic, and religious meanings (Jumadi et al., 2020).

Tedong bonga in the ritual of rambu solo (funeral) is an offering animal. Not all types of tedong can be made an offering/sacrifice but only with certain motives. Tedong with certain types of people in Tana Toraja represents philosophical, socio-cultural, economic, and religious values. Tedong bonga in Tana Toraja has a very high value in traditional rituals and rituals among social life and beliefs. Tedong bonga, is involved in every ritual and custom, such as the rambu solo' ritual. The number and types of signs of family social status in the socio-cultural, economic structure for those who perform traditional rituals (Lullulangi&Sampebua, 2017).

Although the value is very expensive For families who carry out the ritual, solo signs are mandatory because of the Aluk To Dolok rules regarding the sacrifice of tedong among all levels of society in Tana Toraja. Tedong became the main symbol of offerings, determined in ritual rituals, standard customary law sanctions became standard inheritance. Tedong offerings at the rambu solo ritual present a myth. Tedong as a tribute in the ritual of solo signs, tedong has a meaning as a cultural symbol and cultural identity of the Tana Toraja people. The people in Tana Toraja place the tedong bonga as the subject of every ritual. Although there are other animals such as pigs, tedong bonga remains the main and obligatory animal sacrifice. Each community group in Tana Toraja has rules regarding the sacrifice of tedong bonga according to the instructions in AlukToDolok (Jumadi et al., 2020). The Tana Toraja community in the ritual of death In accordance with the values of belief held by Aluk to Duloktedong as well as the main symbol of the sacrificial animal and the basis in rituals as well as a symbol of social status and social structure in Tana Toraja Aluk to Dolok adherents.

### b. *Types of Striped Buffalo*

The striped buffalo or specifically named "tedong bonga" which is a local buffalo from the Toraja Tribe is very good compared to other buffalo. This is because the characteristics of the tedong body are quite unique because of their social function in Toraja society. The more beautiful the stripes of the tedong, the more expensive it is and the higher the social level of the owner. In the end, tedong became a symbol in measuring the wealth and social status of the Toraja tribe. The existence of social status will be reflected in the number of tedong slaughtered during the death feast called "rambu solo" (Mustafa et al., 2019).

Types of bonongtedong and their characteristics. There are several types of tedong bonga or known in Toraja (Mustafa et al., 2019), namely:

- a. Tedongsaleko, a type of tedong that has perfect lines where the stripes are symmetrical throughout the buffalo's body, so the selling price is quite fantastic, at least Rp. 300 million to 1 billion per one tedong. Tedong is looking for a favorite of Toraja people because of its nature. Fur is very beautiful and difficult to obtain because the population is very limited. For those who can afford this tedong directly, it will increase their prestige and make their social status rise in the community.
- b. Tedong bonga, a type of tedong that has a striped body in large or small quantities. The minimum selling price starts from Rp. 25 million to 175 million, it depends on the size and distribution of the stripes on the body. On the other hand, the female buffalo is cheaper because only the buffalo is used as a complement, while the male tedong, although not as beautiful as the salekotedong, is also a pride and is sought after by the Toraja people. The high and low selling prices of tedong striped are also based on an assessment of the characteristics of tedong. In Tongkonan houses, tedong horns are arranged in front of the house as a symbol of one's status. There are several types of

tedong which are sorted by quality, namely tedongsaleko which is considered the best by the community, followed by tedong bonga and lotongboko. While the most basic difference lies in the basic color of the tedong skin, which is black with white stripes (Isbandi et al., 2017).

### 3. METHODOLOGY

#### a. *Research Approach*

The Tana Toraja community is a society that lives by customary rules that become a pattern of daily life. The researcher illustrates and interprets the social meaning of striped buffalo in the ritual of death with a qualitative research approach.

Qualitative research is research that aims to collect text databases, as well as data analysis consists of dividing it into a collection of sentences, called sentence parts, and determining the meaning that comes from a collection of sentences. Data analysis through sentences or pictures as a description of the basic phenomenon being studied. Obtaining an individual description or individual location. In qualitative research, research reports are described by researchers based on interviews from several research subjects (Creswell, 2015).

#### b. *Types of Research*

Researchers to understand the actions of the people of Tana Toraja use phenomenological research. In phenomenological research, it is used to analyze, and understand individual social actions based on human consciousness and subjective meaning. Regarding educational research, the subjective view of the research is very necessary. The main purpose of this mundane phenomenology is to reconstruct the formal structure of the living world.

When the 'basic meaning' of tedong bonga in the ritual of rambu solo is revealed, scientific idealization will be able to achieve self-awareness. The world of life, in the sense of Edmund Husserl (Sampieri, 2004), is the original domain, the clear and unquestionable basis of all kinds of everyday acting and thought and all scientific and philosophical theory. The general aim of life-world analysis, oriented to the epistemological problem of social science, is therefore to analyze meaning-understanding by means of a formal description of the invariable basic structure of the constitution of meaning in the subjective consciousness of actors.

The understanding of the actions of the Tana Toraja people to make Tedong bonga the main offering animal has its own meaning. Husserl (Zahavi, 2003) to work on the concept of meaning. It is analyzed from everyday life and not in the realm of transcendental phenomenological reduction. It refers to the understanding of the actions of people in the living world, as subjects in themselves or in intersubjective relationships, mediated by eidetic descriptions, that is, by the unchanging, unique, structure of society consisting of living and conscious minds.

This type of phenomenological research is research that examines meaning. Not just to describe something that is seen through observation. The relationship of phenomenology to sociological research is that research must know and understand what is not seen, but the meaning of what is believed by community groups. It's not just what's visible or happening in society. In phenomenological research, there are structured and specific analytical methods developed by Moustakas (Creswell, 2015).

### 4. RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

#### 4.1. The Meaning of Tedong Bonga for Lower Class Society

Samen as an informant who comes from the tana kua-kua strata is a farmer, during the interview said that the presence of tedong bonga in the rambu solo ritual is a description of the social strata of the Tana Toraja community. The number of tedong that becomes the offering animal is at least 24, and if the family presents more than 24 tedong, it means that the caste of the family is high and is descended from a king or nobility. The price of a tedong like the Balian type is around 300 million. The cost of the solo rambu ritual does not feel heavy because the family helps each other.

Abner Samule stated that in presenting tedongsaleko there are also procedures and values for the presence of tedongsaleko in the rambu solo event. not all events without tedong bonga are not sacred, so not all the presence of tedong bonga or saleko must be in one event so it just depends on the event



they make based on their abilities and then their caste too, so look at its sacredness does not depend on the stripes so they make it according to the rules they live in one culture. All traditional activities that smell sacred to assess the absence of tedong bonga are not said that it is not sacred, they also make it sacred without tedong bonga. Tedong bonga is said to be hard to find, not all areas have tedong bonga.

People who are included in the tana' kua-kua social strata are the servant class according to the Tana Toraja community. Ritual festivities can signify the social strata of a celebrating family. The number of sacrificial animals offered is also not as much as from higher social strata. Tedong that is slaughtered from the ordinary tedong group is tedongpudu. The traditional order of AlukToDolo has regulated the solo sign ritual so as to provide an opportunity for the community to manifest love for their parents with events that are in accordance with the ability of the family. Although on his journey later a person from the Tana' kua-kua caste group due to various factors became financially stable, the family was unable to carry out the ritual lively and buy tedong bonga.

Mauludin (Abdurahim, 2015) The social status of the people of Tana Toraja can be seen from the excitement of the party and the length of time the party is held, which of course is also how many animals are sacrificed. All animals that are sacrificed are believed to be the capital of the deceased's journey to the realm of immortality. The more victims (tedong& pigs) are slaughtered, the better and smoother the journey of the spirit will be. The longer the party is held and the number of animals sacrificed, also shows the higher the social strata of the spirit and its immediate family.

### **4.2. The Meaning of Tedong Bonga for Most People**

YakobusPayunglangi said that the striped buffalo or what is called tedong bonga has its own class in the rambu solo ritual, tedong bonga tedong usually becomes an offering animal as a form of family love for the deceased. The number of tedong offered is 24 tedong bonga or regular tedong, the type of tedong offered is adjusted to the ability of the family. Among the 24 tedong, one of them is tedong bonga, because it shows whether the family and the party are complete. When a parent or family dies, and cuts one regular tedong, it is certain that during the rambu solo ritual at the loot stage, 24 tedong will be cut and one of them is tedong bonga.

Something that distinguishes people from the noble caste and ordinary caste is the number of tedong bonga offered in the solo rambu ritual. Even though they have abundant wealth if they do not come from aristocratic descent, the family cannot offer more than 24 tedong, this is because the community still respects customs and does not want to exceed the upper limit of customary norms that have existed for generations.

The type of Bonga that is offered as a sacrificial animal, how many types of black tedong or pudu are females and some are males. Tedongtodi is a tedong that has black and white on the head. Tedongsambo which is slightly whitish in color. Tedong balian is a castrated buffalo. There are several tedong bonga that are colored around the head only. Tedongsaleko is a tedong bonga that is patterned from the head to the back. Tedonglotongboko has a black pattern around the back.

Tedong bonga is what becomes the 'vehicle' to the puya gate. The large number of animals sacrificed usually indicates the position or social status of the person concerned in society. If the offering animal does not comply with the provisions, it can become a barrier for the spirit to get to the Puya gate. Rituals through customs that have been inherited by the Toraja people from generation to generation in the form of solo signs oblige the surviving family to hold a party or ritual as a sign of final respect for the deceased who has gone away.

### **4.3. The Meaning of Tedong Bonga in the Ritual of Rambu Solo for Middle Nobles**

Tedong bonga has existed since time immemorial, meaning that before converting to Christianity and Islam in Tana Toraja, it was termed the AlukToDolo religion. Tedong bonga if someone who is able to cut it as a complete custom will be prepared by the family of the dead person. If the family slaughters the tedong bonga, it means that the soul in the afterlife is good, that's why the Toraja people used to try their best to cut the tedong bonga as much as possible, in the funeral ceremony, what is complete is what is offered to the deceased so that they can go to puya. The order of the people of Tana Toraja must respect adat, even though economically prosperous cannot break adat. The family of the deceased must consult to hold a solo sign ceremony and how many tedong bonga will be cut.

Belief in the past, meaning that before converting to Christianity and Islam, such a belief was of the opinion that the more animals and classes of animals that were offered to the spirits of the dead, the better their place in nature would be to go to heaven. Even if the party is complete with a broom, then the spirit is close to the gods. Therefore, the family of the deceased tried their best to carry out the randanan broom in the ritual of the solo rambunctious party of the ancients, if possible there was a tedong bonga to complete the party.

There are two well-known traditional ways of explaining the origin of meaning. The practice of classical psychology in analyzing the meaning of an object by identifying the sensations that enter into the perception of the object; or in contemporary practice tracing meaning. Symbolic interactionism views meaning as having different sources than those held by the two dominants. Meaning comes from the intrinsic makeup of things that have meaning, nor does they see meaning as arising through the combination of psychological elements within the person.

Instead, look at the meaning that arises in the process of interaction between individuals and other individuals. The meaning of something to someone grows out of the way other people act towards that person. Individual actions work to define something for the person. Thus, symbolic interactionism sees meaning as a social product, as a creation that is formed in and through activities that determine individuals when interacting.

#### **4.4. The Meaning of Tedong Bonga in the Ritual of Rambu Solo for High Nobles**

According to the Tana Toraja custom regarding the assessment of tedong bonga or saleko, it is a symbol for the rambu solo event which is valuable for people who have charisma, have a level of nobility and also the presence of tedongsaleko or tedong bonga to complete a traditional Tana Toraja cultural event within the framework of rambu solo , then the presence of tedong is indeed of high value for a family who organizes a cultural event, a funeral event, or a solo sign event and also if I think the value is indeed quite expensive.

The "tana bulaan" strata who are economically less able to carry out the Di Pasangbongi ritual are funeral ceremonies that are carried out only with a duration of one night. This ceremony is carried out for a community group called tana" karurung (free or ordinary people). However, if the family comes from the "tana bulaan" strata with great ability, they can carry out the ritual "rapasan broomstick" or called "equal to the river bank" carried out by slaughtering an abundance of tedong, from tedongsaleko to tedongpudu, and tedong balian.

The number that is offered as a tedong sacrificial animal is at least 24 tails and can reach 100 tails. The social strata of the Tana Toraja community determine the number of sacrificial animals offered in the rambu solo ritual. The tana' bulaan and tana' bassi can perform rituals according to their ability or economic condition. However, there is still a sense of shame (siri) for people with the Tana' Bulaan strata if they do not carry out the booty which is the stage of the rambu solo ritual, therefore the family of the deceased will make every effort to make the Loot ritual as lively as possible by presenting many tedong bonga as offering animals.

Based on previous research, the rambu solo ritual is still ongoing because the Tana Toraja people are based on the old belief of the Tana Toraja people, namely AlukToDolo. The AlukToDolo belief has rules regarding human relations (living) with people who have died, because there is a new death and a funeral has not been held, then the person who died is believed to be only a person who is resting or is sick. This condition is known as tomkcula. As long as in this condition the relationship between human life is in an ordinary condition, where the tomacula 'is needed as a living human because in daily conditions food and drink are provided which are placed on special plates and cups for tomacula.

Cicilia stated that the family had not carried out the solo rambu ritual, so the bodies of Cicilia's late parents were still placed at home. Cicilia's mother's family treated the late as if they were sick. The late Mr. Petrus Palalangan was placed in a coffin wearing a black coat.

In the rambu solo ritual, tedong as the main offering animal, tedong offered by the family is believed to be a vehicle to heaven (Puya). Offering tedong as a sacrificial animal is adjusted to the abilities of individuals in the family family. it does not mean that we are burdened, appointed in accordance with the sincerity of sincerity as a form of appreciation to old people. The family will give what can be raised (donated) and there is no coercion.

The allied family deliberates and sits together when the family has just died, to determine when the solo rambu ritual is carried out, what its shape, model is so that it can make a budget plan for the funds needed to hold a solo rambu ritual. There is something unique that when the family group discusses to determine the sacrificial animal in the form of tedong, the family will prepare a number of sticks which are divided according to the types of tedong that will be sacrificed in the rambu solo ritual.

The solo sign ceremony and the concept of the Toraja supernatural world. The religious ritual of the solo sign is considered a "gateway" for the corpse to enter a new realm. Aluk To Dolo as the belief of the Toraja people as a world filled with magical characters. The Tana Toraja people believe that the world is guarded by ancestors who have supernatural powers. Oddang describes the magical conception of the Toraja people as the cultural identity of the Toraja people into three symbols, namely Puya, Tara Tree, and Tongkonan. Puya is an eternal resting place, a gathering place for the spirits of the ancestors. Tongkonan is a symbol of the unity of the relationship between humans and their ancestors. Tongkonan is likened to the center of the social and spiritual life of the Toraja Tribe, where all family members are required to participate in every form of ritual (Apriyani, 2020).

Toraja people believe that the more tedong that is sacrificed, the higher the social acknowledgment of the deceased's family. The slaughtered Tedong bonga are lined up in a wide field for people to see. Placing tedong bonga in a row aims to wait for its owner who is still in "rest time" (the dead). The spirit needs a vehicle in the form of tedong bonga to travel and the more tedong that is slaughtered the faster the deceased will reach heaven. The slaughter of tens of tedong and hundreds of pigs is the culmination of a funeral ritual which is also marked by a sign of stratification. The more tedong that is slaughtered shows that the deceased's family is devoted to the deceased. This is a symbol of self-esteem that is owned by the Toraja people. Therefore, there are Toraja sons who feel successful if they are able to slaughter as many tedong as possible in the rambusolok ritual, because it is a measure of success as well as a measure of prestige (Muslimin, 2015).

Presenting TedongSaleko, there are also procedures that have values for the presence of TedongSaleko in the rambu solo event. Not all events without tedong bonga are not sacred, so not all the presence of tedong bonga or saleko must be in one event, so it just depends on the event they make based on their abilities and then their caste too, so it's not seen as sacred. depending on the stripe so they make it according to the rules they live in one culture.

Tedong bonga used by the Toraja people are of two types;tedong bonga and tedongsaleko. According to Toraja belief, tedong bonga is considered a sacred animal that the spirits of the dead will ride into the afterlife. The more tedong, the spirit of the dead will quickly reach nirvana and his sins will be quickly erased. Those who are able to carry out traditional celebrations with great glee and sacrifice a lot of tedong will elevate their social status, while those who are unable to perform major traditional rituals will be ignored and even considered to have lowered social status.

The meaning that appears in the process of interaction between individuals and other individuals. The meaning of something to someone grows out of the way other people act towards that person. Individual actions work to define something for the person. Symbolic interactionism sees meaning as a social product, as a creation formed in and through activities that determine individuals when interacting (Blumer, 1986).

Although the value is very expensive For families who carry out the ritual, solo signs are mandatory because of the Aluk To Dolok rules regarding the sacrifice of tedong among all levels of society in Tana Toraja. Tedong became the main symbol of offerings, determined in ritual rituals, standard customary law sanctions became standard inheritance. The sacrifice of tedong in the traditional ritual of rambu solo creates a myth. Through respect for tedong in traditional rituals, it not only conveys identity and advantages, but makes tedong mean something human (social and cultural meaning) for Toraja people.

*Tedong bonga* in the rambu solo ritual is a big and expensive sacrifice based on the values, as follows:

- a. Tradition value, that the social strata of society come from the sky, so the title pongpakulando or servant does come from the sky. Even though they have abundant wealth if they do not come from noble descent, the family cannot offer more than 24 bedongs, this is because the community still respects customs based on the AlukToDolo belief system and does not want to exceed the upper limit of existing customary norms. from generation to generation.

- b. Religious values, that the people of Tana Toraja (totumampata) 'glorify parents', parents who have died are glorified and sent to go to puya. Tedong is offered provisions for the dead, the more animals and animal classes that are offered to the spirits of the party complete with brooms, the more the spirits approach the gods and Puang Matua. The family will not burden poor families, but provide an opportunity for the family of the deceased to make animal offerings based on their abilities and voluntarily. Presenting tedongsaleko also has its procedures, not all events without tedong bonga are not sacred. Although people have changed their beliefs from the teachings of the AlukToDolo belief in the modern era where people have embraced various religions such as Christianity and Islam, tedong is a sacred animal offering.
- c. Aspects of Prestige, that the aristocratic group used a lot of tedong bonga in the solo rambu ritual. The tedong that is offered, whether it is a tedong bonga or an ordinary tedong, amounts to a minimum of 24-100, it shows the social status of the family and the party is complete. Tedong is a symbol of self-esteem that belongs to the aristocratic community of Tana Toraja. The nobles feel successful if they are able to slaughter as many tedong bonga as possible, including the tedongsaleko, because it is a measure of success which is also a measure of prestige, which distinguishes the community from the noble and ordinary castes.
- d. Economic aspect, that high social status is not absolutely able to cut the tedongsaleko as an offering animal in the solo rambu ritual. Even if the aristocrats are not able to cut the tedongsaleko, the family can replace the tedongsaleko with another tedong bonga according to their abilities. Families provide rocks according to their abilities and are not forced. Sticks as symbols or interpreted as tedong to be offered, each family is asked to take sticks according to ability. The sticks are symbolized as tedong bonga, tedongpudu, tedong balian and so on. The more tedong the child donates as an offering at the rambu solo ritual, the greater the share of the inheritance for the child.

The big and expensive sacrifice in the solo rambu ritual is based on four aspects (Muslimin, 2015), namely:

- a. Religious aspect. Toraja people believe that the sacrifice of the slaughtered tedong can save the corpse. The sins that have been committed in the world can be overcome by slaughtering as many tedong as possible, whose flesh is eaten by many people, including those who have been persecuted, scolded, or exterminated while the dead were still alive. When they eat beef, their sins disappear.
- b. Aspects of love to parents or family relationships. For the Toraja people, the concept of death is defined as the greatest position from the death of a loved one, such as parents, siblings, and spouse. Death is a symbol of permanent separation between family and loved ones.
- c. Prestige aspect. Toraja people believe that the more tedong that is sacrificed, the higher the social acknowledgment of the deceased's family. The slaughtered Tedong Bonga were lined up in a wide field for people to see. Placing the seusi in a line aims to wait for their owner who is still in "rest time" (the dead). The spirit needs a vehicle in the form of a match to travel and the more tedong that is slaughtered the faster the deceased will reach heaven. The slaughter of tens of tedong and hundreds of pigs is the culmination of a funeral ritual which is also marked by a sign of stratification. The more tedong that is slaughtered shows that the deceased's family is devoted to the deceased. This is a symbol of self-esteem that is owned by the Toraja people. Therefore, there are Toraja sons who feel successful if they are able to slaughter as many tedong as possible in the rambusolok ritual, because it is a measure of success as well as a measure of prestige.
- d. Economic aspects. The solok sign ritual is in accordance with the family's economic readiness because it requires high costs. For nobles who are financially capable, usually they will immediately hold a ritual when a family member dies, but for ordinary people, they will wait until they have enough money. To wait for the adequacy of the cost, the corpse is usually laid in Tongkonan and prepared to eat and drink the person's life. In preparing for the last position, each family member tries earnestly to provide or donate all his wealth for the purposes of the last position. This is done because it will determine the acquisition of inheritance distribution of wealth. For the people of Tana Toraja, each heir who gives the most participation or sacrifices the most tedong during rambusolok, then the person concerned automatically has the right to get more inheritance than the heir who sacrifices a little water. tedong (is an unwritten agreement or simultaneous consensus in Toraja society).



The community is proud when they can carry out the solo rambu ritual, some people who go abroad collect money to carry out the solo rambu ritual as a tribute to their parents so they buy Saleko buffalo, and other tedong bonga. Types of tedong bonga balian, tedongpuđu, tedonglotongboko. Social status will reflect how many tedong are offered as sacrificial animals, if they come from a family that can afford it, they can offer more than 24 tedong bonga.

Culture as a conception, whether defined as customs, traditions, norms, values, rules, or the like, clearly comes from what people do. Similarly, social structure in any of its aspects, as represented by terms such as social position, status, role, authority, and prestige, refers to the relationships derived from how people act towards one another.

The life of any society must consist of a continuous process of adjustment of the activities of its members. It is a complex of ongoing activities that define and describe a structure or organization. A cardinal principle of symbolic interactionism is that any empirically oriented schema of society, however derived, must respect the fact that in the first and last instances human society consists of individuals engaged in action. To be empirically valid, the schema must be consistent with the nature of human social action.

The people in Tana Toraja place the tedong bonga as the subject of every ritual. Although there are other animals such as pigs, tedong bonga remains the main and obligatory animal sacrifice. Each community group in Tana Toraja has rules regarding the sacrifice of tedong bonga according to the instructions in AlukToDolok (Jumadi et al., 2020).

*Tedong bonga* has an expensive price because not all areas in Tana Toraja can produce or develop tedong bonga. Many breeders have tried to breed tedongbonga, but have not succeeded. Like doing a cross between tedongpuđu and tedong bonga, it still cannot produce tedong bonga. Only certain areas can breed Tedong Bonga. This causes tedong bonga to have a high selling price.

Tedong bonga which is used as an offering animal in the ritual of rambu solo for people with the social strata of tana moon, tana bassi, and tana karurung, while the tana kua-kua strata do not cut the tedong bonga. According to the belief of AlukToDolo, the Tedong Bonga that is offered is the deceased's provision for a better life in the spirit realm. So the family tried to make tedong bonga an animal offering.

## 5. CONCLUSION

5.1. The meaning of tedong bonga as a sacred traditional symbol is formed based on the meaning that humans have and mutual agreement through symbolic interactionism, influenced by traditional, religious, prestige and economic values. The meaning of the death ritual which is meaningful (meaningful) makes humans understand that a great sacrifice to the ancestors and the Creator brings peace and tranquility. So that humans who understand the meaning of a meaningful death ritual will compete to do it. However, sacred customary symbols are applied in accordance with a mutual agreement, that the symbols used in meaningful death rituals do not break the traditional order. The more tedong bonga sacrificed determines a person's social status.

5.2. The symbol of tedong bonga which was originally a vehicle to nirvana to start a new life and gather with the spirits of the ancestors. In line with human interpretations that are influenced by changes in their beliefs, tedong bonga as the highest symbol in the death ritual is presented as a form of affection for the parents or family who died.

## REFERENCES

- Abdurahim, A. (2015). Makna Biaya dalam Upacara Rambu Solo. *Jurnal Akuntansi Multiparadigma*, 6(2), 175–184. <https://doi.org/10.18202/jamal.2015.08.6014>
- Alfarah, A. S. Y., Saputra, F. B., Mukminin, M. S., Pangesti, P. W., Azizah, S. F., & Ediyono, S. (2021). Rambu Solo' Sebagai Upacar Pemakaman Jenazah di Tana Toraja (Tinjauan Wujud dan Unsur Kebudayaan). *ResearchGate*, March, 1–35. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/350262395%0ARAMBU>
- Allolinggi, L. R., Sapriya, S., & Hakam, K. A. (2020). Local Wisdom Values In Rambu Solo ' Ceremony As A Source Of Student Character Development ( Ethnographic Studies on Traditional Ceremonies of the Tana Toraja Community ).
- Apriyani, T. (2020). Identitas Budaya Toraja Dalam Novel Puya Ke Puya Karya Faisal Oddang. *Mimesis*, 1(1), 11. <https://doi.org/10.12928/mms.v1i1.1534>

- Blumer, H. (1986). *Symbolic Interactionism\_ Perspective and Method*-University of California Press (1986).pdf.
- Blumer, H. (1988). *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 39(2), 292. <https://doi.org/10.2307/590791>
- Creswell, J. W. (2009a). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. *Intercultural Education*, 20(2), 127–133. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980902922143>
- Creswell, J. W. (2009b). *Research Design*. In *Research Design 3rd Ed*. <https://www.worldcat.org/title/research-design-qualitative-quantitative-and-mixed-methods-approaches/oclc/269313109>
- Creswell, J. W. (2015). *Penelitian Kualitatif & Desain Research Memilih di Antara Lima Pendekatan*. In alih bahasa, Ahmad Lintang Lazuardi.
- Guntara, F., Fatchan, A., & Ruja, I. N. (2016). *Kajian Sosial - Budaya Rambu Solo' dalam Pembentukan Karakter Peserta Didik*. *Jurnal Pendidikan*, 1(2), 154–158.
- Hasbi, Pulubuhu, D. A. T., Arsyad, M., & Liu, O. P. (2019). *Transformation of traditional ceremony as rational choice: A case study of Toraja society in Indonesia*. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 235(1). <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/235/1/012036>
- Isbandi, I., Soeharsono, S., & Rusdiana, S. (2017). *Marjin Pemasaran Ternak Kerbau di Pasar Hewan Bolu Kabupaten Toraja Utara*. 219–227. <https://doi.org/10.14334/pros.semnas.tpv-2017-p.220-228>
- Ismail, R. (2019). *Ritual Kematian Dalam Agama Asli Toraja "Aluk To Dolo" (Studi Atas Upacara Kematian Rambu Solok)*. *Religi Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama*, 15(1), 87. <https://doi.org/10.14421/rejusta.2019.1501-06>
- Jumadi, M., Nurlela, M., & Idrus, I. I. (2020). *The Changes of a Symbolic Meaning of Tedong in the Socio-Cultural and Economical Structure among the Devotees of Aluk Todolok Belief in Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi*. 226(Icss), 974–978. <https://doi.org/10.2991/icss-18.2018.203>
- Lullulangi, M., & Sampebua, O. (2017). *Tongkonan in Kalimbuang Bori and its built environment in the North Toraja regency of South Sulawesi, Indonesia*. *Journal of Engineering and Applied Sciences*, 12(Specialissue9), 8673–8678. <https://doi.org/10.3923/jeasci.2017.8673.8678>
- Lusi, R. A., & Yuwanto, L. (2020). *Aspek-Aspek Psikologis pada Prosesi Rambu Solo' (Tinjauan Teori Religiusitas)*. *Insight: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Penelitian Psikologi*, 16(2), 336–346. <https://doi.org/10.32528/ins.v16i2.2057>
- Muslimin, M. (2015). *The communication of a religiousness ritual of Toraja ethnic south Sulawesi Indonesia through Ma'Badong inheritance media*. *Asian Social Science*, 11(24), 129–138. <https://doi.org/10.5539/ass.v11n24p129>
- Mustafa, E. A., Arman, A., Sirajuddin, S. N., & Saudi, N. S. (2019). *Social status relationship to purchase of tedong bonga for the Community Toraja Tribes*. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 247(1). <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/247/1/012060>
- Naomi, R., Matheosz, J. N., & Deeng, D. (2020). *UPACARA RAMBU SOLO' DI KELURAHAN PADANGIRING KECAMATAN RANTETAYO KABUPATEN TANA TORAJA*. 13(4), 1–19.
- Palayukan, A. R. (2021). *Perception and Implication of Ma'Badong Tradition in the Rambu Solo' Ceremony in the Lembang Pemanukan Community, Kecamatan Gandang Batu Sillanan District Tana Toraja*. *Edu Civic*, 2(1), 15–25.
- Panggarra, R. (2014). *Konflik Kebudayaan Menurut Teori Lewis Alfred Coser Dan Relevansinya Dalam Upacara Pemakaman (Rambu Solo') Di Tana Toraja*. *Jurnal Jaffray*, 12(2), 291. <https://doi.org/10.25278/jj71.v12i2.20>
- Paranoan, S. (2015). *Akuntabilitas dalam Upacara Adat Pemakaman*. *Jurnal Akuntansi Multiparadigma*, 6(2), 214–223. <https://doi.org/10.18202/jamal.2015.08.6017>
- Saleh, I. M., & Asnawi, A. (2014). *IDENTIFIKASI KARAKTERISTIK KERBAU BELANG YANG MENENTUKAN HARGA JUAL TERTINGGI DI PASAR HEWAN BOLU KABUPATEN TORAJA UTARA* Ikrar Mohammad Saleh, Aslina Asnawi. *Jurnal Ilmu - Ilmu Perternakan*, 1(2), 168–176.
- Syarif, E., Fatchan, A., & Komang Astina, I. (2016). *Conservation Values of Local Wisdom Traditional Ceremony Rambu Solo Toraja's Tribe South Sulawesi as Efforts the Establishment of Character Education*. *Efl Journal*, 1(1), 17–23. [www.jeltl.org](http://www.jeltl.org)

- Tang, M., Sani, M. Y., Basir, M., & Program, A. D. (2020). Function and Meaning of Symbolic Fashion in Rambu Solo ' Ceremony. 8(3), 17–25.
- Tangdialla, L., Pasanda, E., & Tangdialla, R. (2021). The Meaning of Debt at the Rambu Solo' Funeral Ceremony. <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.4-11-2020.2304618>
- Zahavi, D. (2003). Husserus phenomenology. In Time. [http://books.google.com/books?id=kdVqnnJXVoMC&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauthor:zahavi&cd=1&source=gbs\\_api](http://books.google.com/books?id=kdVqnnJXVoMC&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauthor:zahavi&cd=1&source=gbs_api)

**Citation:** *FerdyKusno et al. "The Social Meaning of the Striped Buffalo in the Death Ritual of the Toraja Indonesian Community" International Journal of Humanities Social Sciences and Education (IJHSSE), vol 9, no. 5, 2022, pp.53-67. doi: <https://doi.org/10.20431/2349-0381.0905006>.*

**Copyright:** © 2022 Authors. This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited.