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Meaning of the Death Ceremony ‘Rambu Solo’ in Tana Toraja

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Abstract

Rambu Solo is a traditional ceremony descended from generation to generation in Tana Toraja Regency, Indonesia. For the people of Tana Toraja, performing a traditional ceremony for a dead person is obliged. If the death ceremony is not undertaken, the deceased person would still be considered lying, sick, or what they call "tomakula" (Toraja word). They believe that people do not only struggle during living in this world but also in their post-death, as they call it Bombo, To Mebbal iPuang, and Data Bombo. This post-death phase is the phase in which the spirits of the deceased are still roaming around. Therefore, the Rambu Solo ceremony is mandatory for Tana Toraja's people. This article presents the history of the Tana Toraja people from the beginning of their entry into South Sulawesi, their deployment pattern, and the process of the Rambu Solo ceremony, along with the procedures, equipment and stages in accordance with the tradition rooted in Toraja society. To facilitate this research, the anthropological approach was applied. This approach examines something related to humans as living beings or socio-cultural creatures with a descriptive-qualitative method. The secondary data was obtained through library research, reviewing some related literature. The primary data were obtained by observation and interviews with related parties. The result of this research is the meaning of the Rambu Solo ceremony. The dimensions studied are: First, religious meaning, because the traditions of Tana Toraja people are very closely related to the Creator. Rambu Solo is believed to make it easier for the spirit of dead people to depart to the spirit realm, that is, to return to eternity with their ancestors in a resting place known as Puya. Second, social meaning. Rambu Solo ceremony is a consolation for the bereaved family. The buffalo is prepared by the family based on a mutual agreement. In addition, donations in the form of pigs and money can also be given. After slaughtering the buffalo, the meat is distributed to the local residents present at the ceremonial event. Thus, this ceremony has the dimension of mutual cooperation and assistance to reduce social inequality among the people of Tana Toraja.

Keywords: Ceremony, Rambu Solo, Tradition.

Introduction

Indonesia is a country with a very high level of plurality in the field of religious adherents, where there are various local traditions and beliefs. Local practices and beliefs in certain community groups are still very strong and practiced throughout the year (Afia, 1999, Abidin & Kaharuddin. 2021). This proves that Indonesia has had a fairly high civilization since ancient times. This can be proven by the tolerant attitude of the Indonesian people; although they are different in culture and religion, they are still one. Therefore, it is appropriate that *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* as the national symbol needs to be preserved to maintain the unity and integrity of the Indonesian Nation (Murniatmo, 1981, Kaharuddin, 2022).

The variety of religious and cultural patterns of Indonesian shows the noble personality of the nation. From the religious aspect, there are Islam, Christianity (Protestant and Catholic), Buddhism, and Hinduism, and several kinds of beliefs. From the cultural aspect, there are arts such as dance, singing art, painting and traditional birth customs, marriage, death ceremonies, safety ceremonies, and respect

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for ancestors. Those all reflect the richness of Indonesia in culture, but the cultural diversity remains in one unified bond, which is termed differently but remains one, namely the Indonesian Nation.

Humans cannot escape their belief and faith in life as a principle and the most basic value of human beings. They grow in the heart or are inherited from ancestors. The belief and faith in the Divine Essence of the Almighty grow in heart, as expressed by Kruit that belief is a matter of heart, wrapping all life, rooted in the soul, as a whole with all its many facet expressions (Kruit, 1976, Kaharuddin, Ahmad, D., Mardiana, Rusni 2020).

In essence, humans instinctively believe in the existence of god as the most absolute Essence, and they are divine beings. In this case, all humans are the same whether they are primitive or modern; there is no difference; they all believe in god even in their own language and terms. The worship (rituality) pattern is basically a symbolic expression of the faith dimension in something they considered great. The worship for its adherents is a request in worship to show gratitude or devotion referred to the sublime powers which hold human life (Fischer, 1980, Kaharuddin, Mardiana, N., Ahmad, D., Sari, A.A.I. 2022).

One of the most prominent characteristics of human existence is *cultural action*. Their living seems to be bound by the values that grow and develop in society. Their cultural actions must be in accordance with religious values.

Each religion has different procedures and regulations in religious activities the adherents must perform, both ways of worshiping god or other religious ceremonies. There are religious ceremonies in both ritual and ceremonial forms. Religious acts are mainly shown in ritual ceremonies. The pattern of worship (ritual) is basically a symbol of the faith dimension in something considered great. It can be said that ritual is a religion in action (Dhavomony, 1995).

Traditions attached to a religious community can also become rituals because they are considered full of good values and high religiosity, and one of them is the traditions in the Tana Toraja community. Like other tribes in Sulawesi, the tribe of TanaToraja also has its own story about *Tomanurung* (a person sent from heaven to improve the earth) (Najah, 2014).

Toraja people have a traditional ceremony for dead people intended to honor and deliver the spirits of the dead to the spirit realm that the dead people return to eternity with their ancestors in a resting place. This ceremony is often also referred to as *Rambu Solo* Ceremony. In contrast to ceremonies in other areas in South Sulawesi, the dead people are only buried without any lavish ritual ceremonies. Therefore, *Rambu Solo* Ceremony has its own uniqueness compared to other traditional ceremonies. Apart from the fact that the ceremony process seems luxurious, this ceremony is maintained from generation to generation to become a tradition of the Tana Toraja people.

Toraja Naming

Toraja was formerly known as "Tondok Lepongan Bulan Tana Matarik Allo," which means a country whose form of government is a circular entity like the moon and sun (Natsir, 2005). If each word is specified in meaning, then *tondok* means country; *lepongan* means round entity; *bulan* means month; *matarik* means shape; and *allo* means sun (Aziz, 2007). This was the original name before the name "Toraja" was used. *Toraja* is called *Toraa* or *Toraya* in the Toraja language. *Toraa* consists of two words: *To* and *Raa*. *To* means people, and *Raa* means cheap. So, *Toraa* means a generous and loving person. Meanwhile, *Toraya* consists of the words: *To* means people, and *Raya* means honorable. So *Toraya* can be interpreted as an honorable person or king (Andin, 2010).

Observers stated that the use of the name "Toraja" became known for two reasons: First, according to Frans Barauallo, the term "Toraja" became known in the 17th century after the relationship intertwined between the surrounding kingdoms, such as the Kingdoms of Bugis-Sidenreng, Bugis-Luwu, and Gowa. Each of these kingdoms has its own name and meaning to Toraja.

Bugis-Sidenreng Kingdom gave the name *To Riaja*. *To* means people, and *Riaja* means the North. So,

To Riaja means the people inhabiting the mountainous part of the northern part of the Bugis-Sidenreng kingdoms. This name was given because *Tondok Lepongan Bulan Matarik Allo* country was in the north of the Sidenreng Kingdom. This name was then widely known at the beginning of the 17th century when *Tondok Lepongan Bulan Kingdom* had established communication, political, and trade relations with Bugis kingdoms such as the Bugis-Sidenreng Kingdom (Patta, 2010).

The Bugis-Luwu Kingdom has a different opinion. The Luwu people said that the word *Toraja* originated from the word *To Rajang*. *To* means people and *Rajang* means West. Therefore, it implies that the *Tondok Lepongan Tana Matarik Allo* kingdom was located west of Luwu Kingdom. On the other hand, Luwu Kingdom was located east of *Tondok Lepongan Tana Matarik Allo* Kingdom. With reference to Toraja incantations and poems, Luwu Kingdom was actually the East Kingdom (Bararuallo, 2010).

The kingdom of Gowa confessed that Puang Lakipadada was a person from *Tondok Lepongan Bulan*, or *Toraja*, coming to Gowa at the end of the 13th century. He came to seek eternal life. He arrived in Gowa as a person whose origin was unknown, and nobody knew who he was. However, Lakipadada had many signs telling that he was a descendant of the king and came from a large kingdom. Therefore, the people of Gowa at that time recognized him as a person coming from the East. In other words, Lakipadada was called *Tau Raya*. In Makassar, it can be translated as *Tau* meaning people and *Raya* meaning East, and his origin was called *Tana To Raya*, which then became *Tana Toraja* (Bararuallo, 2010).

Social Conditions in Tana Toraja

The area of Tana Toraja was formerly known as *Tondok Lempongan Bulan Mantaril Allo*. This area is inhabited by one ethnic group, namely the Toraja ethnic. They have one local language, namely Toraja. However, they also use the Indonesian language to communicate with people outside Toraja. Some can speak English, Dutch, German, Japanese, and Mandarin. Those having skills in speaking foreign languages are guides for tourists (Nurhayati, 2009).

Toraja people live from farming or gardening: rice, corn, tubers, vegetables, and coffee in the hills and on mountain slopes. Tana Toraja has long been famous for its coffee. Along the slopes of the mountain lies a dense forest. On the edge of the forest to a rather flat land, there are hamlets and villages whose society still maintains the traditions of their ancestors and traditional houses as the result of their culture. In the crevices of the mountains flows rivers that bring fertility to the surrounding fields. One of the rivers is the Sa'dan river beneficial for agriculture in the area (Wiwiek, 1984).

Foreign culture cannot affect the daily social life of Toraja people, particularly their living in harmony and peace, as well as their open arms greeting the guests to see Toraja traditional parties, both *Rambu Tuka* and *Rambu Solo*.

Religion of Toraja People

There are two religions in Toraja: Christianity and Islam (Najah, 2014). However, before they embraced these religions, they were first united in a belief called *Aluk Todolo* (Maraya, 1997). *Todolo Aluk*, which they believe could not be legitimated as a religion by the government. They fulminated against the government's decision. After struggling for years to maintain their faith in Aluk Todolo as a religion, the government then asserted Aluk Todolo to become part of Hindu Dharma in the early 70s (Najah, 2014). The reason was that *Aluk Todolo* was a religion the Toraja people adhered to for a long before the coming of other religions.

The Faith of the Toraja People

The belief in Aluk Todolo is currently better known as *Alukta*, which stands for *Aluk Todolo* itself. *Aluk* in the Toraja language means the same as religion. Meanwhile, *Todolo* means the original grandmother (Maraya, 1997). The teachings of *Aluk Todolo* suggest that, outside of humans, there are three elements of power they must believe in their truth, greatness and power. The three elements are (1) belief in *Puang Matua*, (2) belief in *Daeta-daeta*, and (3) belief in *Toembali Puang* (ancestral spirits).

Death Concept of Aluk Todolo

In the concept of *Aluk Todolo*, death is a transfer of place and status from *lino* or the real world to *Puya* or the world of spirits. Everything owned during life in the real world can be brought to the life of the spirit world, such as property and social status. If the dead person is celebrated according to his status that applies to his *Tanake* (social stratification) and perfected through *Rambu Tuka'* ceremony, then the spirit of the deceased will change status to become a god/spirit and get a position in the sky with *Puang Matua* (Paranona, 1990). It means that if a person is dead and a death ceremony is made in the customs of the Toraja people, his spirit can become an ancestor or God and get the same social status in the afterlife similar to his position in the real world and get a position in the sky with *Puang Matua*.

Traditional Ceremonies in Tana Toraja

Ceremonies in Tana Toraja are closely related to religious ceremonies or traditional ways of cutting chickens, pigs, or buffalo. In addition, community life throughout the year is involved in religious ceremonies such as rice harvest party, traditional house party, and funerals for the dead (Yunus, 1986). Religious ceremonies in Tana Toraja are divided into two parts: (1). *Rambu Tuka'* Ceremony; (2) *Rambu Solo'* Ceremony.

Rambu Tuka' Ceremony

Rambu Tuka' ceremony is to worship *Daeta* and *Puang Matua* by cutting chicken, pig, or buffalo under the leadership of *Tominaa*. This ceremony is called *Rambu Tuka'*; it likens a joyful or good thanksgiving ceremony. *Rambu Tuka'* ceremony is often called *Aluk Rampe Mataallo* or a religious ceremony held in the morning at the eastern part of a house, and religious leaders always face east to offer available sacrifices.

Rambu Tuka' ceremony is divided into several parts of ceremony:

- a) *Mangrana Banua*. There is no written family tree, but the relationships of each family are tied up by a traditional house called *Tongkonan*. If the *Tongkonan* house has been built at the joint expense of the entire family, before being occupied, a party is held, attended by the whole family, and each member slaughters a large pig.
- b) *Ma' Bugi* is a thanksgiving ceremony in the village after harvest. *Ma' Bugi* is also held for village thanksgiving after a disease outbreak with an expectation that there will not be such disease in the future.
- c) *Merok* is one of the large parties held as a complement to the death ceremony of a noble; it could be performed if the family feels capable. At that time, it is expected that the deceased's spirit has become a member of the family of gods (reversal), and here we are grateful for the *daeta*. This event lasts several days, and every night the leader of *Aluk Todolo* inventories all attributes and intricacies of traditional are renewed in the minds of *Tominaa*, testing each other's ingenuity with words and poetry.
- d) *Ma' Sassiri* is a ceremony of harvest, the closing of death ceremony for the middle class. The middle-class funeral ceremony ends with *Ma'sasiri*, where 2 or 4 pigs are sacrificed.
- e) *Ma' Bua*. This is the most interesting and biggest ceremony of *Rambu Tuka'*, but not all traditional areas hold this Ma'bua party. For example, some places in Tana Toraja only know *merok* party as the highest thanksgiving party. But in the area of Riu and its surroundings, Lompo Batutumonga, the most capable financial families celebrate this Pesta Ma'buah party. The girls are fully clothed and make an interesting spectacle. The torch-bearing section at night is also the most interesting traditional attraction.

- f) *Ma' Bate* is the continuation of *Merok* party and *Ma'bua* party on the last day of the closing ceremony, in which all the villagers go out into an open area to have a party by cutting chicken and pig. In this open area, a tall tower is erected and decorated with *kin MAA'*, a kind of antique cloth and a special antique machete, namely a machete used in war.
- g) *Sisemba'*, harvest party, mass attractions, fighting between villages using foot, hands and weapons are not allowed. Each village is represented by its whiz of "*semba*" in the open arena. *Sisemba* has conditions that the opponent who has fallen down or surrendered is not allowed to be kicked, among others, cannot kick an opponent who has fallen or who has given up. If the opponent faints or breaks a bone, he must be given help immediately.

Rambu Solo Ceremony

Rambu Solo' ceremony or *Aluk Rampe Matampu'*, which is often referred to as the death ceremony, is also one of the biggest ceremonies in Tana Toraja (Kusnadi, 2016). In the belief in Aluk Todolo, if the funeral of a dead person has not been celebrated, it is still considered a lying or sick person. It is commonly referred to as "*TOMAKULA*" (Wiwiek, 1984).

The people of Toraja believe that human struggle is not finished in the real world. They believe in what they call *Bombo*, *To Mebali Puang*, and *Data*. *Bombo* is a phase where the spirit of the dead is still wandering around. *To Mebali Puang* is a condition where the spirit turns into a god level. While *Data* is a transformation into a protective spirit (Najah, 2014). Therefore, this ceremony is so sacred to the Toraja people and is considered a luxurious ceremony.

Many people think this ceremony is an extravagance ceremony, because the family celebrating it wants to spend a lot of money and sacrifice their property with a large enough value for the sake of their dead family member. However, it is not aimed at all just squandering material possessions, but they believe that the more sacrifice they make, the faster the spirits of the dead will reach Puya. In addition, this ceremony also involves several days and hundreds of residents. That's why this ceremony is regarded as the largest traditional ceremony.

Levels of Rambu Solo Ceremony

Rambu Solo' ceremony consists of some levels according to the financial ability of the family who organizes it. This ceremony is divided into several types according to the level of one's social status. This means that the higher the social class of a community, the higher the level of the ceremony held.

- 1) *Disili* is the simplest ceremony. In the past, the poor people from the slave level were often buried in a sad way, for example, only providing them with chicken eggs. However, the dead people are buried by slaughtering a pig (Limilling, 1997).
- 2) *Dipairbongi* is a one-night ceremony. In the sense that the body is kept one night and then buried. This ceremony is a funeral ceremony for people from *Tana' Karurung*. It can also be carried out for people who come from *Tana' Bassi* or *Tana' Bulan* who are economically disadvantaged.
- 3) *Dipatullungbongi* is a funeral ceremony held only one night at home, and only a buffalo is cut and a few pigs. This ceremony is for parents from the lowest or middle class or economically disadvantaged.
- 4) *Dipalimang Bongi* is a five nights and days ceremony in sequence, sacrificing at least five buffaloes or even more in accordance with the economic ability and also pigs in sufficient quantities. In this ceremony, a lodge is built as in *dipatalimbongi* ceremony for guests who are grieving and to show condolences in the yard of Tongkonan. A lodge is also made in the field called *rante* or the place where the ceremony takes place.
- 5) *Dipapitung Bongi* is a ceremony held for seven days and seven nights in sequence. Meanwhile, There is also *allo torro*, which indicates that the ceremony and sacrificial ceremony are still going on when people seem to rest. At least seven buffalo and several pigs are sacrificed in this ceremony. The peak of the

ceremony is after eating rice (Wiwiek, 1984). This is a lively ceremony marked by the arrival of many people to condolences. Various kinds of cakes made of sweet potatoes are usually prepared. These cakes are usually called *Deppa Te'tekan* and *Badde'* made from rice and corn. This cake is called traditional food, which must be provided at the death ceremony for guests. Without this traditional food, the ceremony is not considered complete. In this ceremony, the people with noble (puang) social status from Tallu Lembangna and Tomakaka areas in Rantepao and the surrounding area who hold the ceremony for their dead family member provide more than twelve buffaloes. They must be what Toraja people say *ballun bulaan* which means that the shroud of the deceased person is decorated with gold colored cloth usually in sun shape. Meanwhile, for the deceased person from middle social status, the ceremony can be performed if the condition of more than twelve buffaloes is satisfied, but shroud of the deceased is not decorated as that for deceased from the high social status or no *ballun bulaan*.

- 6) *Dirapai'*. In *dirapai'* ceremony, also called *rapasan ceremony*, this body is stored in a storage place or coffin. *Dirapai'*, the body is waited until dried. *Diparapai* ceremony is part of *dipapitmbongi* ceremony started at *Tongkonan*, the residence of the deceased. Then, the next day the ceremony is held in the field or *rante*. This ceremony is only destined for people of the *Tana' Bulan* community (the highest nobleman) who hold a traditional position, and of course, wealth is the most important requirement. However, the unrich people from noble caste with no traditional position can also celebrate *dipasangbongi* ceremony by sacrificing two buffaloes and several pigs for the burial of the bodies of people of noble caste.

Ceremonial and Cemetery Places of Rambu Solo'

1. *Rante*. *Rante* is a special place in each village to sacrifice animals for the dead. In *Dirapai'* ceremony, *rante* is given a place for the second ceremony where cottages are build for guests and a high house for the dead called *Lakkian* where the body is laid down during the ceremony. *Bala'kaan*, a tall rectangular building where the meat of sacrificed animals is distributed, is also built in the middle of this *rante*. From this high place, *Tominaa* distributes the meat traditionally by calling the family lineage of the *tempo a'pa'na*, namely the descendants of four grandmothers and traditional rulers in Tana Toraja.
2. *Liang* is a burial place on the slopes of a high and steep hill that is difficult to reach by human hands except by using stairs. There are also burrows in natural caves where burials for underprivileged families are found. Graves or *liang* of rich and noble people are generally on same site on the slopes of a steep rock and statues made of jackfruit wood are often found there. Mr. Jidon Sitohang said that *liang* in Toraja language is usually called *banua tang merambu* or a house with no smoky kitchen. Each family member has a family hole and they must know their family burrow. A body buried in the grace of another family is a disgrace to his family for generations. This person is usually called *To Pusa* or a lost person.
3. *Patane*. *Patane* is a grave made of wood in the form of a residential house isolated from the village. *Patane* is now mostly made using bricks in the form of a small house. *Patane* can be found in areas where no hills or rock burrows/caves exist, such as in the Sa'dan Nanggala and Buntao areas.
4. *Liang Pia*. *Liang Pia*, also known as *Passilliran*, is a burial of small children in large wooden trees such as *Liang Pia* in Pa'baisenan near Londa, in Sanggalla, in Pana' and almost all places where there is a large banyan tree.

General Process of Rambu Solo Ceremony

1. *Ma' pasulluk*. It is an initial inventory of the results of family discussions regarding readiness to provide buffalo by children and other family members. On this occasion, all available buffalo were paraded around the burial place. In this event, four pigs will be slaughtered and distributed to the buffalo herders by *toparengge'* (customary head) and *ambe' tondok*.
2. *Mebala'kaan, Mesimbuang, Mangriu' Batu, Mangriu' batu* means taking menhir stones from other places

and then brought to *rante* where the ceremony is held. *Membala'kaan* is erecting a tree in the middle of *rante*, with a kapok pole of 2-3 M height to distribute the meat during *ma'pasonglo/ma'palao*, and in *allo katongkonan*. It also functions as a place for *Tominaa* to speak at the time of *ma'pasa' tedong*. *Mesimbuang* is to take palm fiber, areca nut, lambiri, and *kadinge'* trees from one place to bring to *kerante*. The trees are planted beside menhir stone which will be used as a place to tether the buffalo after the *ma'pasonglo'* events. The palm fiber tree is used as a place for tethering *parepe'* (Balian buffalo). At the time of cutting, the head of Balian will be given to *Tongkonan Sökkong Bayu* (where the ceremony is held). In this ceremony, one buffalo and three pigs will be slaughtered and, after being cooked, will be distributed to all people present at the ceremony.

3. *Ma'pasa Tedong* is the second buffalo inventory event which was agreed by the family in previous family discussion. All buffaloes are gathered in Tongkonan yard where the corpse is buried, and maa' cloth is put on the back of *parepe'/balian* and all buffalo are paraded by *kerante* around *bala'kaan* 3 times, followed by *tominaa* ceremony from *bala'kaan* in the Toraja literary language. In this event, the value of each buffalo is interpreted. In the implementation of this event, five pigs will be slaughtered, which will later be distributed to the people present in the ceremony, and *pokon (lemper toraja)* to traditional custodians, the community, and other people attending the event.
4. *Ma'pəpəngkalao / Ma'parokko alang*. This activity is to lower or move the corpse from *tongkonan* to one of the barns in *tongkonan* location. The corpse will be laid down for three days and three nights in the barn until the *ma'pasonglo* event begins.
5. *Family Worship and Manggissi Lantang*. All families who provide their *Lantang* or huts have occupied their respective huts, along with all the equipment/logistics that will be needed during the funeral. There will also be family worship.
6. *Ma'palao/Ma'pasonglo* means to move the corpse from the barn to *lakkian* in *rante* location where the funeral ceremony takes place. This event is preceded by worship activities guided by the worship section, followed by eating together.
7. *Allo Katongkonan*. This activity is specifically for accepting (in customary) the family or other relatives who come to attend the funeral ceremony. The mourners first register at the reception post and the animals/objects they bring are noted by the committee at the registration post. The mourners may then enter *lantang katongkonan*.
8. *Allo Katorroan* is the rest day for the family and the executive committee to discuss the preparation of *manta'padang (mantunu)*, the buffaloes to be slaughtered and others.
9. *Mantunu/Manta Padang*. All buffaloes under an agreement of the family meeting/committee in *allo katorroan* are slaughtered and the meat is distributed as customary to family and relatives. In this event, *Toparengge/Ambe' Tondok* and the committee must calculate carefully and precisely so that the meat distribution is in accordance with the portion and position of the recipient. It is to avoid mistakes in the distribution. The buffaloes will be handed over alive in accordance with deliberation/discussion of the family and the committee set aside for the church, the development of the village, and public facilities. Still, they are considered dead/cut off.
10. *Meaa/Funeral*, This is the end of all stages of the ceremony, namely the funeral of the deceased in such orders as a) taking down the corpse from *lakkian*, b) funeral worship, c) condolences, d) thanks from family, and e) burial in the place under the agreement of the family.

Rambu Solo Equipment

The equipments used during the *Rambu Solo* ceremony have particular meanings. Tangdilintin suggested various kinds of ceremonial equipments in *Rambu Solo'* ceremony, including the following:

1. *Tombi Saratu*, namely fandel of long cloth with uniform patterns. The size of the pattern depicts the majesty and height of the funeral ceremony and is only used by the high caste of Toraja nobles.

2. *Tombi-tombi*, namely fandel of small long cloth which means that this ceremony is supported by families from all social classes. The high social class families and extended families both have obligations and devotion.
3. *Tombi Tarun-Tarun*, namely fandel made of connected pieces of cloth, means that this funeral ceremony aspires to achieve perfection and its descendants will get good luck.
4. *Pour-tuang*, a ceremonial sign as Aluk Todolo ceremony, adheres to the teachings passed down from generation to generation in fostering ancestral spirits in the four corners of the world.
5. *Sarita*, namely a symbol of calm and patience in adherence to parents.
6. *Maa'*, namely a carved cloth depicting the glory and majesty of Toraja people.
7. *Gandang*/drum, namely a drum beaten as a regulator and a sign of transition of funeral events.
8. *Bombongan*, namely a taboo gong signaling a mournful cry for noble families as a sign continuously sounded at the time of the ceremony.
9. Besides these equipments, there are still some heirloom equipments/jewelries used in decorating the ceremonial huts, such as keris called *Otang Toraja Gayang*, beads and others.

Meaning and Effect of Rambu Solo Ceremony for Toraja People

Death ceremony as *Rambu Solo* ceremony in the tradition of Toraja people has special meaning for families and people left behind, as well as for the dead person himself. They believe that the dead person must be led to god in a good manner. Therefore, the ceremony must be held smoothly and solemnly. In addition, the *Rambu Solo* ceremony also has an important meaning in social and religious aspects.

In a social aspect, this ceremony is meaningful as inner comfort for the family left behind because the death of one family member must make other family members feel lost. In the *Rambu Solo* ceremony, the sacrifices offered are adjusted to the economic condition of the deceased's family. In this ceremony, all families or relatives of the deceased are invited to attend the ceremony and the family lineage is read. In addition, the people around the residence of the deceased also come and gather with one another. This will create an atmosphere of close kinship among them.

This ceremony has values of mutual cooperation and assistance, such as providing buffalo or pigs. Sometimes other families also donate money, buffalo, or pigs to the bereaved family. The distribution of meat to poor people is an afford to reduce social inequality. The *Rambu Solo* ceremony also has an event for all families and relatives' gatherings where the distant families come and gather to strengthen the harmony in family ties.

Rambu Solo ceremony for Toraja people has a religious meaning, especially related to the sacrifices offered. The pigs or buffalo mean as provisions the dead brings to *Puya*. They believe that the dead will receive the pigs and buffaloes sacrificed in heaven in the ceremony that they call *Ma'kiring*. In addition to grief, they interpret death as happiness, bringing humans back to heaven where their ancestors came from. It indicates that they believe in life after death. Families also have plenty of time to say goodbye to the dead because they are not buried immediately but put in *Tongkonan* house for years, so they don't feel too sad.

The traditional ceremony of *Rambu Solo* has a psychological effect on the people or family in general. This ceremony is an obligation that must be carried out by every family member in the Tana Toraja community. Meanwhile, the Tana Toraja area itself has minimal natural resources. Therefore, this psychological pressure encourages Toraja people to migrate and look for work to collect more money with an adequate education. The psychological pressure is a form of responsibility sense of a child to parents and families, in general, to get a job and collect money for the death ceremony or *Rambu Solo*.

Conclusion

The bereaved family carries out the *Rambu Solo* ceremony to deliver the spirit to the last resting place, commonly known as *Puya*. *Rambu Solo* ceremony is a death ceremony, a cultural heritage of the ancestors of the Toraja people. This ceremony is led by a traditional figure called "*Tome Balun*" or "*To Ma Kayo*" or "*To Me Bakka*."

The general process of the *Rambu Solo* ceremony is: *Ma'pasulluk* (family meeting), *Mangriu' Batu* (pulling the simbuang stone to the ceremonial yard), *Ma'pasa Tedong* (re-inventory of buffalo), *Ma'papengkalao* (body removal), *Manggissi Loud* (filling in the hut), *Ma' Palao* and *Ma' Pasonglo* (body removal from the pit to *Lakkian*), *Allo Katongkonan* (reception day), *Hari Katorroan* (rest day), *Mantaa Padang* (animal slaughtering), *Me Aa* (body burial).

There are social and religious meanings in the *Rambu Solo* ceremony. The social meanings include cooperation and mutual assistance, while the religious meaning can be seen in the animal sacrifices that are slaughtered as provisions to be brought by the deceased to the spirit realm, commonly called *Puya*.

The most important effect of the *Rambu Solo* ceremony is the psychological effect of a person and family in general. Because the *Rambu Solo* ceremony is an obligation of every family member left behind to perform.

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