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THE RAMBU SOLO RITES AS A COLLECTIVE REPRESENTATION OF THE ALUK TODOLO RELIGION IN TORAJA, SOUTH SULAWESI

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the Rambu Solo death ceremony, including the stages, the meaning of the symbols of ceremonial types of equipment, the social strata of the Toraja people and their influence on the death ceremony, and the public's view of the ritual of the death ceremony carried out by adherents of the Aluk Todolo belief. Death is a scourge for the general public; in fact, it is considered differently in Toraja society. They consider death the most critical phase in their life, so a grand and festive ceremony must be carried out. There is an influence of social strata on the different stages that a person goes through in the Rambu Solo ceremony. The higher the social strata of a person, the more stages he will undergo. Currently, the social and economic levels are very influential in implementing the Rambu Solo death ceremony, and even this ceremony is used as an arena to show the ability and wealth of the community.

KEYWORDS: Rambu Solo, Toraja, Death rites, ceremonial symbols, social stratification

INTRODUCTION

Death is a complicated thing to interpret. Anggraeni and Putri (2020) explained that death is a form of separation between fellow humans and the separation of one's soul from one's body. Death is also interpreted as an inevitable phenomenon like birth, but the difference is that death is a scourge for some people. In addition, death is also inseparable from funeral rituals and rituals to overcome grief. Thus, death is not only about a person's attitude in accepting the fact that he will die but also about how society behaves when someone around him dies.

A group of people with diverse individuals may have several views on death. Some believe death is the last destination that makes a person extinct with the destruction of the body, but some think death is the beginning of what they believe in (Subagya, 2004). Most Indonesians often choose the second view because most people embrace Islam and Christianity, which in their teachings have the concept of heaven and hell (Cakranuraga, 2020).

The diversity in the death rites is caused by the diversity of values adopted by the community, such as religion, beliefs, and cultural traditions. In addition, because death is something everyone must experience, the impossibility of avoiding death also causes different feelings for each person in responding to death. Some respond to a death with feelings of anxiety, anxiety, and fear, but some respond with resignation and sincerity.

Of course, the various meanings of death also cause the diversity of funeral rituals and rituals to deal with grief. According to Subagya (2004), the diversity of these rituals has become one of the focuses of anthropological studies since the early nineteenth century. Then, in the 1960s, anthropologists studied the social healing function of funeral rituals and the significance of behavioral symbolism toward death. These studies of death rituals have significantly contributed to the development of anthropological theories, especially understanding people's beliefs.

Then, regarding death rituals, of course, it is not far from the issue of rules and ways of life that vary in each culture. Thus, the existence of its characteristics and regulations become guidelines for actions that are manifested in community activities that may be different or maybe the same as other cultures (Aufa, 2017). These rules and ways of life are the results of the collective thinking of society itself. Those values and roles also apply to death, especially the rites performed when someone dies. In death, it can be seen how people make rules and guidelines in carrying out their culture. Cultural rites and community activities also give rise to social institutions, which give a person's identity and social position in society. One's societal position can be revealed through individual, collective influence in death rituals.

Death is an individual event that, in the end, has a social effect. It is called individual collective (Aufa, 2017). In other words, every death ceremony will always involve the community because no death ceremony only involves one individual. Everyone in their community will share the grief of the death of a member of their group, or at least they will share in providing moral and material support to the bereaved.

In many cultures, a custom is to gather to commemorate an event considered necessary in their group's life. These existing habits survive, take root, and continue to grow in the conscience of the individual community so that they become culture (Rima, 2019). The feeling of participating in the grief of a family left behind by one of its members is also a reason in society to at least be able to mourn even for a moment and just convey feelings of condolences. In addition, the fear of the public is a terrible view, and fear if the death event is not attended also forces someone to provide services to the deceased community member (Subagya, 2004).

In the culture of the Toraja people themselves, especially people who still adhere to the Aluk Todolo belief, death is considered the most crucial phase in their lives (Rima, 2019). It can be reflected in how lavish and expensive the Rambu Solo death ceremony is and the many preparations and rituals

carried out. Therefore, the Toraja people have a unique Rambu Solo death ceremony procession. The uniqueness of Rambu Solo is reflected in the existence of two different forms of ceremonies, namely with the Rapasan procession and without the Rapasan procession (Hasbi, Palubuhu, Radjab, Rahman, & Haris, 2019). This difference is caused by different levels of social strata in Toraja society. Social strata in Toraja society are divided into four levels from lowest to highest: Tana' Kua-Kua, Tana' Karurung, Tana' Bassi, and Tana' Bulaan (Tangdilitin, 1980). In addition, the community has an essential social meaning, so this ceremony is still maintained and carried out today.

The research questions posed are: (1) What are the stages in the ritual of the Rambu Solo death ceremony? (2) What is the meaning behind the symbols used in Rambu Solo funeral rituals? (3) How is the distribution of social strata in Toraja society, and what is the effect on the ritual of the Rambu Solo death ceremony? (4) What is the view of the Toraja people regarding the ritual of the death ceremony of Rambu Solo?

RESEARCH METHODS

The method used in this study uses a literature study. Literature Study is one of the data collection techniques carried out by reviewing literature books, notes, and reports that still correlate with the discussion of Rambu Solo (Suandito, 2017). According to Hadi (2011), a literature study is a way of browsing literature that contains theories from scientific works that have been published or not and can be in the form of soft copies or hard copies contained in books, papers, or journals. All data transcripts will be typed and arranged according to the stages of data reduction, categorization, synthesis, and hypothesis formulation. The reason for using the literature study method in this study is because it is permanent, authentic, easy to find, and can be accounted for its validity because it has gone through standard research procedures.

This study uses a functional approach proposed by Durkheim (1976) that rituals, including death rituals, have a role in society as a means for a social group to reaffirm itself and renew its social values. In addition, Durkheim also discusses death rituals, which are commonly called piacular rituals, in particular. According to Durkheim, "mourning" in piacular rituals is not a spontaneous expression of individual emotions but an obligation a social group must carry out. Primitive society is needed as a tribute to ancestors. However, Durkheim also argues that, in reality, piacular rituals are no different from other (joyful) rituals. When a person dies, a group comes together, giving rise to a collective representation that reflects his sense of loss and reaffirms his sense of immortality and solidarity.

The presence of religious teachings and religions in societal beliefs about death and the hereafter must also be considered. The existence of beliefs about the end of the world and people's reactions to death produces a specific view of death. In other words, the occurrence of socio-cultural processes in society has given birth to a view of death. There are two levels of the socio-cultural process used that Subagya has conceptualized (2004: 29-31), namely "the process can be seen at two levels,

namely: between the dead and the person left behind and between the individual and his community. " This first level relates to what the bereaved people do to the deceased based on religious teachings and religions contained in dogmas and scriptures. For example, religious and religious teachings teach us to pray or pray for the dead, perform rituals for ancestors, and visit graves.

Meanwhile, the second level occurs when there is an interaction between individuals and individuals with their communities in everyday life. These interactions form an identity and social status for a person in a society. With the existence of social status, the procession of death becomes different. For example, at the Ngaben ceremony in Bali, for high castes, this ceremony will be carried out on a large scale and immediately carried out when someone dies. However, for lower castes, the ceremony will be carried out when several bodies have been collected in a group to save the cost of the ceremony. Thus, the death process can also reveal a person's social position in society.

FINDINGS

The Stages in the Ritual of the Rambu Solo Death Ceremony

Subagya (2004) explains the relationship between the dead and her/his family, resulting in religious teachings that teach to pray for the dead, perform rituals for ancestors, and pilgrimages to graves. From this viewpoint, the death ritual of Rambu Solo in the Toraja people represents the teachings of the Aluk Todolo belief with various stages. These stages have different forms in each part. Stages are also related to procedures or rites. The number of stages and forms of ritual that must be carried out in each cultural ritual depends on the community group's mutual agreement. Through these stages and rituals, it can be seen how the Toraja people carried out the form of the Rambu Solo death ceremony. The stages in the solo sign are different in each region. The stages used in this study are taken from the video documentation owned by Dzawin Nur in the Mamuju area, West Sulawesi. There are ten stages in the Rambu Solo death ceremony; the stages are;

1. Pamilangan. Pamilangan is performed on the first day and serves as the opening ritual for Rambu Solo. Before the Pamilangan is carried out, the corpse is still considered not dead and is treated like a living person. Then, at Pamilangan, the bodies that have been kept during the preparation of this ritual are removed. The coffin was finally opened as a sign of the start of the procession. The family begins to feel sad when the coffin is removed because this procession indicates that the body is finally considered dead, according to the Aluk Todolo tradition.

2. Food. This procession removes the body from the coffin one day before the following process. The body is cleaned to be removed from the coffin. Then, put two wooden slats on the coffin as a place for the corpse. The bodies are laid on top and then covered with various kinds of cloth. When the corpse was lowered on the wooden slats, the people who lifted it shouted as they put the body down.

3. Pabalunan. The Pabalunan is carried out at night on the second day after Pangginan until the next few days. Pabalunan is a wrapping procession of the corpse and its valuables with layers of wrapping

cloth to form a perfect circle (tube). The process is done by tying it with a long white cloth that is twisted to form a rope and pulled until it is tight, then ends with a layer of red cloth that covers all parts of the circle. The procession of closing the corpse marks the end of the mourning period and is replaced with joy. Pabalunan closed with Badong, which is a mourning song for men. Badong activities assume that men do not easily express sadness like women in Toraja culture.

4. Ropi's Daydream. The Ropi's daydream is a procession on the third day. This procession is the burial of a coffin previously used to store corpses. After the burial, the family planted a tree over the grave. The burial location of this coffin is a symbol of where the body is buried.

5. Meanwhile, the wrapped body is only considered as bones that will be stored somewhere. During the procession of the coffin to the burial site, the coffin was lifted while shaking, and the people who lifted it shouted excitedly. This procession is accompanied by music such as small gongs carried by several people.

6. Pasurasan. The Pasurasan is a balun (corpse wrapping) carving with gold-colored metal plates cut to form specific motifs.

7. Papaturunan. The Papaturunan is lowering the corpse from the house to a place called tado paya. The delivery of the corpse will be led by a procession of buffalo presented by each child. The order of the group that brought the corpse was the group that brought the buffalo, the musical accompaniment group, the body transported by car, and finally, the family group. The whole group was dressed in black and hooded. Uniquely, in the group before the corpse, several women lined up carrying a red cloth that was spread beside the body.

8. Patondokan and Pabatangan. Both of these processions welcome guests. However, there is a difference between Patondokan and Pabatangan. Patondokan welcomes guests from the village, while Pabatangan welcomes general guests. In both processions, pigs are carried in a cage made of bamboo in the shape of a traditional Tongkonan house, and then the pigs are slaughtered and then burned.

9. Pebabaran. The pebabaran procession is the slaughter of buffalo. Before spreading, Mapasitandukan Tedong or buffalo complaints are carried out. After the buffalo is pitted, the buffalo is slaughtered using a spear, not the neck. Slaughter is carried out at a different place from the place of complaint, and the place is marked with a stone called simbuang.

10. Alosala. The Alosala is a period of rest, where the whole family and relatives do nothing. In this procession, the family agrees to place the location of the body.

11. Daydream. This procession is a funeral procession carried out by parading the corpse to its final resting place, the alang-alang (family grave building). In this procession, Sibora is carried out or

splashes of water, mud, blood, and animal waste. During the day, all access to water is cut off so that no one can clean themselves until the procession is complete. Siborah is done with joy and aims to release the sorrow. During this procession, people are also forbidden to be angry and offended at anyone who throws dirt at them; if someone is angry, they have to pay a fine for slaughtering the pig.

Symbolic Meaning in the Ritual of Rambu Solo Death Ceremony

Durkheim's explanation of the death ceremony is a collective representation that reflects a sense of loss and emphasizes the sense of eternity of group solidarity can describe symbols used as a means of expressing themselves, communicating, and reflecting on their lives. By understanding symbols, writers can explore a culture further. That way, the meaning of the Rambu Solo death ceremony will be easier to understand. In the Rambu Solo death ceremony, symbols can be divided into two: verbal and non-verbal. Verbal symbols are symbols in the form of spoken language or spoken symbols. Verbal symbols can be prayers or songs. Anggraeni & Putri (2020) explained the verbal symbols in the Rambu Solo death ceremony: prayers for protection, prayers for glorifying ancestors, and prayers for people who died (so that their souls are accepted).

According to Anggraeni & Putri (2020), non-verbal symbols are communication activities that do not use pronunciation or words. Nonverbal communication is done by using gestures and by using objects. The Toraja people carry out verbal symbols in the death ritual of Rambu Solo. These symbols have different meanings in each symbol. The objects used in this ritual are also forms of non-verbal symbols. In Embon (2019), the objects used are:

1. *Gandang* (drum)



Source: Simbuang TV Youtube Channel

Gandang is used as a regulator and sign of the transition to the funeral. This *Gandang* is also intended to enliven ceremonial activities. In addition, before the Rambu Solo ceremony, *gandang* also functions as a marker that a house is experiencing grief.

2. Tombi (flag)



Source: localguidesconnect.com

Tombi is a long cloth whose length is adjusted to the needs. The family brings this cloth with the meaning of the majesty and height of the funeral ceremony. This cloth can only be brought by the Tana Bulaan or the noble class.

3. Bombongan (gong)

This bombongan is a musical instrument that is sounded constantly during the Rambu Solo ceremony, which is held with the meaning of mourning cries for the bereaved family.

4. Cloth Maa and Cloth Sarita



Source: blog.negerisendiri.com

Maa cloth and Sarita cloth are patterned cloths used as a sign of the glory and majesty of the Toraja people. This cloth covers the buffalo, which is used as a parading corpse, wraps the coffin, and decorates a miniature tongkonan.

5. Offerings

Offerings are offerings made by the family for the spirits of the dead. The offering is made for the spirits of the dead still around the house.

6. Kuang-kuang



Source: Embon (2019:6)

Kuang-kuang is a bamboo that is arranged and decorated with typical Toraja decorations and uses chicken feathers. Kuang-kuang is a symbol of strata or upper level (nobles), which is installed before the slaughter of animals takes place. Kuang-kuang is also used as a ceremonial sign in front of the Aluk Todolo ceremony, which adheres to hereditary teachings in guiding ancestral spirits to the four corners of the world.

7. Sacrificial Animals

In the Toraja belief, these sacrificial animals are considered rides for the spirits of the dead. In the Rambu Solo ritual, two sacrificial animals are used: a pig and a buffalo. In Toraja, buffalo is considered a valuable item that can be used as a medium of exchange, with many buffalo slaughtered becoming a benchmark for social strata in Toraja society.

The Division of Social Strata in Toraja Society and Its Influence on the Solo Rambu Ritual

The Toraja tribe, located in Toraja Regency, South Sulawesi Province, mostly has mountainous areas, hills, and valleys. The condition of the area causes the distribution of settlements to be concentrated. This regional concentration causes the people to know each other and are still in the same lineage. The kinship system adopted by the Toraja people is matrilineal, where the social class will be inherited from the mother's family. Uniquely in the hereditary system of Toraja society, women are prohibited from marrying men who have a lower social class. However, they can marry men of a higher social class to raise their status.

The social stratification system in Toraja society is known as Tana'. Since ancient times, the Toraja people have recognized the existence of a social class division that has been preserved from generation

to generation through the teachings of the Aluk Todolo Faith (Azzohra, 2022). Toraja society has a closed system of social strata that can be seen through the marriage system, as explained earlier if the marriage of the lowest class to the upper class is prohibited. In ancient times if someone married between classes and violated this rule, he would be subject to a sanction called Unteka' Paladan. However, the prohibition has become more relaxed so that it does not rule out the possibility of marriages between social classes (Tobar, Kasnawi, & AT, 2020). From the hereditary class division this results in differences in behavior, interaction, and implementation of traditional ceremonial rituals, one of which is the ritual of the death ceremony of Rambu Solo. It can be said that the Rambu Solo ceremony is used as a tool to show and strengthen the identity of the perpetrators in the form of social status or strata (Ismail, 2019).

Borrowing Subagya (2004) view, interactions between individuals and groups in everyday life produce a person's identity and social status in society. In the case of the Toraja people, social status makes the people have different stages in carrying out the Rambu Solo death ceremony. The social class division in Toraja society is divided into three social levels: nobles, ordinary people, and enslaved people. However, this slavery was abolished by the Dutch East Indies government in 1909 (Nugroho, 2015). The division of the social class of the Toraja people has similarities with the indicators described by Max Weber, which pay attention to economic conditions, honor, and power. Furthermore, the division of social class in Toraja society is divided into four parts: Tana' Bulaan, Tana' Bassi, Tana' Karurung, and Tana' Kua-Kua (Marampa, 2003).

Tana' Bulaan is the highest caste in social grouping in Toraja society. As the highest caste, the people in this class are automatically nobles. In the life of the Toraja people, the aristocratic group had a function to protect the inheritance and create rules which later became the traditional leader and occupied the Tongkonan traditional house. The traditional leader who leads in one Bua' is referred to as To Pareng'e' (Rima, 2019). Furthermore, Tana' Bassi is also a noble class but has a lower economic level than the Tana' Bulaan group. The descendants of Tana' Bassi, who are still of noble blood, become community leaders who accompany the descendants of Tana' Bulaan.

Meanwhile, Tana' Karurung is a group of independent or ordinary people who do not have power but become the backbone of the Toraja people. The last group is the Tana' Kua-Kua group which is the lowest class in the stratification of Toraja society. In general, the people of this group have served the Tana' Bulaan group for generations (Patadungan, Purwanto, and Waani, 2020).

In the belief of the Toraja people, this social stratification affects the Rambu Solo death ceremony procession to be carried out. The more prosperous and powerful a person is, the greater the cost required to carry out the ceremony (Nugroho, 2015). Because it is related to social stratification, there are different levels in executing the Rambu Solo death ceremony. Rambu Solo's death ceremony is divided into four levels, the same as the levels in social stratification (Tangdilintin, 1980). The four levels are as follows:

1. The Disilli ceremony is intended for the lowest class in the social stratification of the Toraja people, namely the Tana' Kua-Kua group and babies or toddlers who do not yet have teeth.
2. The Di Pasangbongi Ceremony is a ceremony carried out by the Toraja people of the ordinary community or Tana 'Karurung. This ceremony takes only one night, so the costs are not too much. The people of the Tana' Bassi and Tana' Bulaan groups who cannot afford it can also carry out this ceremony without the need for Rapasan.
3. The Dibatang Ceremony, or Didoya Tedong, is a ceremony that tethers one buffalo daily to a stake and is guarded by someone all night. At this ceremony, buffalo slaughter is carried out daily, so the costs are high. Therefore, this ceremony is intended for the Tana' Bassi and Tana' Bulaan groups who cannot carry out Rapasan.
4. Rapasan ceremony is a ceremony that requires much buffalo. Rapasan Diongan or Didandan Tana 'requires at least nine buffalo sacrifices and as many pigs as possible and is carried out for three days. Rapasan Sundun or Doan, which means perfect, requires at least twenty-four buffaloes and unlimited pigs for two parties. This ceremony is intended for high nobles and wealthy traditional holders. Rapasan Sapu Randanan, equivalent to the river bank, is the highest level of the Rapasan ceremony. This ceremony requires much buffalo, even up to a hundred buffaloes. With many buffalo and pigs that must be provided, this ceremony is aimed at nobles with a high economic level.

From the level above, it can be concluded that the differences in the social and economic class of the community affect the Rambu Solo death ceremony procession that will be carried out. Along with the development of time, the implementation of the Rambu Solo ceremony is not only based on the social strata of the community that is obtained from generation to generation but also based on the social status of the community obtained through achievements, especially in the economic field and one's wealth (Hasbi, Pulubuhu, Arsyad, & Liu, 2019). The higher the position and level of the community's economy, the higher the level that will be lived. The influence of social position and level can be seen in how many animals will be sacrificed. From that point of view, it can be seen that the economic influence is much more significant than the social strata of society because not all noble families can carry out the highest level of ceremonies with fantastic costs.

The Toraja Community's View on the Death Ceremony of Rambu Solo

Every culture must always have its way of thinking, brought from the process of transmitting ancestral thought, which is the hallmark of every community group. It also happens in Toraja society. According to Th. Kobong Dalam (Monda, 2014) explains that the Toraja people have a purpose in life to die. What Kobong calls for is shown by the custom of the Toraja people, who store corpses for months to years before the Rambu Solo ceremony is held and perform the Rambu Solo ceremony in a very lively, luxurious, at great expense, graves with marble walls and floors. Or graves in hard-to-reach places. They are willing to carry out various special activities even though they are not comparable to their simple daily lives. This simple life is illustrated by not wanting to go into debt for their children's schooling.

Although a person is considered biologically dead, the status of death in Toraja society is only obtained after a ceremony. Before the ceremony, that person will be considered a sick person. Because of his sick status, that person will still be treated and served like a living person accompanied by food, drink, cigarettes, or betel (Salu, Ngangi, and Sondakh, 2018). The phrase that describes this phase is “unnelong lending” or “gume lo masapi,” which means lying down like a sick person. Another expression that describes this condition is “Masaki ulunna,” which means a sick person (Ismail, 2019). In general, the Toraja people think that people who die without a ceremony are people who have a headache (Sandarupa in Ismail, 2019).

The Rambu Solo ceremony is used as a ceremony for the completion of death. In Toraja's custom, traditional ceremonies to initiate the dead should not be abandoned. The obligation to carry out the Rambu Solo Death Ceremony is intended to deliver and honor the spirits of the deceased to the spirit realm with their ancestors. In addition, the responsibility of carrying out this ceremony is to reconcile the souls of the deceased so that they are safe from leaving the world for a peaceful world in Puya (Wahyuningsih, 2018).

The depiction of what happens after death according to religion and cultures present in society shows that there will be life after death. Ancestors of the Toraja people believe that people who have died and whose spirits have returned to puang (spirits who have reached the level of a god) will bless, maintain fertility, and the success of their children and grandchildren. It is believed that to be a god, a soul is necessary to carry out the Toraja death ceremony, namely Rambu Solo. This situation illustrates that the customs or habits of a community group are the fruit of what they believe or their religion (Monda, 2014). People who do not carry out the Rambu Solo death ceremony are believed to not open the gate to the Puya realm or the next world. Those who do not carry out Rambu Solo are also believed to have their spirits wandering over the world in suffering until their family members carry out this ceremony and slaughter animal sacrifices (Ismail, 2019).

Currently, people do the Rambu Solo ceremony not only to fulfill their obligations but also because they want to increase their social status or prestige. According to the community, if they do not perform the Rambu Solo ceremony, they will feel ashamed because, during their lifetime, they also tasted the slaughtered meat from other people's ceremonies. Therefore, the community feels they have to carry out the ‘Rambu Solo ceremony as a form to return what they feel to the community. The ceremony is also used to show all the wealth and ability to sacrifice animals and provide entertainment to guests. Because it is used to show this wealth, the number of sacrificial animals slaughtered is not limited, causing waste (Salu, Ngangi, and Sondakh, 2018).

In recent times, reasons to show social status are common. People, especially those from the aristocratic group with economic advantages, will carry out the ceremony lively because they want to show their noble status and wealth. Besides, people feel they must continue this ceremony from generation to generation. After all, the previous family also carried out Rambu Solo. People feel that

if one carries out this death ceremony, he/she will get recognition from both customs and the community (Hasbi, Pulubuhu, Arsyad, and Liu, 2019).

As a result of this waste, the public's view of the Rambu Solo ceremony in Marinding Village, Mengkendek District, Tana Toraja Regency, is divided into two support and non-support camps. People who support this ceremony consider that it can strengthen family relations. When it is carried out, both near and far families will come and help physically and financially when needed. It reflects a sense of mutual solidarity, as stated by Durkheim regarding the meaning of 'mourning.' On the other hand, people who do not support it argue that the ceremony is as lively as possible to show their social status and can be known among the wider community, causing waste and even debts for their children and grandchildren. (Salu, Ngangi, and Sondakh, 2018).

CONCLUSION

Every culture has its way of carrying out various ceremonies, which are transmitted to the next generation. It is reflected in the Rambu Solo ceremony, which has various activities in the ceremony. Rambu Solo is a death consummation ceremony that aims to honor and lead a person from the natural world to the afterlife so that his spirit can return to puang (Nugroho, 2015). Rambu Solo is also the result of the inheritance of ancestral culture that can survive until now. The survival of the Rambu Solo culture is due to the teachings of the Aluk Todolo belief. According to Subagyo's opinion that the individual who dies is the result of religious and religious teachings that teach to pray or pray for the deceased, perform rituals for ancestors, and make pilgrimages to the tomb. The number of stages and forms of ritual that must be carried out in each cultural ritual depends on the community group's mutual agreement. With the formation of the stages of Rambu Solo through shared thought, Durkheim can describe the opinion of Durkheim, which states that death is a forum for gathering, so that it gives rise to a collective representation that shows grief as well as emphasizes solidarity between individuals. Rambu Solo is a death ceremony that has a long sequence of rites for days. If the Rambu Solo ceremony is ordered, it will be as follows; (1) Pamilangan, (2) Panganginan, (3) Pabalunan, (4) Ropi's Daydream, (5) Pasurasan, (6) Paturunan, (7) Patondokan and Pabatangan, (8) Pebabaran, (4) Alosala, (10) Daydream.

Rambu Solo itself also has various symbols that have different meanings. As explained above, everything in a culture is a communal thought, so it also occurs in the Rambu Solo ceremony symbols. These symbols are also the result of cultural transmission, which is finally applied today. Therefore, this symbol is used as a communication and is the basis for a shared understanding. The symbols are divided into two groups: verbal and non-verbal. Verbal symbols are still divided into three parts with different purposes, and nonverbal symbols in Rambu Solo are tools that are given meaning to each object.

Through interaction between individuals, identity and social status will be formed for someone in society. The social status formed will affect all the treatment and behavior of individuals. This social

status will affect his treatment until the individual is buried. Rambu Solo Death Ceremony is also influenced by social status in various aspects. Each social level will get different treatment by being given a ceremonial level which, if sorted from the lowest to the highest strata, will be as follows; Disilli' Ceremony, Di Pasangbongi, Dibatang or Didoya, Rapasan Ceremony. Now everyone can choose and stage their own Rambu Solo ceremony without any strata restrictions but with a note if they can meet the costs. In addition, the community has now made the Rambu Solo death ceremony a place of prestige.

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