

Tedong (*Buffalo*): Symbol of Nobility, Humanity, and Entertainment in Funeral Ceremony in The Indigenous Torajan, Indonesia

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Abstract

In the sociocultural life of Toraja people, buffalo are not ordinary animals. If some people in Indonesia make buffalo as farm animals only, then in Toraja, Indonesia, buffalo as a symbol of social status, humanity, and entertainment. This is in line with the purpose of this research is to reveal the value of the Tedong (Buffalo) in funeral ceremony. This research is a qualitative descriptive study. Data in this study gained in funeral ceremony. Data is collected through observation techniques, records, interviews, and documentation. The results of the research indicated that tedong (buffalo) in the funeral ceremony is as a marker of a person's nobility. The nobility or social status sign is determined by how many buffalo are sacrificed, which is in line with ritual utterance in rambu solo' that is pronounced by Tominaa. The more tedong (buffalo) the sacrificed, the higher the social status of one. Conversely, the fewer tedong (buffalos) are sacrificed, the lower the social status of one. In addition, tedong (buffalo) also marks the sense of humanity that looks through the activities of Mantaa Duku'. The value of Buffalo as entertainment seemed in the activity of Ma' pasilaga tedong.

Keywords: *Tedong (Buffalo), Rambu Solo' Funeral Ceremony.*

INTRODUCTION

Toraja is an ethnic group in Indonesia that is famous for its culture. Therefore, it is not wrong if Indonesia is often a cultural tourist destination. Even Toraja is often called the second Bali in Indonesia, because of the large number of national and even international tourists who want to visit Toraja.

As a cultural tourist destination Toraja (Tana Toraja and North Toraja) is one of the regions in the archipelago that is famous for its customary rituals, namely *Rambu Tuka'* and *Rambu Solo'*. Literally *Rambu Tuka'* comes from the word *rambu* which means *smoke* and *tuka'* which means *climb* or *upwards*. *Rambu Tuka'* traditional ritual is usually performed when the sun has not reached its peak or before noon. *Rambu Tuka'* itself means *kameloan* or joy or happiness such as marriage or thanksgiving (Dewi, 2019). As for the *Rambu Solo'* comes from the word *rambu* which means *smoke* and *solo'* which means *down*. This is because this traditional ceremony is carried out when the sun has started to move west. *Rambu Solo'* itself means *kadakean* or ugliness that is the funeral ceremony.

The implementation of the funeral ceremony is not only in Toraja, but also exists elsewhere with its own uniqueness that distinguishes it from the traditional ceremony of *Rambu Solo'*. In Nigeria for example there is Ikwa Ozu from the Igbo tribe (Fortynes, 2019). Similar to *Rambu Solo'*, Ikwa Ozu is a death ceremony held as a form of respect for the family of the deceased (Ugwu & Nwankwo, 2020); Nweke, 2020). The Igbo believe that death is not the end of everything, but rather the transfer from an old life to a new life.

In addition to IkWA Ozu, in Indonesia itself there is a death ceremony like *Rambu Solo'*, namely Ngaben in Bali. For the majority Hindu Balinese, carrying out ngaben ceremonies is an obligation (Arsana, et all, 2014).

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This ritual is performed with sincerity as a tribute to the ancestors. Treating the body of the deceased and preparing his spirit for the journey to heaven, and then to return to the world, is the most important part of man's relationship with ancestors (Dibia, 2012a: 11-12).

Ngaben ceremony is included in the *pitra yadnya* ceremony, which is a ceremony to burn the body accompanied by *upakara* / *banten* and *Pandita* (*sulinggih*) (Kiriana, 2017). Similarly, Rambu Solo', this Ngaben ceremony is accompanied by facilities such as *bade* as a place to support the body to the grave / *setra* and sometimes also equipped with ox and dragon *banda* for the main ngaben *kategeri* as was done at Ubud Castle (Puspa, 2019).

Rambu Solo' traditional ritual can be said to be the most famous ritual or ceremony of Toraja (Sandrarupa, 2014). Rambu Solo' which is actually a ceremony of grief or death, is able to present thousands of people every day. Therefore, Rambu Solo' ritual as a form of final respect for family members who died, carried out as luxuriously as possible with abundant economy (Matana, 2020; Sampe, 2020) is often even more luxurious than *rambu Tuka'* ritual. From this luxury is often displayed social status that leads to social inequality (Pangarra, 2014).

Some of the research on Rambu Solo' ritual speech that has been conducted so far include Sandarupa (2004; 2007; 2014; 2015, 2016) which reviews oral literature in ritual ceremonies with dualistic forms of parallel construction, and oral traditions in the cultivation of local wisdom values through *Aluk Tallu Lolona A'pa Toninna* in *Tongkonan* institutions that include ceremonies concerning humans (*tananan aluk*), plant-planting ceremony (*aluk tananan*), ceremony concerning animals (*aluk patuan*), and ceremony to make amends (*suru' pangkalossoran*).

Another study was conducted by Baan (2015) who examined the pattern of development of *tomina cada*. In addition, there is also research from Baan, et al. (2022) that examines the cultural attitudes of the Toraja community through Rambu Solo' ritual speech. Tanduk (2021) which examines myths and ideologies in the ritual text *ma'tammu tedong* on Rambu Solo' activities'. Furthermore, Dewi (2020) analyzed about the use of metaphors for the ritual speech of *Rambu Solo'* funeral ceremony.

In the process of implementing Rambu Solo' there are many unique and very interesting ritual stages both done symbolically and with visuals and audiovisual such as architecture, art and language. One of the highlights in the Rambu Solo' ceremony is the use of symbols or signs used as ceremonial equipment (Aswar, 2020). The equipment in the ceremony has its own meaning and meaning. One of the nonverbal signs in the solo sign ceremony is *tedong* (buffalo) which is believed by the Toraja people as an introduction to the spirits of people who have died. In addition, buffalo is also a sign of social strata in the traditional ceremony of Rambu Solo', the more sacrificial animals will be seen that the family is from among the *to makaka* (nobles).

In the life of the Toraja people, buffalo plays an important role, especially in the implementation of Rambu Solo' ceremonies' (Lisda, 2021). Because of this important role, the grieving community does not hesitate to buy buffalo to carry out Rambu Solo' ceremony'. Even buffalo is considered as a refinement of the implementation of Rambu Solo' ceremony'. For that reason, buffalo has a very important position in the life of the Toraja people.

This research aims to express the meaning of buffalo in the implementation of Rambu Solo', namely as a symbol of social status, human values, and entertainment of the Toraja community. Buffalo as a symbol of social status, appeared at the *mapasa 'tedong'* ceremony at Rambu Solo ceremony which featured various types of buffalo to be sacrificed. Buffalo as a sign of humanity is seen on one of Rambu Solo's activity items, namely *Mantaa duku'*. As for the buffalo as a symbol of entertainment in rambu Solo' ceremony, it appears at the *ma'pasilaga tedong* activity. Therefore, buffalo in Rambu Solo' activities is a nonverbal symbol whose existence takes precedence.

LITERATURE REVUEW

METHODS AND ANALYSIS

Type and Design of Research

This research is qualitative-interpretive-descriptive type (Moleong, 2007; Sukidin, 2007). This type of research is a method used in producing descriptive research data. This research aims to obtain information, information,

data on unknown matters, and helps the understanding to see the meaning of an event or practice in one specific social context or a system of cultural symbols. The data in the study was obtained from verbal texts (ritual speech) spoken by tominaa, and nonverbal texts in the form of images of context as supporters of verbal texts obtained through *mantaa duku'* and *ma'pasilaga tedong* activities in Rambu Solo' ceremonies.

Types and Sources of Data

The data sources used in this study are divided into two types, namely primary data sources and secondary data sources (Moleong, 2007). A primary data source is the primary source or original source of research closest to the person, information or idea studied in the form of, recording, or other sources of information about the topic being studied. While secondary sources are in the form of citations, comments, or that make analysis or synthesis of the main source. Thus the types of data in this study include:

Primary data is a verbal text (ritual speech) spoken by tominaa in *ma'pasa' tedong* activities, and nonverbal text is in the form of an overview of context as a supporter of verbal text obtained through *mantaa duku'* and *ma'pasilaga tedong* activities in Rambu Solo' ceremony.

Secondary data, obtained from the results of participant observations and interviews. Interview with Tominaa to obtain and determine the authenticity of the source, namely the validity and authenticity of meaning (triangulation) by Tominaa. Tominaa as the source of informant in this study:

Name: Randan

Place of Birth: La'bo, August 15, 1952

Gender: Male

Occupation: Tominaa/Parengnge'

Religion: Christian

Address: Marante, Tandung La'bo', Sanggalangi' District

Name: Rerung

Place of Birth: Hercaropi', October 27, 1965

Gender: Male

Occupation: Tominaa

Religion: Christian

Address: Sangkaropi', Sa'dan District

Name: Ne' Ba'tan

Place of Birth: Tikala, August 19, 1940

Gender: Male

Occupation: Tominaa

Religion: Christian

Address: Tutungan Bia' Utara, Tikala District

Name: Marthen Ruruk

Place of Birth: Tana Toraja, December 19, 1963

Gender: Male

Occupation: Teacher and Tominaa

Religion: Christian

Address: Lembang Suaya, Sangngalla' District

Data Collection Methods

The data collection stage in this study was taken with several procedures. Data collection is obtained by direct participant observation methods. This method is used with the aim of looking at two social situations, namely pointing to appropriate social activities, and to observe social activities, people, and physical aspects of social situations. Data collection techniques are recording, recording, and interviewing techniques (Mahsun, 2007; Arikunto, 2012).

Recording technique, this technique is complementary to the activities of providing data by recording ritual speech in the form of words or sentences delivered by Tominaa in traditional ceremonies of solo rambu'.

The Recording Technique is a technique that complements other techniques. The technique is used to determine the realization of certain phonemes produced by informants/hosts, but also have to see how the ritual speech is produced.

interview techniques / in-person interviews are conducted with individuals or groups of participants who participate in the event, as well as indigenous stakeholders who lead the event held. Interviews are conducted directly and openly with customary stakeholders or who guide traditional ceremonies, in order to get valid information about the meaning of tedong or buffalo in solo sign ceremonies' Interviews are conducted before the event and after the event is held. It is intended to derive the natural and original meaning of the data from the informant. Triangulation (testing the validity of data) helps make it easier for researchers to get a picture of the meaning of each text symbol implicitly contained in the traditional ceremony of solo signs' which will be used as analytical material.

Data Analysis Methods

Research methods used in efforts to analyze research data descriptively are interpretive methods. The research is pleased with research that uses a natural background, with the intention of finding, interpreting, and finding understanding or understanding of phenomena that occur in a special context. Thus, the stages of data analysis in this study are:

Selecting or marking the results of the required data from the ritual text at the traditional ceremony of rambu solo' in the form of key words and ideas in the verbal text (ritual speech) spoken by tominaa in ma'pasa' tedong activities, and nonverbal text is in the form of a picture of context as a supporter of verbal text obtained through mantaa duku' and ma'pasilaga tedong in Rambu Solo ceremony'

Classify data in the form of linguistic elements and images of objects in accordance with the stage of the ritual event procession carried out in ma'pasa' tedong activities. The classification of data in the procession of the event is based on signs and symbols from verbal and nonverbal text data to find out the meaning of kerbua in the implementation of solo signs.

Find the construction of meaning that is the basis in the ritual text displayed. Verbal and nonverbal texts are analyzed to find the construction of meaning.

Analyzing and interpreting the data findings, namely verbal text (ritual speech) spoken by tominaa in ma'pasa' tedong activities, and nonverbal text is in the form of an overview of context as a supporter of verbal text obtained through mantaa duku' and ma'pasilaga tedong activities in Rambu Solo' ceremony'

RESULTS

The implementation of the traditional *Rambu Solo'* funeral ceremony is a representation of the last and highest respect of the Toraja people to their ancestors. Therefore, in its implementation, the People of Toraja did not hesitate to spend a lot of money (Tumirin and Abdurahim, 2015). The largest expenditure of the Toraja community appears in the amount of sacrificed tedong displayed on one of Rambu Solo's activity items, namely Ma'pasa' Tedong.

Ma'pasa' tedong activity is one in the solo rambu ceremony' which is carried out by collecting all buffalo to be slaughtered in the tongkonan courtyard where the solo rambu ceremony is held. The buffaloes are decorated in such a way and then taken to the tongkonan courtyard, where the implementation of solo signs'. In addition, the family of the deceased surrounded the tent made of enau leaves three times, then they sat down and then tominaa ma'parapa' to calm the atmosphere and ended with the delivery of singgi' addressed to the deceased and all the buffalo that had been collected.

Singgi' addressed to buffalo as well as mentioning the type of buffalo presented in the activity. The presence of the buffalo physically, has actually become a marker of social status. However, the presence of the buffalo is strengthened again by singgi' or tominaa speech that explains the origin of each buffalo. The following is revealed the speech of solo rambu rituals in ma'pasa' tedong which shows buffalo as a marker of social status.

Extract 1: *Tedong balian* 'long horns buffalo' as a sign of the large and luxurious funeral ceremony

Tedong balian 'long horns buffalo' as a marker of greatness and luxury of Rambu Solo' funeral ceremony steam appears in the following speech data.

iko balian pampang ma'bulu aluk pa'parandukna datu luvu allona ina', pampang parande matoto'na eran salassa'na datu luvu. Kumua tommu mane mengkara'pa tama te lili' na lepongan bulan ta'de pa'pa'gantian bulawan mu, tommu mane tidukun tama te gonting na pandan matarik allo tangsombo pa'pantarian makaraeng mu. Apa diembong bulawan dandan sangka' dao te nanlili' na lepongan bulan, diseno nane' tangkaruan pananda bisara ilan te gontingna pandan matarik allo, naria' moko pa' palumbangan sangka disanga moko balian.

The speech of tominaa in the *ma'pasa' tedong* activity tells that what if the buffalo is cut means that the event held is a big event. The slaughter of long horns buffalo contains the hope that hopefully the whole family will gain a broad insight into making a living in this world.

Extract 2: *Tedong saleko* 'Striped buffalo' as a symbol of wealth

Tedong saleko 'Striped buffalo' as a symbol of wealth of Rambu Solo' funeral ceremony steam appears in the following speech data.

iko saleko pantaranakna bintoen tasak pang lolloanna asi-asi malillin, tuna' turiagna gaun tikembong. Ikomo tedong unnola eran di langi' allona ina', karambau umpolambanan enda' to paongan to kulla' pure diboko'. Ba'gi misanna lepongan bulan tage'- tageranna pandan matarik allo. Iko tedong malute di pobelo pusuk tama rante kalua' mabangko di pobembeng daun induk tama tandung kalonaran. Tanda tasikna ewanan sanda matasak ilan tangngana tondok, toding bulayanna ewanan sanda masokan ilan ma' lipu mangka di tarik. Ikomo tedong di pobia' borrong tama rante kaiua' karambau di posulo parrang tama tandung kalonaran, bia' borrong ilan tangngana bongi sulo parrang ilan paseko malillin. Dikua denno upa' napoupa' paraya napoparaya inde'mai toma' rapu tallang angga toma' kaponan ao', anna tangtitodo lentek matallo matampu' ulunna langi' ingkok na batara.

Tominaa said in the *ma'pasa' tedong* activity, it is said that the *saleko* buffalo is the only buffalo that passes through the stairs from the sky when descending to earth, and is also a symbol of the wealth of the toraja and becomes a light in performing a traditional ceremony of solo rambu'

Extract 3 : *Tedong lotong boko* 'black back buffalo' as a symbol of tongkonan

Tedong lotong boko 'black back buffalo' as a symbol of tongkonan of Rambu Solo' funeral ceremony steam appears in the following speech data.

Iko lotong boko' tanda tasikna tongkonan layuk, toding bulayanna esungan pa'kalandoan. Kumua lotong boko' bubunganna tindak sarira longana mian kila' pamingngna, dapo' rongko' to dapo'na dapo' tamben bala tedong.

Tominaa speech in the *ma'pasa' tedong* activity tells that the *lotong butt*' is a symbol of tongkonan. Tongkonan is a symbol of social strata in Toraja society.

Extract 4 : kerbau 'bonga' 'spotted buffalo' as a symbol of tongkonan and social strata

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*Iko **bonga** ikomo tedong napopendio' ma'pu' to ma'rapu tallang, karambau napopembollo me'rekan to ma'kaponan ao'. Tanda tasikna tonkonan, toding bulayanna esungan. Kumua digente' noka' lapa'de apinna mengailing la merrambu royanna.*

Tominaa speech in the ma'pasa' tedong activity tells that the bonga buffalo is also a symbol of tongkonan that still preserves the customs and social strata of the owner of the tongkonana.

Extract 5 : Tedong pudu" symbol of family hope

*Iko **pudu'** ba'ginna padang di pantilang, tarukna pongkekumorrok bati'na pundu sarae. Ikomo tedong di pamatua induk ilan rante kalua' karambau dipabanu' karurungan ilan tandung kalonaran. Dikua dennoi upa' inde' mai toma' rapu tallang angga toma'kaponan ao', anna matua induk untorro'i kuli'na padang banu' karurungan ilan telili' na lipu daenan. Ke denki' lana sarak sa'pe puang matua lasituru' lellenganna punti, sipanglola baan maririnna bane'. Dennoi upa' na matua induk kanno'koran, matua buangan kada, matua tengka ke'de'*

The speech of tominaa in the ma'pasa' tedong activity contains the meaning that the buffalo pudu' is a buffalo that is spoken among all the buffaloes in the ongoing ceremony and becomes a symbol of the hope of the family family that may they live a long life and become the one who is empowered in the community.

Extract 6 : Tedong Sokko 'Symbol of the humility of the rich'

*Iko **sokko** tanduk tuo rokeko tanduk tuo tama. Tedongna Babu' Solong, sokko mebali tungkasanganna. Tedong tang ngumpasombo matata', ma'tan-ma'tan untannu papatu inaya. Sombo opi anna lalong ombo'opi anna gandang. Dikua dennoi upa' annasombo napapatu lalan anna ombo' anna papatu inaya.*

Tominaa said in the ma'pasa' tedong activity tells that telling that the buffalo sokko is a buffalo belonging to Babu' solong called sokko mebali because it can respond if asked questions. This buffalo symbolizes that although someone is rich and has carried out a large ceremony, among others.

Extract 7 'Tedong Tekken langi': The buffalo that symbolizes peace

*Iko **tekken langi'**, unnindo' basse kasalle, unnambe' panda dipamaro'son den ko mani untengkai kalo' basse kasalle, la na serokeko tanduk sokko sang sangbali rokeko la'tama padang, ammu tang pandiu kumman tang mendeko kutu manuk, Den ko mani ullenda pasala uma panda dipamaro'son La na serokeko tanduk tarangga sang piak lako randanna langi, Na patarru ko lako palelean uran, dio tondok tang na petondokkei to kenden tau mate.*

The presence of tekken langi' buffalo in the traditional ceremony depicts the symbol of 'peace'. The hope of the family in the traditional ceremony rambu solo', that the presence of the buffalo tekken langi' provides a sign of peace for all family families so that the customary ceremony can go according to the plan that has been agreed.

Extract 8 'Tedong Todi' : symbol of Family

*Iko **todi'** malute disa'bu' dudung pindan. Ikomo tedong dipalidan dao tangngana sondong, karambau dipatuara' dao limbu balana tananan sampa'. Di pasikambi' kada disedan sarong, dipasi taranak bisara di toke' tambane baka. Tedong di saile sule dio randanna langi', karambau di tiro tuara' dio lelean uran. Tanda tasikna kumua kita to sang dunduan, pindan sang timburan gori-gori. Umpobasse basse sipadiiong lisunna pala', panda si pailanan se'ponna kalepa' tang sipairisan angin membuntunna, tang sipasimboan darinding mentanetena. Tallan di kapadangan sitoe lima, malabu di kawaianna sisapu kambutu'. Tanda tasikna kumua sikamali' di pobalo', siangkaran di poparaya. Miasa' kada dipotuo pantan kada dipomate.*

Todi' is a buffalo that symbolizes the unity and familial ties of the Toraja community from above the tongkonan that must be upheld by the Toraja community wherever it is.

Extract 9 'Tedong Sambao : symbol of apologies

Iko sambao' ikomo tedong dilando lalanni tama tangngana pasa', karambau di lingka pa'taunanni tama lisu lebangna tammuan. Ikomo tedong umpokili' dua bangko, karambau umpobulu dua bulu. Ikomo tedong malute na poserotalla' to ponto litakan, mabangko napopembase irusan to kallang karauan. Iko tedong mangka di basse allona ina', malute di pa'buanggi sanda biringna mabangko dipa'kolakkei sanda randanna. Ke denni temai dandanan sangka' di lenda pesalu, ke denni temai batokan penanda bisara di lenda sumallang. Dikua dennoi upa' anna sundun tang beluakan, anna upu' tang pissanisian''.

It is said that the buffalo sambao' is a buffalo bound by a treaty that if there is a mistake that occurs in the ceremony then the buffalo is the one who is responsible. Therefore, the buffalo sambao' was last cut in the solo sign ceremony' and buffalo sambao' is also used by servants who want freedom to redeem themselves.

DISCUSSION

Buffalo as a Marker of Nobility

Buffalo is a measure of wealth for the People of Toraja. Buffalo is called garonto' eanan or the main tree of wealth (Kristanto, 2021). Furthermore, according to the belief of Aluk Todolo, buffalo has two basic values, namely: (1) philosophical values that mean buffalo as the main sacrificial offering in thanksgiving ceremonies (rambu tuka'), and as a symbol that refers to human work or effort and a symbol of prosperity; (2) The material value of the buffalo as a sacrifice in the funeral ceremony to determine the level of the ceremony, as the basis for determining caste or tana' (Kristanto, 2021).

Buffalo is one of the sacrificial animals that play an important role in Aluk Todolo or toraja ancestral belief as a vehicle to puya or afterlife. This reason is what encourages the families of the deceased to carry out funeral ceremonies equipped with a certain number of buffaloes so that the spirits can enter to the puya (world of the dead).

Based on the implementation of the *Rambu Solo'*, it is revealed that the sacrificial animal, especially *tedong* (buffalo) is a large marker of *Rambu Solo'* funeral ceremony. Because of that basis, buffalo have a special place in the life of Toraja people. In the ritual of the *Rambu Solo'* ceremony above there is a return word which is one type of *tedong* or buffalo. *Tedong Balian* in extract 1 means 'buffalo that have long horns'. *Tedong Balian* in a *Rambu Solo'* is also referred to as *Parepe'*. *Tedong Balian* means as the base/foundation/core/buffer of *Rambu Solo'*. Therefore, *Tedong Balian* is sacrificed/worshipped on the day of burial which signifies the end of the *Rambu Solo'* ceremony. In the sociocultural life of man Toraja, *tedong Balian* is seen as the 'leader or example ' who occupies the front position as the main base of the great ceremony (*Aluk rante Kalua'*) of noble descent. In the sociocultural life of man Toraja the existence of *tedong* (buffalo) *balian* on the *Rambu Solo'* ceremony is a symbol of the great ceremony that will be performed by the noble descendants of the Toraja people. The slaughter of *tedong Balian* contains hope that hopefully the whole family of families get a broad insight in earning a living this world.

The utterance of *Rambu Solo'* ceremony that shows *tedong* (Buffalo) as a nobility or social status marker is also shown in saleko buffalo in extract 2. Similar to *Balian*, *Saleko* 'Striped buffalo' is also one type of buffalo whose presence shows the nobility or social status in the implementation of *Rambu Solo'* ceremony because the price is very expensive. In the sociocultural life of Toraja man, *tedong Saleko* is regarded as the only buffalo that pass through stairs from the sky as it descends to Earth. Therefore, in addition to a symbol of the property of Toraja people in the presence of *tedong Saleko* in *Rambu Solo'* ceremony was interpreted as a pilot or a street guide that will lead the traditional ceremony of *Rambu solo'*, So that the implementation runs smoothly.

In the sociocultural life of Toraja people specifically in the implementation of *Rambu Solo* ceremony', 'Striped buffalo' is a symbol of a nobleman or someone with a high social status who has power and wealth and great influence in society. In the implementation of *Rambu Solo'* ceremony, *saleko* is a type of buffalo whose presence expresses social status in the implementation of *Rambu Solo'* ceremony because the price is very expensive. The insertion of one's nobility uses the word *saleko*, in line with the belief of the Toraja people through the teachings of aluk todolo, that 'striped buffalo' is the only buffalo that passes through the stairs from heaven when descending to earth, so it has the privilege.

Tedong Lotong Boko' in extract 3 is one type of buffalo that has a special characteristic that is the skin color behind it black and the whole other body is white. In the sociocultural life of the Toraja community, the presence of *tedong Lotong Boko'* in the implementation of *Rambu Solo'* ceremony ' also shows the social status of the deceased person and his family who carried out the *Rambu Solo'* ceremony. Just as *saleko, Lotong Boko'* shows the social status because of its expensive price which is hundreds of millions so not everyone can afford it.

Tedong Bonga in extract 4 means ' dark-coloured buffalo with white Stripes '. *Tedong Bonga* means greatness and position. In addition, *Tedong Bonga* contains the meaning that Bonga buffalo is also a symbol of *tongkonan* that still preserve the customs and social strata of the owner of the *Tongkonan*. In the implementation of *Rambu Solo'* buffalo bonga is interpreted as 'extension or guide'. Based on context, the presence of buffalo bonga in the traditional ceremony *rambu Solo'* is interpreted as 'extension or guide' that will guide the course of the traditional ceremony *Rambu Solo'*. With hope, the implementation of traditional ceremonies does not experience obstacles. In addition, bonga respected and appreciated toraja man, because of the color of the skin and white spots that stick to him, expressing a light like a torch that will illuminate the way for human life both in the world and in the hereafter. Not only illuminate human life on earth, but also for the spirits of people to go to puya (afterlife) so as not to experience obstacles along the way.

Tongkonan as the origin of bonga, is very important in human sociocultural life because it expresses social status. Some definitions of tongkonan are described by Kobong (2008); Sandarupa (2013) and Setriyanto (2013). Tongkonan comes from the Toraja language "tongkon" which means sitting. Toraja society itself defines tongkonan as "a house that is given functions, duties and obligations", or an institutional system in the family. On the one hand there is an indo sign tongkonan' which is a tongkonan that unites all family families on the ego mother and it is known as the indo sign rapu', 'one family family from the mother's side'. On the other hand, the tongkonan sign of ambe' tongkonan that unites all family families on the father's side, therefore called, the rapu sign ambe', 'one family family from the father's side'. Such a grouping is commonly called the rapu tallang, 'one group is like a bamboo grove'. Thus tongkonan means a kinship system based on the principle of the rara the book (blood and setulang).

Tongkonan is a gathering place for the Toraja nobility, to discuss issues related to customs. Therefore, not all traditional Toraja buildings are called Tongkonan. The actual tongkonan is a place for the nobility who have the authority of leadership, power, and wealth. Therefore, at the time of the reception ceremony at *Rambu Solo'* ceremony the nobility mentioned the origin of the tongkonan as flattery and the identity of the nobility.

Tedong Pudu' in extract 5 is a type of buffalo with a heavy body shape, dominated by dark black color on his body, and the circle of his eyes are white. In the sociocultural life of the Toraja community, *Pudu'* is a buffalo that is harvested among all the buffalos that are in a solo sign ceremony '. Therefore, the presence of *Tedong Pudu'* in a solo sign ceremony ' becomes a symbol that the person who is voiced is a person who has been a leader and has an important role in the community.

The sacrifice of the *pudu* buffalo' in the traditional ceremony of *rambu solo'* illustrates that those who perform the traditional ceremony are descendants of nobles. It can be said that the buffalo *pudu'* as a force at the ceremony of noble descendants. The existence of the *pudu* buffalo' refers to 'strong and courageous leadership'. The concept of strong leadership, does not mean only physical strength, but as a solid basis (as a picture of greatness) of a traditional ceremony *rambu solo'* (Tanduk, 2021). In this context it is explained that, if the buffalo *pudu'* is sacrificed in the traditional ceremony *rambu solo'* signifies that the traditional ceremony performed symbolizes the great ceremony of noble descendants. In this case, the person being interviewed is a person who has been a leader and has an important role in society.

Tedong Sokko in extract 6 is a buffalo with a horn shape that is curved or growing downwards. In the sociocultural life of the Toraja community, the presence of *Tedong Sokko* in a *Rambu Solo'* ceremony ' serves as a sign of humility or unsomeness. Therefore, the presence of the buffalo signifies that even though a person comes from a top social class and performs a big ceremony of *Rambu Solo'* funeral ceremony, but they must remain humble.

The existence of a sokko buffalo in the traditional ceremony of *rambu solo'* is interpreted as a type of buffalo

whose identity describes 'humility'. The concept of 'humility' explains to toraja people that in carrying out traditional ceremonies must be done with great humility, so that the traditional ceremony is blessed by the Almighty and all plans of the family can run well. Sokko buffalo with the unique shape of the horns it has distinguishes its identity with other types of buffalo that are present in the traditional ceremony of *Rambu Solo'* funeral ceremony. Buffalo sokko is interpreted as a symbol of humility, which wants families who are carrying out traditional ceremonies to have a humble attitude towards others. In the life of the toraja man, wealth is not only in terms of matter but also in terms of nature.

Tedong Tekken Langi' in extract 7 is a buffalo that has a unique shape of different horns, which is one pointing upwards, and the other is pointing downwards. In the sociocultural life of the Toraja community, *Tedong Tekken Langi'* believed to be a symbol of peacefulness. Therefore, the Toraja community is expected to have a character of peace that will secure disputes or violations of indigenous peoples in the middle of society.

The presence of tekken langi' buffalo is described as a powerful figure who can fortify Toraja people for the peace that has been established. It appears on both horns that point down and up like an iron spear as a symbol of strength or a fortress of defense over the peace that is intertwined. The existence of buffalo tekken langi' gives the meaning of equivalent to the human self, which gives hope and desire as it can form the attitude or character of Toraja humans towards others (Tanduk, 2020). This means that Toraja people can have an attitude of wanting to make peace or forgive others or others. The presence of buffalo tekken langi' as a sign that is believed to be a symbol of peace for Toraja people to remain in fraternal love with others. This refers to the order of toraja human life that even though they are nobles, they must still love their neighbors who are not nobles, even to their servants.

Tedong Todi' in extract 8 is a buffalo that has a distinctive white color between the two horns. In the sociocultural life of Toraja man, Buffalo-owned white-water-the horns symbolized a string of fraternity or kinship in a large family clump of Tongkonan in carrying out the traditional *Rambu Solo'* funeral ceremony.

Tedong *sambao* in in extract 9 a buffalo bound by a treaty that if there is a mistake that occurs in the ceremony then the buffalo is the one who is responsible. Therefore, the buffalo sambao' was last cut in the *Rambu Solo'* funeral ceremony and buffalo sambao' is also used by servants who want freedom to redeem themselves.

Toraja people have been familiar with the organization of society or social hierarchy called *Tana'* (caste) that grows and develops in line with the life of *Tongkonan*. *Tana'* (caste) in the Toraja community is known four levels (Tangdilintin, 1978; Sarira, 1996; Tallulembang, 2012), namely: (1) *Tana' bulaan'* (*bulaan'* 'Gold'), namely, the highest caste hierarchy in the Toraja community. The high group caste is also called the nobility who created the rules of society which later became the Chief of the supreme government of Toraja in each indigenous or indigenous region; (2) *Tana' Bassi'* (*Bassi'* 'iron ') i.e., the middle nobility in the Toraja community. This group runs a strong customary government or the helper of the Supreme Chief customary Authority/rule' (3) *Tana Karurung'* (*Karurung'* 'wood stem enau), which is the caste which is the most people or the people of many called *Bulo Dia'pa'* (*Bulo'* 'small bamboo'; *Dia'pai'* 'arranged regularly '). That is, the community is organized neatly. This society is no power but is commonly chosen as a religious officer in cultivating the lives of plants and livestock; (4) *Tana Kua-Kua'* (*Kua-Kua'* 'a kind of leaf that grows in the rice fields that the leaves are commonly eaten buffalo) that is, the caste that is the devotion/servant for *Tana bulaan'* and *Tana' Bassi'* with duties as helper and take care of rites such as *Rambu Solo'* or *Rambu Tuka'*.

Rambu Solo' funeral ceremony follows the division of social hierarchy or *Tana'* in the Toraja community. Therefore, the event is divided into five levels, *disilli'*, *dipasangbongi'*, *didoya tedong'*, *dirapa'i'*, dan *disapurandanan'* (Tangdilintin, 1978; Sarira, 1996; Tallulembang, 2012). (1) *Disilli'* The funeral ceremony was done by the caste of *Tana Kua-Kua'*. The body should not be kept overnight at home and buried at night using a torch. For those who are not usually able to be buried without a sacrifice, they can be included with the sacrifice of some chicken eggs or a pig. (2) *Dipasangbongi'* 'the funeral ceremony only lasts one night with a buffalo sacrifice of at least one tail, For people who come from *Tana' Karurung'*. (3) *Didoya Tedong'* The funeral rites for the *Tana' baasi'* and *Tana bulaan'*. (high nobility) lasted for three nights, five or seven night to the communities originating from *Tana' bassi'* which are economically capable or *Tana bulaan'* or family of high nobles who are less economically capable. During the ceremony, the participants did not sleep overnight (*Didoya'*). The sacrifices offered were pigs (usually

up to hundreds of tails), a minimum of three and a maximum of 12 buffalo. The stage of the ceremony is in the house or Tongkonan except that the dead originate from the high nobility (*Tana bulaan*), it must be recorded in *Tongkonan Layuk* with a *simbuang*. The process is the same as the *dirupa'i* ceremony, what distinguishes it is the number of victims offered. (4) '*Dirapai*' is the funeral ceremony for those originating from *Tana bulaan* lasts a minimum of seven days but may take place within months, depending on family preparation and agreement. The ceremony was made up of several stages and took a long time with a minimum of 12 *tedong* (buffalo) offerings. (5) '*Disapurandanan*' This funeral ceremony is done for those who come from *Tana bulaan* and its implementation is almost the same as the ceremony was reached'. The difference lies in the slaughter of animals other than pigs and buffalos, such as cows, deer, goats, except chickens.

Buffalo 'Tedong' as a marker of humanity

In a *Rambu Solo'* funeral ceremony 'carried out a buffalo cut called the *Manta Duku*'. Based on the interview with the *Manta Duku* 'is the culmination of the funeral ceremony, that is by cutting the sacrificial animal according to the previous agreement. The sacrificial animal of the day was traditionally distributed to families and relatives in accordance with their designation. The provisions referred to is the customary division of meat, namely certain parts of the flesh is a part for people or families of certain breeds also. The division is also related to the task of each person in the ceremony.

In the sociocultural life of the Toraja community during the time of *Aluk To Dolo* (religion of the Toraja ancestors before the inclusion of Christianity and other religions) *Mantaa Duku* 'implemented on religious and social basis. The religious basis of the *Manta Duku* 'is the worship of the deity (in the belief of *Aluk Todolo*). As for the social basis of the *Mantaa Duku* 'is the desire to share for others and expressions of gratitude especially for communities where the *Rambu Solo'* ceremony was implemented. In the sociocultural life of the Toraja community today, the religious aspects of the *Aluk to Dolo*, have shifted because of the inclusion of Christian religious teachings and other religions. Now the dominant foundation in the activities of the "Duku" is the social basis. The division of meat or *Manta Duku* was done by *Toparengnge/Ambe Tondok* with the committee called the Section *Ma'lalan Ada* '. Section *Ma'lalan Ada*' is the person in charge of sharing the sacrificial flesh in accordance with the provisions and kinship of the person being voiced. In addition animal sacrifices (brought by the family), there are also destined for the construction of houses of worship, Village development and public facilities in society and given in the form of life, although symbolically already stated to have been sacrificed/cut.

Buffalo 'Tedong' as Entertainment

One of the activities that is inseparable from *Rambu Solo'* funeral ceremony is the implementation of *Ma'pasilaga Tedong*. *Ma'pasilaga* itself has the meaning of complaining or reunite and for *Tedong* itself is a buffalo (Patiung, 2020). So, *Ma'pasilaga tedong* means to pit buffalo (Mangopang, 2018). The main goal of *Ma'pasilaga Tedong* is to display entertainment for the family being grieved (Papalangi, 2020) . In addition, *Ma'pasilaga Tedong* is a *Rambu Solo'* funeral ceremony that funeral ceremony that will be held is a big event. The buffalo that were in the activity were the buffalo that would later be sacrificed. In its development, it is possible to bring another buffalo from the outside which is often called 'Buffalo fighters' . *Ma'pasilaga tedong* activities are a great activity that can bring up to thousands of people. Therefore this activity needs to have a special arena to ensure the safety of the audience.

CONCLUSION

The results suggest that buffalo '*tedong*' in *Rambu Solo'* funeral ceremony is a marker of a person's social status. The sign of social status is determined by how many buffaloes are sacrificed, which is in line with the speech in *Rambu Solo'* spoken by *tominaa*. The more buffaloes are sacrificed, the higher a person's social status. On the other hand, the fewer buffaloes are sacrificed, the lower a person's social status. In addition, buffalo is also a marker of the sense of humanity that is seen through *manta duku's* activities. The value of art and buffalo entertainment is seen in the activities of *ma' pasilaga tedong*.

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Author contribution statement

Resnita Dewi and Rita Tanduk: Designing research, conducting research, collecting data, analyzing data, writing research results and publishing.

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The data that has been used is confidential.

Declaration of interests statement

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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