

Learning Local Wisdom through the Symbols of *Ma'nene'* Rituals in North Toraja: A Semiotic Perspective

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ABSTRACT

The values of local communities are almost always highlighted in terms of tourism that little is known of how local wisdom can contribute to the generation. This study examines the meaning of symbols and interpretations of local wisdom in *ma'nene'* rituals in the Baruppu community of North Toraja Regency using a qualitative descriptive approach. Data on words and behavior in rituals were obtained through interviews, notes, records, visual and audiovisual documentation, and analyzed with Pierce's semiotic theory. The results of this study indicate that the implementation of the *ma'nene'* ritual is divided into two stages, namely: 1) Preparation (a) *Ma'kongon ada'*, (b) *Kapenomban pa'paranduk*, (c) *Manta'da*, (d) *Ma' pakande ada'*, (e) *Umpasun bombongan*; and 2) Implementation of (a) *Ma'bungka'*, (b) *Ma'kassa'i*, (c) *Massomba tedong*, (d) *Manglokko tedong sola bai*, (e) *Ma'pakande nene'*, (f) *Mantutu'*, (g) *Capenomban pa'paupu'*. In carrying out the ritual, there are various symbols, including: (1) *Tau-tau*, (2) *Bombongan*, (3) *Pangngan*, (4) *Kain ba'ru*, (5) *Tedong sola bai*, (6) *Bo'bo 'sola duku'*, (7) *Punti leaves*, (8) *Tallang*. Based on the semiotic analysis of the symbols in the ritual, several types of local wisdom were found, namely: (a) religious values, (b) brotherhood, and (c) unity.

1. Introduction

In the emerging Asian market, local communities' cultural practices are often brought up in discourse as opportunities to promote tourism and preserve heritage. This study is interested to mine the values of local wisdom to record them in academic literature and display how much local wisdom offer for education and that it is more than a "unique" element of a tourist destination (Alam & Al-Muthmainnah, 2020; Dewi, Poedjiastoeti, & Prahani, 2017). Specifically, this study focuses on the religious system, which is a guardian of emotions in local cultures, because it is intricately linked with three elements, namely (1) the belief system, (2) the religious ceremony system, (3) the people who adhere to that religion (Koenjaraningrat, 1992, p. 14). The government of Indonesia has designated Toraja, South Sulawesi, as a priority strategic tourism area (Kausar & Gunawan, 2018), and the religious systems and models of inheritance of the Toraja people is the interest of this study.

The majority of the Toraja people adheres to Christianity, which was brought and spread by the Zending from the Netherlands (Panuntun et al., 2019). Long before, people adhered to animist beliefs that influence their traditions to this day, and the Toraja people still carry out distinctive burial procedures in

rock caves which are often found on cliff ridges, scattered throughout the Toraja region. On the porch of each rock cave grave location, you can see rows of human statues (*tau-tau*) made of jackfruit wood. Inside were mortar-shaped coffins containing corpses, and human skulls scattered outside and inside the cave. The method of burial is closely related to the concept of life of the Toraja people, which states that their sacred ancestors came from heaven and came down to earth. Therefore, the bodies of people who have died should not be buried in the ground. For them it will destroy the sanctity of the earth which results in soil fertility.

The death according to the belief of *Aluk Todolo* (to = people, *dolo* = ancestor) or *Alukta* culminates in the attainment of the greatest life in eternity in *Puya* (the world of spirits) as to buy *puang* (Pantheon/subordinate God). Therefore, funerals for the Toraja people become the most sacred moment in the journey of human life on earth. *Aluk Todolo's* belief illustrates that humans come from the sky, come down to earth, life, and will return to the sky after going through transformation.

The Toraja people uphold the doctrine that human life is to die, to the realm of eternity. In order to achieve peace in *Puya*, each corpse must perform self-cleansing as atonements for sins. For this reason, every corpse to be buried should be provided as much as possible

according to the family's ability. The provisions in question are the spirits of a number of animals that will be sacrificed when the funeral ritual is carried out. The spirits of a number of sacrificed animals are expected and believed to be vehicles capable of taking the spirits of the dead to Puya.

The greater the number of animals sacrificed, the more perfect the journey to immortality will be. Besides, on the socio-cultural side, the higher the degree of the dead, the more animals are sacrificed. That is why burial or death rituals in the Toraja tribe can cost hundreds, to billions of rupiah which are generally held for 5-6 days, even up to a full month (Niswaty, Nur, & Sesa, 2020). For those who have not been able to have their relatives buried, they will be mummified for a while at home, until the time when their immediate family is able to raise money and agree to hold a death ritual according to custom, namely, the Rambu Solo ceremony (Hasmawati et al., 2020).

Burial rituals also function as family reunions and refreshing kinship relations (Kobong, 1992, p.45). This opportunity is used to sit down to ask about their origins and tell stories because the Toraja people have rich folktales known as ulean pare or puama which has significant roles for Torajanese in identifying their ancestors, knowing and understanding their cultures and histories, learning past lessons, and entertaining (Surya et al., 2017), means of sharing inheritance, proving the dignity of the Toraja people, alliance (gotong royong), means of artistic expression, and recreation through the momentum of the Rambu Solo ritual. These two contradictory but complementary functions give birth to the perception of the "party of death".

There are also songs at the ritual, which is the song of the guard at the funeral called Dondi. Dondi is sung sitting down all night, according to the tastes of the participants (Rappoport, 2009a: 33). In this ritual, singing plays an important role. Funeral rituals in Toraja are grueling activities with funds that leave most families in debt. These activities include: 1) Sending invitations to relatives and surrounding villages, and 2) The order of the rituals; a) dressing the bodies, b) the arrival of guests carrying pigs and buffalo, c) singing lamentations in a circular dance, during animal sacrifices, d) distributing meat, and e) burials (Rappoport, 2009b: 55).

The ma'nene' ritual is a complement to various Aluk Todolo rituals and is part of the Aluk Rambu Solo ceremony. ma'nene' ritual can be found especially in the Baruppu area, North Toraja Regency. The people in that area are still preserving their ancestral customs and traditions, and still deeply feel that individuals who have died remain an inseparable part of their living relatives. That is why in that area, some families are very concerned about the bodies of their relatives. This

concern is shown by cleaning his grave at least once a year.

Ma'nene' rituals are held in the cemetery area by cleaning grave burrows, making offerings to ancestral spirits, changing new clothes for the corpse when the wrappers are old, and changing rotten tau-tau clothes. This ma'nene' ritual is carried out after the harvest as a tribute to the ancestors, but its main purpose is as a sign of gratitude to God.

The origins of this ma'nene' ritual came from a hunter named Pong Rumasek who found a corpse in poor condition in the mountainous forest of Balla. The body was then treated and buried in a safe place. Since Pong Rumasek has always received blessings on his farm and hunting. Pong Rumasek concluded that the bodies of people who have died must still be cared for and respected, even though the bodies are no longer in shape. Until now, the mandate of Pong Rumasek has been maintained in the form of its mutation as a means of performing the ma'nene' ritual, which if it is not done after harvesting, their farm will suffer damage (Interview with Beatrix Bulo', 80 years old, 27-09-2017, 15:00).

The Ma'nene' ritual is a complement to the Aluk Rambu Solo which is carried out after the funeral and after the harvest. ma'nene' rituals are sacred and must be performed. For the people of Baruppu and most of the Toraja people in general, they consider that this ritual is a form of representation of purification and respect for the spirits that will go to Puya. Even though many Toraja people have embraced heavenly religions, the customs and traditions of their ancestors are not easily abandoned.

For the people of Baruppu, the ma'nene' ritual is an annual mass ritual that is followed by all Baruppu families both living in the village and outside the region. ma'nene' is a tribute to all the spirits whose bodies were "buried" in stone graves in Baruppu. In Baruppu, the body should not be kept for more than five nights to wait for distant relatives. That is the unique habit of similar rituals in the Toraja cultural area. Thus, this event will truly become a reunion for the nomads.

Language as a means of communication for the people of Baruppu, generally grows in an oral tradition. Other forms of communication tools are symbolic. The Baruppu people use these symbols as part of a means of connecting humans with nature as well as supernatural beings and local wisdom, in interpreting life according to society.

Current developments show that the symbols in these rituals are now only understood by a handful of individuals who are mostly elderly (Akhrani & Eka, 2019). Meanwhile, most of the communities have shifted the ritual implementation according to their abilities and new beliefs. Such conditions are certainly

very worrying about the cultural links of a society. Moreover, the Toraja people do not so far have a written tradition. Even though they consistently write down the concepts of the mind into unique and artistic symbols.

This research examines the cultural meaning of symbols in the *ma'nene'* ritual which is packaged in the formulation of the problem as follows: 1) How is the *ma'nene'* ritual phasing? 2) What is the meaning of the symbols in the *ma'nene'* ritual?, and 3) How is the interpretation of local wisdom implied in the *ma'nene'* ritual?

The objectives of this review paper are formulated to 1) describe the *ma'nene'* ritual stages, 2) reveal the meaning of symbols in the *ma'nene'* ritual, 3) understand the local wisdom interpretation implied in the *ma'nene'* ritual.

This study is expected to be useful, both theoretically and practically, namely: (1) Expressing symbolic meanings and cultural aspects contained in the *ma'nene'* ritual in the Toraja people of *Baruppu* through semiotic analysis tools; (2) Providing meaningful contributions to scientific development, especially regarding Toraja culture related to *ma'nene'* rituals; (3) Completing the previously written documentation about Toraja culture; (4) Teaching materials about Toraja culture for students and young people in general; (5) Increase the attractiveness of tourist destinations in Toraja.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Semiotic Theory

Semiotics is used to explain the practice of interpreting signs. Semiotics, of course, sees how culture becomes the basis for thinking about the formation of meaning in a sign. Semiotics studies systems, rules, conventions that allow these signs to have meaning (Kriyantono, 2007; Potts, 2017). Because there is a tendency to view various social discourses as linguistic phenomena (Hamuddin et al., 2019; Piliang, 1998; Tanasy, Nasir, & Yulianti, 2020), this study finds it possible to explore semiotics as a method to study into various scientific branches. The theory of semiotics is important to use in this study because this theory can help the writer study and analyze various data in the research field, especially the meaning of symbols contained in the *ma'nene'* ritual in the *Barappu* community of North Toraja Regency.

Peirce put forward the triangle meaning theory which consists of three main elements, namely the sign, object, and interpretant. A sign is something that has a physical form that can be grasped by the human senses and is something that refers (represents) other things outside the sign itself.

The sign according to Peirce consists of a Symbol (a sign that emerges from a deal), an Icon (a sign that emerges from a physical representation) and an Index (a sign that arises from a cause-effect relationship). Meanwhile, the reference to this sign is called an object. The object or sign reference is the social context that is the reference of the sign or something that the sign refers to. Interpretant or sign user is the concept of thinking of people who use a sign and lower it to a certain meaning or meaning that is in someone's mind about the object that a sign refers to. The most important thing in the process of semiosis is how meaning emerges from a sign when the sign is used by people when communicating.

According to Peirce in Hoed (1992) a sign is something that represents something. That something can be an experience, a thought, an idea or a feeling. If something, for example A is black smoke billowing in the distance, then it can represent B, i.e. a fire (experience). Such a mark can be called an index; that is, between A and B there is a contiguity. A photo or picture is a sign called an icon. Photo represents a certain fact on the basis of similarity or similarity. A sign can also be a symbol, if the relationship between the sign and what it represents is based on a convention, for example, a red light that represents a 'prohibition' (idea) based on an existing agreement in society. Pigeon is believed to be a sign or symbol of peace; the pigeon cannot just be substituted by another bird or animal, and so on.

According to Pierce, a sign (representament) is something that can represent something else within certain limits (Eco, 1979: 15). Sign will always refer to something else, which Pierce calls an object (denotatum). A new sign can function if it is interpreted in the mind of the recipient of the sign through the interpretant. So the interpretant is the understanding of the meaning that appears in the recipient of the sign. The relationship between the three elements put forward by Pierce is known as the semiotic triangle. Furthermore, it is said that signs in relation to their references can be divided into signs known as icons, indexes and symbols.

Icons, indexes, symbols are a set of relationships between the base (form), object (referent), and concept (interpretant or reference). Form usually gives rise to perception and after being connected with an object will give rise to interpretants. This process is a cognitive process and occurs in understanding advertising messages. The series of understanding will continue to develop along with the series of semiosis that never ends. Furthermore, there is a series of semiosis levels. The interpretation is that there is a series of semiosis of the first layer, which will be the basis for referring to the new object and from here there is a series of semiosis of the second layer. So, what has

the status of a mark in the first layer serves as a marker in the second layer, and so on.

Semiotics provides the possibility for us to think critically and understand the possibility of other meanings or interpretations of everything that happens in social and cultural life, including in ma'nene' rituals in the Baruppu community. So this research uses the semiotic theory developed by Charles Sander's Peirce to see the symbols and meanings contained in the ma'nene' ritual.

2.2 Sign System

Pierce sees the sign (representament) as an inseparable part of the object of reference, but is related to the object and its interpreter. So a sign we can form a triangle. The first is the sign itself, the second is the object which is the reference for the sign, and the third is the interpreter which is the introduction between the object and the sign.

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Pierce's triadic model (representation + object + interpretant = sign) shows the big role of the subject in the language transformation process. Signs in Pierce's view are always in a continuous process of change, which is called the process of unlimited semiosis, which is the process of creating an endless series of interpretants (Piliang, 2003: 266).

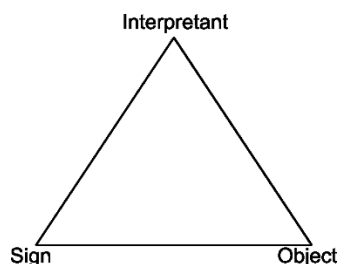


Figure 2.1 Pierce's triadic model

Pierce's triadic model shows three main elements forming signs, namely Representamen (something that represents something else), Object (something that is represented), and Interpretant (someone's interpretation of a sign) (Piliang, 2003: 267). According to Pierce, in studying the object he understands, a careful interpreter, everything will be seen from three things, namely: (1) The relationship of reasoning with the type of markers: (a) Qualisign: a

marker related to quality, (b) Sinsign: a marker which is related to reality, and (c) Legisign: a marker related to the rules; (2) Relation of reality to its basic types: (a) Icon: Something that performs a function as a marker similar to the shape of the object (seen in a picture or painting), (b) Index: Something that performs the function as a marker indicating the sign, (c) Symbol: Something that performs a function as a marker which is conventionally used in society; (3) The relation of the mind to the type of marker (a) Rhema: The marker that is related to the object of the marker as possible to the interpreter, (b) Dicent or dicisign: The marker that displays information about the marker. (c) Argument: A marker whose final marker is not something but a rule.

2.2.1 Symbol

According to Spradley (1997: 125), symbolic systems can refer to language, art forms, the marriage procedures and so on. The symbol displays the relationship between the marker and the marker in its arbitrary nature. Interpreters are required to find the relationship between the signatures creatively and dynamically. Signs that turn into symbols will automatically be affixed with cultural, situational and conditional characteristics. Therefore, language is actually a great human achievement regarding arbitrary markers (Santosa, 1993: 11-12).

2.2.1 Meaning

Signs and meanings have the basic concept of all meaning models and which directly have similarities where each of them pays attention to the three elements that are always present in every study of meaning. The three elements are (1) sign, (2) sign reference, and (3) sign user.

In relation to the meaning process, especially in the meaning of a cultural structure, a knife or analysis tool is needed to dissect and find the meaning contained therein. In the ma'nene' ritual, which is a form of local wisdom in the culture of the Baruppu people, there are symbols. The Baruppu people use these symbols as part of a means of connecting humans and nature as well as supernatural beings on earth. These symbols have a philosophical meaning. Therefore, it is important for the author to interpret / translate these ancestral traditions, so that the younger generation as heirs as well as the continuation of local cultural wisdom can understand it and practice it in everyday life, in the form of teachings, values, and norms in life.

3. Method

The data collection method in this research is divided into two types, namely (1) library research which is sourced from literature, journals, previous research results, and the internet; and (2) field research that originates from semi-structured interviews with informants who are considered to be able to provide

information about the object under study, and originate from recording and recording to transliterate and describe the data found.

3.1 Data Analysis Method

Data analysis was performed using Peirce's semiotic approach. The implementation technique is detailed as follows: 1) Classifying data relating to the use of symbolic forms and *ma'nene'* ritual background, 2) Translating data in the source language into the target language, 3) Analyzing the meaning of the symbols exist in *ma'nene'* ritual, 4) After the meaning of the symbol is systematically described, various cultural meanings can be related to the collectivity of the community supporting the *ma'nene'* ritual, and 5) Based on the relationship between cultural meaning and collectivity, the interpretation of local wisdom can be revealed.

4. Results & Discussion

4.1 *Ma'nene'* Ritual Steps

The *ma'nene'* ritual is preceded by several activities related to the ritual preparation. After that initial series, then the *ma'nene'* ritual is carried out based on stages based on Aluk. This provision becomes the basis for the implementation of the *ma'nene'* ritual and each process in that provision has its own meaning and function. The following section will discuss the stages in the *ma'nene'* ritual.

4.1.1 Preparation

a. *Ma'kombongan ada'*

The first step in the preparation of the *ma'nene'* ritual is *ma'kangga ada'* which comes from the basic word *kombongan* which means gathering, conferring or deliberating to discuss and make decisions about family readiness, capacity, planned time, and preparation of the animals that will be sacrificed in the performance of the *ma'nene'* ritual. If the meeting has resulted in a *kasituran* (agreement) from all parties, then the ritual time can be determined, which is absolutely conducted after the harvest period.

b. *Kapenomban Pa'paranduk*

Kapenomban pa'paranduk is a series of preparations before the implementation of *ma'nene'* rituals led by religious leaders or pastors by the church. This service begins the whole series of *ma'nene'* rituals which will be carried out for the next few days, aiming to ask permission and ask God for help so that all the sequences in the *Ma'nene'* ritual run smoothly.

The *manta'da* process was carried out according to the Protestant church order in Toraja. *Manta'da* itself is interpreted as the process of 'cleansing', or what Van (1987) calls the purification stage, which is the preparatory stage in which the families of tongkonan come together to present a pig intended to God, through the church as an attempt at "cleansing" which is meant as a confession of sin.

The goal is to give thanks for the life of the Sustainer and ask for blessings as the tongkonan is a place for human life to make sacrifices. This stage is also intended to ask for a smooth process in the sacrifice that will be carried out in the next stage of the ritual.

d. *Ma'pakande ada'*

Ma'pakande ada' is the process of slaughtering the pork as the sacrifice on the first day. The distribution of pork is not only addressed to traditional leaders, but also to the church, which has now played many roles in replacing *Aluk Todolo* in traditional rituals. (interview with Reza Sarambu, 89 years old, 12-10-2017 11:00).

Ma'pakande ada' is interpreted as a form of gratitude from the family group that will hold the *Ma'nene'* ritual to traditional leaders and churches and is a way for families to gain legitimacy from the community for social status and increase the role of their tongkonan in the customary order.

e. *Umpasun bombongan*

Umpasun bombongan is a procession of 'taking out the gong'. So that when the *bombongan* is sounded, relatives and local people will know and come to take part in the ritual. This *gong* is echoed along the way to the cemetery, as a sign of gratitude and joy for the family who will begin the implementation of the *ma'nene'* ritual.

4.1.2 Implementation

a. *Ma'bungka liang*

On the first day, the implementation of the *ma'nene'* ritual begins with the *ma'bungka* stage' opening the door 'of the liang. On the first day the door to the tomb was only opened without removing the body. First, they cleaned the area around the tomb and made huts around the cemetery area in preparation for entering the *Ma'kassa'i* stage on the second day.



Picture 4.1 The implementation of the *Ma'nene'* ritual begins with the *Ma'bungka'* stage of 'opening the door' of the liang 'grave of stones'.

b. Ma'kassa'i

On the second day of implementation, the *ma'kassa'i* stage, which begins with the *massonda bayu tau-tau* (changing the clothes of the statue which is rotten or damaged). After that, lowering the corpses one by one from the burrow, starting with the oldest corpse, then placed and dried around the burial area. After drying the corpses in the huts, it is prepared for cleaning and renewing the cloth.

Ma'kassa'i is carried out for the next three days according to the agreement of the family rumps, including replacing rotten or damaged crates and if there are rnyat that will be moved to a new liang or patane made by the family. On the last night of *ma'kassa'i* on the fourth day, before the next day the corpses were put in, they also stayed in the huts so that they could accompany the ancestors, this was also a sign of their love and respect for the ancestors.



Picture 4.2 *Massonda bayu tau-tau* 'change the clothes of the statue' that has been weathered and damaged.

c. Massomba tedong

Massomba tedong is a ritual marked by a sacrifice in the form of a black buffalo. *Massomba tedong* is defined as an all-night prayer activity in which it contains praise for the buffalo to be offered." (interview with Novrianto, 30 years old, 29-09-2017 13:00).

worship of God according to Christianity. However, this modification to the *massomba tedong* still does not change its role and function in the *ma'nene'* ritual. In the *massomba tedong*, the speech is delivered by the priest in the *ma'nene'* ritual which is preceded by thanking God as the creator of everything that exists. (interview with Aprilianto, 27 years old, 28-09-2017 16:00).

The concept of worshiping deata or ancestral spirits in *massomba tedong*, is completely replaced by



Picture 4.3 A black buffalo that will be a sacrifice in the ritual is first prayed by to-minaa

d. Manglokko' tedong sola bai

The next stage on the fifth day is the process of slaughtering a sacrifice in a grave area called *manglokko'* by the *Baruppu* community. Before the buffalo is sacrificed by using a spear, it is initially prayed for in a narrative expression which tells the glory of *Puang Matua*, all his creations and human life, and also condemns the bad deeds of humans required by the statement through the sacrifice.

e. Ma'pakande nene'

Ma'pakande nene' is a ritual of delivering offerings to the ancestors. This is the essence of the *ma'nene'* ritual which contains the recitation of prayers,

the presentation of the sacrifice, the finalization, and the inauguration of *tomembali puang* who is in charge of supervising and blessing his human descendants. (interview with Tato 'Dena', 82 years old, 27-09-2017 16:00). In this stage, the messenger prepared banana leaves as a serving place. After everything is ready, the next step is that the offerings are placed in front of the hole.

The messenger who eats the offering symbolizes the ancestral spirits who come to eat the offerings that have been provided in the messenger's body. Then, all those who are present at that place can eat together too so that the blessings of the ancestors can be abundant so they can be kept away from the evil disturbances and disasters that can befall the family.



Picture 4.4 The community prepares dishes to be offered in rituals

f. Mantutu'

The next stage is *mantutu* 'closing the door'. In this step, the corpses are put back into the burrow, then the messenger closes the door to the burrow as a sign of the end of the *ma'pakande nene* ritual.



Picture 4.5 The process of entering the bodies one by one, starting with the oldest corpse.

g. *Kapenomban Pa'paupu*

The series of the *ma'nene* procession ends with the gathering of family members in the *rante* to worship together. This is where the family and all *Baruppu* people who have carried out the ritual gather and offer prayers of gratitude for the completion of the entire

ma'nene ritual procession which has gone well and smooth.

The *Kapenomban Pa'paupu* (closing service), is followed by *Sisemba* (playing feet) as a form of gratitude and happiness over abundant food and a symbol of unity which is capable of strengthening togetherness and brotherhood of the Toraja people.



Picture 4.6 *Sisemba* (playing feet).

4.2 Symbolic Interpretation in the *Ma'nene* Ritual

After analyzing the stages in the implementation of the *ma'nene* ritual in the *Baruppu* community, the next section will discuss the interpretation of the symbols in the form of objects used in the ritual.

4.2.1 *Tau-tau*

The *tau-tau* symbol is a type of statue made of jackfruit wood. The word *tau-tau* in Toraja means 'human' or 'statue'. In the past, *tau-tau* were produced only for the rich, to symbolize the social status and wealth. In the teaching of *Aluk Todolo*, *tau-tau* is the new body of the spirit of the god-to-be. The statue was placed on the left side of the corpse overnight to catch the spirit of the dead. The goal is to create future ancestors. These deities are highly trusted by the followers of *Alukta*.

According to *Aluk Todolo's* teachings, after a person dies, his spirit lives in a supernatural realm and to commemorate the grave of ancestral spirits, a symbol is made that can be likened to a picture or photograph. Among the aristocrats, people feel closer to their ancestors with *tau-tau* media. In addition to the Torajan belief in *Aluk Todolo*, all objects on the face of the earth have spirits. They believe that their ancestral spirits can enter the *tau-tau*, so their descendants can always connect to their ancestors.

The existence of social layers or groups contained in the Toraja tribe community is very influential in the procurement of *tau-tau*. The death of the lowest strata of society *tanaa karurung* (the servant class/lowest in the Toraja society) is not ritualized using *tau-tau*. Not all ancestors can be worshiped or worshiped. Ancestors who can be raised as ancestors who can be worshiped and worshiped are those forefathers who have been urinding tondok 'to defend the people', they are considered to have a special power of influence, based on their glory on earth, based on their wealth and position in society.

Thus, the meaning of the tau-tau symbol is intended to show the identity of the family, a *tau-tau* statue symbol is made for a family that is rich or has power, influence and position in Toraja society.

4.2.2 Bombongan

In the *ma'nene'* ritual there is also a '*gong*' as a symbol and paraphernalia in the ritual, however, not everyone who perform the *ma'nene'* ritual uses the bombongan '*gong*'. The *gong* that is played in this ritual is only performed by families who have performed the Rambu solo ritual at the Rapasan level, which is the highest ritual in Rambu solo' with a certain number of sacrificial animals. Umpasun bombongan in this *ma'nene'* ritual also indicates that one day the

family will carry out the highest Rambu tuka ritual, namely *ma'bua'* which is an expression of gratitude for livestock, plants and human life. (interview with Novrianto, 30 years old, 28-09-2017 11:00).

Thus the bombongan '*gong*' is interpreted as a symbol of connecting between *rambu solo'* and *rambu tuka'* because it is mandatory for Toraja people in general to carry out the *Rambu tuka* ritual (thanksgiving offering) as a request so that everything is better, by perfecting ritual activities to achieve the highest stage is *kasa'tian* (a prerequisite for being able to return to the sky as a god called to *membali puang*). The word *sa'ti* means 'to abide, to abide'. This means that he has reached the highest level of humanity, namely kindness, sincerity, and generosity that comes from him, towards others, ancestors, spirits and the surrounding environment.

4.2.3 Pangngan

The *Pangngan* 'betel' symbol in the *ma'nene'* ritual in the *Baruppu* community is mandatory. Besides, *Pangngan* itself is inseparable from the life of the Toraja people, both in *Rambu Solo'* and *Rambu Tuka'*. *Pangngan* 'betel' consists of *kalosi* 'areca nut', cake 'fruit betel', *sambako* 'tobacco', and *kapu* 'lime'. At the *kapuran pangngan* stage, it is interpreted as a way to only serve betel nut while praying something that will later make sacrifices. This means that it is a sign that in the near future, the family will make a sacrifice. In the *ma'nene'* ritual, the ingredients for the offering can be interpreted in various ways, such as *pangngan* 'sirih' is meant as a form of affection for the ancestors who also ate *pangngan* during their life. Thus, *kapuran pangngan* is interpreted as a sincere respect by bringing offerings and performing ritual stages according to the rules (Interview with Beatrix Bulu ', 80 years old, 27-09-2017, 13:00).



Picture 4.7 *Pangngan* 'sirih' used in ritual

4.2.4 Ba'ru Cloth

The symbol of cloth is one of the most important equipment in the execution of the *ma'nene'* ritual,

because later the corpse that has been removed from the burrow will be changed or the clothes are renewed. The cloth *ba'ru* which means 'the new cloth' is the cloth used in rituals, and symbolizes a renewed bond.

For the *Baruppu* people, death separates physically, but mentally it does not separate the dead and the love of their children, grandchildren, and their families through the *ma'nene' ritual*.

4.2.5 Tedong Sola Bai

The most important animals in the *ma'nene' ritual* are chicken, dog, pig and buffalo. The buffalo that is the target of the chosen 'sacrifice' according to *Aluk* belief is a direct agreement made among *Puang Matua* as the creator, the ancestors of humans, and the ancestors of the buffalo as creations. Therefore, buffaloes become sacred animals compared to other animals that are offered in *ma'nene' rituals*. Buffaloes and pigs are believed to have ancestors who were related to humans. Unlike the selected buffaloes during the death ritual, they are big, strip-skinned, and completed with long horns. The buffalo chosen for sacrifice in the *ma'nene' ritual* is a black buffalo with short horns, which is about half the size of the adult one's arm. (interview with Tato Dena', 82 years old, 28-09-2017 17:00).

As the buffalo of choice, this black buffalo must have eight marks resembling a white dot around its body, so that this black buffalo is considered worthy of being sacrificed in the tedong massomba. Therefore, buffaloes are well cared for. If these animals are to be

sacrificed, it is necessary to have the *Massomba Tedong* ritual first, which is told in the creation myth in which it is said that they were slaughtered according to the mutual agreement of their previous ancestors.

After one by one the material elements in the ritual are grateful, the priest continues his narrative and begins to talk about the origins of the buffalo ancestors. The pastor started his story as if he were in dialogue with the buffalo to be made an offering, conveying the past agreement about his ancestors which *Puang Matua* asked to become a human sacrifice. Also with adulation to take his heart, every part of his sacrificed body can be interpreted as bringing prosperity to the whole family.

The purpose of all actions in the *ma'nene' ritual* is that these animals can be used for offerings to bring sustenance, but humans must not be greedy for excessive slaughter, and follow the rules set out in the *Aluk*, and are interpreted as an expression of gratitude for farm animals, plants and human life.

The purpose of all actions in the *ma'nene' ritual* is that these animals can be used for offerings in order to bring sustenance, but humans must not be greedy for excessive slaughter, and follow the rules set out in the *Aluk*, and are interpreted as an expression of gratitude for farm animals, plants and human life.



Picture 4.8 Family and community groups take ritual offerings and distribute the to relatives who come as a sign of thanksgiving

4.2.6 Bo'bo'SolaDuku

Bo'bo' which means 'rice' is interpreted as a symbol of prosperity and a symbol of fertility. *Duku'* which means 'flesh' symbolizes the integrity of the life of the family family in the sense that the children and grandchildren are always in a healthy state and are blessed. When humans still have heart, liver, lungs wrapped in ribs, and still function normally, the human

body is still intact as a human being. In the last part of the prayer to the buffalo in the *massomba tedong* procession, it is also stated that every part of its body is interpreted as a valuable jewelery from the family (Interview with Beatrix Bulu', 82 years, 28-09-2017, 17:00).

4.2.7 Puntti Leaves

The banana leaves used in *ma'pesung* in the *ma'nene'* ritual come from two kinds of banana leaves, namely *langkiran* banana leaves and *manurung* banana leaves. *Langkiran* banana leaves are carved on the top and it was created by the gods. That is why this banana leaf is associated with the gods, while the *manurung* banana leaf, which is not carved, is associated with the ancestors. If you do *pesung* in the barn, the leaves used are *punti manurung* leaves. This is consistent with the direction of the lumbung which leads to *pollo'nawai* 'ancestral direction', namely the direction of the ancestors. If you *memala'*, the banana leaf that is cut is the one facing the *ulunna wai* and the *kabu'tuan allo'* (the direction of the rising sun). On the other hand, if you do the *ma'tomate* ritual, the leaves taken are facing the *pollo'nawai* and the *kalambunan allo'* (towards the sun goes down). If you do *pesung* and *to minaa* facing the rising sun, the tip of the left leaf will face the direction of *ulunna wai*, namely *deata ponno padang* (a symbol of life) and the bottom part of *garonto'* is facing *pollo'na wai*. The tip of the right leaf will face toward *pollo'na wai* or ancestor and *garonto'na* will face towards *ulunna wai*. (interview with Aprilianto, 27 years old, 02-10-2017 16:00).

Banana leaves are multifunctional plants so that the parts of the tree can be used in human life. Likewise, for the Toraja people, banana leaves can be used as a substitute for plates for eating. Banana leaves continue to regenerate. When some leaves get old, the next fresh leaves are ready to replace them. Thus, the banana leaf is interpreted as a gift of blessings from the Creator.

4.2.8 Tallang

In the *ma'nene'* ritual, there is also a *tallang* 'bamboo' symbol which is carved and arranged in three ways that are not parallel as a sign that carries out from all levels of society regardless of social status. Bamboos are arranged in upper, middle, and bottom layers that represent differing social positions ranging from the high until the low ones. Most importantly, the three bamboos contain water to drink: *tuak* (a traditional drink derived from the juice of the mother tree or sugar palm) and pig's blood mixed with buffalo blood. The red color of the sacrificial blood represents human life, and the white color of the palm wine and the bone represents purity. In addition, bamboo is a type of plant that grows in clumps and is an integral part of the life of the Toraja people. (interview with Hardi Rupang, 80 years old, 10-11-2017 22:00).

For the people of Toraja, bamboo can be used as a material for making huts, houses, walls, even roofs, and so on. In addition, it also symbolizes unity in Toraja society as shown in the Toraja literary expressions which says '*ma'rapu tallang*' which means 'like clump of bamboo' and '*ma'tallang tang kalesoan*' which means 'bamboo without segments' which symbolizes sincerity and honesty. Other ingredients used as *ma'nene'* ritual offerings are interpreted as

sources of life. In this connection, water and *tuak* are also used as offerings because it is believed that a person who dies also feels thirsty as when he was alive.

4.3 Interpretation of Local Wisdom in Rituals

In building Toraja society, it is necessary to pay attention to cultural aspects. This is because the noble values that appear in the symbolic order contain meanings that can support social integration, such as religious values, social values, and values related to the Toraja people as creators of the work. Various cultures and local wisdom should be preserved and maintained because they are rich in values and moral teachings.

4.3.1 Religious Values

Toraja people are measured by their behavior (*penggauran*), participation in rituals (*tongkon dan ma'barra 'sang raku'*), and the activity of performing the ritual itself (*mekaluk*). Every behavior, and steps of life (*tengka ke'de'na*) are guarded, regulated, and monitored by the gods. So, every behavior in *ma'nene'* ritual is a religious act.

Ritual acts and instruments show human respect for things beyond human ability. Offerings are used as a form of harmonious interaction between humans and all elements of the universe and as respect and love for ancestors. This is described in the term '*Tallu Lolona*' which represents a harmonious relationship centered on three relationships, namely: (1) humans and *Puang Matua* and ancestors, religion, *pemali*, truth and *Ampu Padang*, (2) humans and humans, (3) humans with nature, namely animals and plants. Maintaining this very diverse relationship with nature is very important as stated by Rahman et al., (2019) that the biodiversity plays a vital role in supporting the entire ecosystem including air quality, climate, carbon dioxide uptake, water purification, pollination, and erosion prevention. One proof of the relationship between humans, animals and plants is the *ma'nene'* ritual which represents a relationship between human and the Almighty.

4.3.2 Brotherhood

Torajan cultural knowledge and belief systems place human together with other living things to live in harmony. Humans are part of nature and there is a relationship between the two. As fellow creatures of God, nature is obliged to support humans and humans are obliged to preserve nature. This brotherhood appears in a harmonious relationship with animals and nature. Local wisdom constructed in the oral tradition through rituals in the Toraja people can be utilized for the management of their natural environment. The main point is to build a relationship between humans and nature as a subject-subject relationship by applying 'sibling relations'. Meanwhile, the non-sibling (subject-object) relationship will only bring out greed.

As for sibling relations (subjects) which are based on religious teachings, hereditary truths, and mediation through rituals, it is believed that they can bring fertility and life. As social beings, humans cannot fulfill their own needs alone so they need help from others. The togetherness contained in the *ma'nene' ritual*, is in the form of mutual cooperation which can be in the form of labor, goods and other assistance.

4.3.3 Unity

In various ritual ceremonies in Toraja society, it can be seen that the social relation among humans is regulated in ritual and daily behavior. The Toraja people are always careful in their daily behavior and ritual behavior. This harmonious order refers to honesty, clean life, pluralism, discipline, hard work, democracy, education, national spirit, peace-loving, communicative, environmental care, social responsibility, mutual respect, and mutual help. The main theme of this culture moves on the value of unity in relation to the background of brotherhood as seen in the norms of kasiuluran 'brotherhood', kasipulungan 'gathered together', kasiangkaran 'mutually supporting', kasiturusan 'mufakat', kasialamasean 'love each other', kasi budget' mutual respect', case of mutual respect.

5. Conclusion

Based on the discussion of this research, the following conclusions are formulated as follows; 1) *Ma'nene'* is a toraja custom which is carried out systematically in which the stages of implementation are: *ma'kongan ada'*, *kapenomban pa'paranduk*, *manta'da*, *ma'pakande ada'*, and *umpasun bombongan*. The series of implementation of the *ma'nene' ritual* has the stages of *ma'bungka liang*, *ma'kassa'i*, *massomba tedong*, *manglokko' tedong sola bai*, *ma'pakande nene'*, *mantutu'*, and *kapenomban pa'paupu'*, which means that the *ma'nene' ritual* cannot be done if it is not an agreed time like the *ma'nene' ritual* in the people of *Baruppu*, North Toraja Regency. Meanwhile, there is also a customary area which names *lao lako tomatua* (*lao* = to go; *lako* = to = to; *tomatua* = parent or ancestor). This *ma'nene' ritual* is carried out after the harvest / cutting of rice because it is believed that the good harvest is due to the blessing of *tom Kembali puang* who always pay attention to the life of his descendants. The understanding of *Ma'nene' rituals* in the *Baruppu* community is seen as a symbol and appreciation carried out by children, relatives to their loved ones and their concept of mind sees that there will be spirits who will bless them when performing the *ma'nene' ritual*; 2) The *ma'nene' ritual* cannot be separated from various symbols that contain religious values and even meaningful social values for the Toraja people, including: *untundan mali'*, *ungkassa'i pa'kaboro'*, *umpamarra' paumpuran*, *ungkadang lama'*, and *umpaundi polean*; 3) What should be adhered to by the Church, namely: *untundan*

mali' (longing, appreciation, to parents and ancestors who have contributed to life), *ungkassa'i kaboro'* (socially disconnected, but in fact love never dies. is something to be remembered for), *umpamarra' paumpuran* (parents are the knot point of an offspring. By meeting together in *ma'nene'* moments, the kinship relationship is strengthened), *ma'kadang tua'* (parents are a blessing from God to be grateful, so be thankful to God), and *umpaundi polean* (should not be done anymore, offerings only to God). Give thanks to God for God's love through parents, predecessors, and who have taught about life. The greatest sacrifice is the offering of oneself to worship God.

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