

THE MEANING OF FEES IN THE *MA'SANDUK* RITUAL *RAMBU SOLO* FUNERAL TRADITIONS IN TORAJA

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to determine the meaning of costs at the *ma'sanduk* ritual stage in the *Rambu Solo* burial custom in Sadan Balusu, North Toraja Regency. This research uses descriptive qualitative methods by applying Miles Huberman's data analysis stages. The traditional *Rambu Solo* funeral ceremony for the North Toraja people aims to honor the spirit or soul of someone who died and send it to the spirit world or can be said to be a form of perfecting the spirit of a deceased human being. The *Rambu Solo* ceremony is carried out by the Toraja people based on the beliefs they hold and based on social level, as well as the throne, customs and customs that have been passed down from generation to generation. The *Ma'sanduk* ritual is one of the stages in the *Rambu Solo* funeral custom which is carried out by distributing food ingredients in the form of meat, rice, drinks, betel and other equipment. Research findings show 4 strata in society, namely to'parenge, to'makaka, padampi, tulak, bala in the strata of society. The benefit of the *ma'sanduk* ritual is to get to know the close family of the deceased and there are certain parts given to relatives of the deceased and also close family. This is a symbol of brotherhood.

Keywords : *Cost, Rambu Solo, Ma'sanduk*

1. INTRODUCTION

In contrast to revenue, costs have decreased. A decrease in equity over a predetermined period of time can also be attributed to costs, which are measurable tradeoffs such as loss of assets or income. The reduction in profit or loss will result from high costs, assuming no increase in revenue. Corporate management and its stakeholders continue to prioritize profits. Debt and management agreements were also impacted by *net income* (Rahmawati and Soetikno, 2012) ¹.

Although the costs associated with these events are quite high, from a cultural point of view, the costs incurred for traditional activities have nothing to do with the income earned from such activities. An interesting example of cultural practices that deserves attention is the *ma'sanduk* tradition carried out by some North Toraja people, especially the Sa'dan Balusu area. At the celebration of *Rambu Solo*, Toraja South Sulawesi, *Rambu Solo* is the most valuable tradition when compared to other aspects of culture. The *Rambu Solo* ritual that takes place at Aluk Rampe Matampu has unique stages and structures, including death and grief rituals. One part of life that was originally adopted by the Torajan people as a belief is the Solo

Wednesday Ceremony "*Aluk Tadolo*" (Mangopang et al., 2018)².

The interesting thing about the traditional celebration of *Rambu Solo ma'sanduk* in the *Sa'dan Balusu* area is the first; because this celebration requires very expensive (large) expenses. For the family economy, these expenses have a real impact. Second: The *ma'sanduk* custom of the *Rambu Solo* festival is still maintained today in the *Sa'dan Balusu* area. This shows that although the family has to spend a lot of money, the cost has an important meaning, which shows the need to continue to preserve the *ma'sanduk* custom at the *Rambu Solo* festival. The purpose of holding this *ma'sanduk* tradition is to get to know the close family of the deceased, there are certain parts given to the deceased brother and also the close family, this is one of the symbols of brotherhood. The implementation of *this ma'sanduk* is usually carried out by families who are able or have a high position. The provision of goods given during the *ma'sanduk* ritual is a necessity or complement, such as the betel nut given to people who after eating must consume betel.

For the people of North Toraja in the *Sa'dan Balusu* area to carry out *the ma'sanduk* tradition There is a special meaning for the Torajan people in the *Rambu Solo* festival, thus causing different views about the importance of the price that should be given to tradition compared to the point of view of corporate companies. Understanding the importance of cost sacrifice in the *Rambu Solo* ritual is the impetus for this research. To ensure that the Torajan people get more benefit from *Rambu Solo* celebrations compared to what is spent, it is important to know the added value by interviewing the right people about the importance of financial sacrifice in *ma'sanduk*.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Guardians of Tradition: The Toraja tribe is famous for maintaining its customs. A distinctive feature of Torajan culture is the death ritual, or "*Rambu Solo*" as it is more commonly referred to in this regard. *Rambu Solo* ritual must be done so that someone who dies is considered total dead according to Torajan custom.

The interpretation of the cost of the *Rambu Solo* ceremony was examined by Tumirin (2015). Based on research findings show that the sacrifice of *Rambu Solo* ceremony costs has nothing to do with making money, contrary to what is meant by the concept of matching. Torajan society interprets the sacrifices made for the *Rambu Solo* ritual in its own way, namely based on the term "used in modern accounting". First, they gathered a family. To ensure that family assets remain family-owned, this can be seen as a collaborative effort to split expenses and strengthen family ties³.

Simuruk (2021) conducted research on Character Education and Economic Perspectives

in the Traditional Party "*Rambu Solo*". Three interpretations of costs associated with the implementation of the Rambu Solo ritual were identified based on the study's findings: family gathering, social strata identification, and family debt. Research on the importance of price in the Rambu Solo festival will inspire both local and world as it is a well-known celebration both domestically and internationally⁴.

Wahyunis (2022) conducted research on the Toraja Ethnic Solo Rambu Ritual from an Anthropological Perspective. The results showed that the Rambu Solo Ceremony was very costly because of the associated costs. If you look at this activity from an economic point of view only It is said that this activity is futile because of the high costs that must be incurred even the process of collecting the levy takes months or years and because this activity seeks the wealth of life to be used in funeral ceremonies⁵.

Tribal communities since ancient times until now, Toraja people still uphold traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation.

3. RESEARCH METHODS

The location of the study was conducted in North Toraja Regency, Sa'dan Balusu District, South Sulawesi. The object of research that will be taken is one of the *ma'sanduk* traditions which is part of the celebration of *Rambu Solo*, a hereditary custom in Toraja Land, especially in the Sa'dan Balusu area. By using descriptive qualitative research, which provides results that are impossible to obtain only by statistical methods. The purpose of the qualitative descriptive type is to give a precise, honest, and systematic picture of a particular person or thing. In collecting data, researchers use field studies or oral and written data sources. Some of the collection methods carried out are such as observation, where researchers observe directly to the place of Rambu *Solo*' celebration which holds the Ma'sanduk ritual.

Researchers carry out observations by observing the place of celebration and getting to know many people (family, totua, and community) as well as following and observing a series of activities or processes of implementing funeral customs in Toraja. Interviews were also conducted so as to cause direct interaction with several sources or informants who are people of the *Sa'dan Balusu* area to find out more about the form of this *Rambu Solo* tradition celebration .

4. RESULTS OF DISCUSSION

When compared to the point of view of corporate organizations, the history of the people of Tanah Toraja by celebrating Rambu Solo gave birth to its own interpretation of the costs that must be incurred for the celebration. For Tana Toraja residents, routinely giving up large amounts of money has its own meaning. There is something worth more than the money

spent. To show the Torajan people that there are more benefits to be gained from this celebration than other celebrations, it is important to conduct research with the right informants to understand the additional value of the costs sacrificed during the Rambu Solo festival.

Rambu Solo' is a bereaved family obliged to give a celebration as a form of final respect for the deceased as part of the traditional burial process carried out by the Toraja tribe for generations. Funeral rites are conducted in public and are almost exclusively centered on death rituals, but this is not always the case. Ceremony *Rambu Solo* It begins with a ritual *Tedong Silaga*, which is a buffalo fighting ritual as a Torajan habit when going to start a death feast, then perform *Ma'paliling* is the activity of carrying the body around the village by carrying tedong-tedong offerings as a sign of the social strata of the family, followed by receiving guests (*To'buda*) from the family who came from outside the city, the next stage was a buffalo cutting ceremony, then a ritual event was carried out *Ma'sanduk*, the last stage of *Rambu Solo'* is the funeral ritual of the corpse.

In the event *Ma'sanduk* which is a celebration of tradition *Rambu Solo* Requires careful preparation, because this celebration can last a long time and a lot of furniture is needed. Based on an interview with Mr. Loren, one of the people in the area *Sa'dan Balusu* said that before performing the ritual *Ma'sanduk* This is the first to bring together all the families / grandchildren of the deceased to unite an understanding and agree in one word to determine the day of the ceremony *Rambu Solo'*, then the second conveyance to the traditional / noble figures in the area about the day of its implementation then after that *Tulakbala* will convey or announce to the public that on the date of the month the funeral service of the deceased will be held.



**FIGURE 1. MR. LOREN'S INTERVIEW
DOCUMENTATION
Source : Field Study**

Therefore, the meaning of cost in the *ma'sanduk* ritual is different from the meaning of cost in general which is to get income while in the *ma'sanduk* ritual the meaning is to be seen by people in villages who have high strata.

The third prepares anything that will be distributed such as cakes, clothes, basins, money, cigarettes, beer and also pork of course. The fourth is the arrangement of people who are given a share. Due to meat feeding there are also several levels. There is *Toparengé*, which is a person who is responsible for the community, such as solving community problems before the problem is brought to the government. Then there is *To'makaka* or people who pass information from the public to *To'parengé* or vice versa. *To'parengé* and *To'makaka* become a unit that works together. And then there are *Padampi* and *Tulakbala*, which are people who inform the community that there will be a *ma'sanduk* ritual or event. In addition, young people also get their own share, as well as for the government and also pastors.

Ma'sanduk This is also called sharing money, food, meat, sarongs and so on is considered to have meaningful value. Every year will be held *Rambu Solo* Ritual *Ma'sanduk* held meetings by family members (*To'marapu*) to determine how many pigs or buffaloes will be slaughtered which will then be distributed to parties who have been recorded in the strata list, government and young people.

It costs a lot of money for the *Rambu Solo* ritual in Tana Toraja. The cost incurred is quite large because this ritual takes a long time and involves the sacrifice of many buffaloes and pigs. One integral part of the traditional ritual is offering a sacrificed buffalo to the Creator, and the striped buffalo, a type of mud buffalo with black and white striped skin, plays an important role in this. Large amounts of funds are needed for traditional parties or *Rambu Solo* gatherings. Viewed from an economic point of view, all the costs incurred make this seem like a waste is not small. It takes not only a month or two to collect the fee, it can even take years to collect the fee. However, for the Torajan people, especially in the *Sa'dan Balusu* area, they collect a lot of money to carry out the event because there is its own meaning and value when it can carry out the tradition.



FIGURE 2. DOCUMENTATION OF MA'SANDUK CELEBRATION

Source : Field Study



FIGURE 3. DOCUMENTATION OF GIFTING ITEMS AT THE MA'SANDUK EVENT

Source : Field Study

Based on the results of an interview with one of the families in the *Sa'dan Balusu* area named Mr. Loren stated that the cost in this *ma'sanduk* event was above one hundred million and at least eighty million rupiah. Because by looking at the strata of people who carry out *ma'sanduk* events of more than one hundred million, there are at least 50 pigs that are slaughtered, not including other divisions such as sarongs, cigarettes, beer and also money.

The *ma'sanduk* event as a celebration of *Rambu Solo* is carried out by the Toraja community based on the beliefs adopted and also based on social strata. The social strata in Torajan society are known as four levels, namely the first *tana' bulaan* (noble class), the second *tana' bassi* (middle aristocratic class), the third *tana' karurung* (ordinary people or free people) and the fourth is *tana' kuakua* (slave group or underprivileged).

The *ma'sanduk* event as a celebration of *Rambu Solo* is carried out by the Toraja community based on the beliefs adopted and also based on social strata. The social strata in Torajan society are known as four levels, namely the first *to'parenge* (noble class), the second *to'makaka* (middle aristocratic class), the third *padampi* (ordinary people or free people) and the fourth is *tulakbala* (the slave or underprivileged class). From an interview with Mr. Lukas, said that the cost to carry out this *ma'sanduk* ritual depends on the family. It depends on the family's ability to serve *ma'sanduk* furniture. Because in this *ma'sanduk* event various things can be given. Not food, cigarettes and so on but also betel is an honorable greeting for Torajan people so that *ma'sanduk* from a long time ago there was rice and there was meat also betel as dessert.

According to Mr. Loren, the meaning of every item given is completeness and

perfection. According to him, it is not possible to give rice to people without its complement because it will not be perfect. So that what is the completeness of the rice is sought to be held for the completeness of the food. What is maximized with completeness is like rice, of course there must be a place, especially and there are also side dishes, of course. Betel must also be present because at least after eating it is always needed betel. So that the Torajan people spend money to do this *ma'sanduk* event in the celebration of *Rambu Solo* in accordance with the meaning in this ritual.

In an interview with Ibu Dini, said that when this *ma'sanduk* event is carried out by someone with a high social strata, the celebration will also be complete, starting from pork, beer, cigarettes, sarongs and household furniture such as pots and others. But if it is done by someone with a moderate social strata, the most important thing is only meat, but still hold makeup to welcome the celebration.

So from most of the people who perform the *ma'sanduk* ritual from the *Rambu Solo* celebration are considered as people who are located and can improve their position in the community because they have been able to carry out the *ma'sanduk* ritual, which if it can be said at no small cost. The festivities and duration, including the number of sacrificial animals, reveal the social status of the North Toraja people. It is said that every animal offered as a sacrifice will be the currency for the eternal journey of the deceased.



FIGURE 4. INTERVIEW DOCUMENTATION OF MR. LUKAS
Source : Field Study



FIGURE 5. INTERVIEW DOCUMENTATION MOTHER IN THIS WAY
Source : Field Study

In addition to being very expensive and having a lasting impact, the *Rambu Solo* ritual that is carried out regularly also has a very deep meaning for the *Tana Toraja Community*. Although this sacrifice seems futile from an economic point of view, the fact that the *Rambu Solo* event still survives today shows that it was not a suffering. This ritual also means *Gotong*

Royong or as a forum for family gathering and also Social Status.

5. CONCLUSION

Torajan people believe that nature is God's gift and must be maintained. This is also a form of respect for the spirits of ancestors who used to be very protective of the environment. Many civilizations are also known to exist in Toraja. Since time immemorial, the ancestors developed this culture which was passed down from generation to generation and practiced and maintained by the Torajan people. Traditional ceremonial rituals are one of the most famous aspects of Torajan culture. According to the Tana Toraja people, death is simply the soul of a deceased person who moves to a better place, namely the spirit realm. In the world known as Puya, the spirit realm in question is on its way back to eternity with their ancestors. Some argue that the traditional Rambu Solo death ceremony is an important and expensive ceremonial practice. The implementation of the traditional burial ritual of Rambu Solo may have distinctive characteristics because of the regulations for the implementation of ceremonies that are adjusted to socio-economic strata. Toraja people should better understand that the *ma'sanduk* event in the Rambu Solo celebration is carried out not only because of cultural demands but is
Worship to comfort bereaved families.

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