

Batak Muslim Local Wisdom: Sociological Analysis of Buffalo Slaughtering Tradition of Angkola Community Death Ceremony

Arbanur Rasyid

Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Padangsidempuan

Email: arbanurasyid@iain-padangsidempuan.ac.id

Rayendriani Fahmei Lubis

Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Padangsidempuan

Email: rayen@iain-padangsidempuan.ac.id

Maulana Arafat Lubis

Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Padangsidempuan

maulanaarafat@iain-padangsidempuan.ac.id

Nashran Azizan

Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Padangsidempuan

Email: nasranazizah@iain-padangsidempuan.ac.id

Abstract

This research examines the local wisdom built by the Muslim community of Angkola around the ritual of slaughtering buffalo in the event of death ceremony. This study is a field research combining observation, interviews, and document analysis with a sociological analytical technique to evaluate the tradition beginning with the reasons for its adoption, the process, and the desired outcomes. The study's findings indicate that the Angkola people's practice of slaughtering buffalo in burial ceremonies is motivated by a desire to preserve traditional culture as well as a means of protecting the social strata of traditional elders. Furthermore, this ritual appears to be a technique of sustaining societal social cohesiveness. The buffalo slaughter served as the foundation for implementing Islamic ideals in an atmosphere of brotherhood and generosity, with *Mora Khanggi* and *Anak Boru* serving as the primary funders. The outcomes of the study demonstrate that the practice of local communities as part of life knowledge can be sociologically connected with Islamic theological teachings. Acculturation of culture with religious teachings can genuinely present various choices for propagating religion while also exhibiting theological flexibility in order to make it more welcoming to its devotees.

Keywords: *Angkola people; Batak tribe; death ceremony; local wisdom; slaughtering tradition*

A. Introduction

The Angkola people have a practice of slaughtering buffalo as part of a sequence of burial ceremonies for their ethnic group, particularly those of the monarch and traditional elders. This custom, which is perpetuated by the Angkola people, is a sign of admiration and respect for the spirits of those who are believed to have a place in the indigenous community and has encountered opposition from certain circles.¹

The practice of slaughtering buffalo and holding burial ceremonies is sometimes associated with actions that contradict Islamic principles. This tradition is one of the local communities' cultures in Indonesia, and it is frequently claimed as a non-Muslim heritage tradition that has been acculturated², adapted, and transformed through a cultural and political approach.³

¹Basa Sahala Harahap, Raja Luat Pijorkoling, wawancara, Jum'at 06 Juni 2021 di Bagas Godang Raja Luat Pijorkoling.

²Abdul Karim, "Makna Ritual Kematian Dalam Tradisi Islam Jawa," *Sabda: Jurnal Kajian Kebudayaan* 12, no. 2 (2017): 161, <https://doi.org/10.14710/sabda.12.2.161-171>.

³Sabara Nuruddin, "Islam Dalam Tradisi Masyarakat Lokal Di Sulawesi Selatan," *Mimikri: Jurnal Agama Dan Kebudayaan* 4, no. 1 (2018): 50-67.

Many academics have conducted studies on ritual traditions of death, although the research tendency is limited to polemic on funeral ritual⁴, dialectological studies of ritual readings⁵, anthropology of Islamic law⁶, and religious culture⁷. The studies that aim to investigate sociological philosophical meanings and values are limited to other communities such as those in Bengkulu⁸, Java⁹, and Umalulu West Sumba¹⁰, instead of the Batak ethnicity, which has distinct traditions from other ethnicities.

Eva Junita conducted specific research on Batak ethnic funeral customs, but did not focus on the slaughter of buffalo in the ceremony.¹¹ Several scholars, like Rini Handayani Siregar, who examines the social influence of traditional rites, have conducted research on the Angkola people's burial practices.¹² Nenggih Susilowati¹³ and Fretdy M. Manurung's¹⁴ research focuses on killing buffalo in the Angkola community, however it focuses more on analyzing the philosophy of selecting buffalo in the Angkola slaughtering ritual.

This research is crucial for describing and assessing the base of the community's local wisdom and the substance of Islamist-sociological teachings in the Angkola community, which is an ethnic Batak with its own cultural and historical construction in its conflict with Islamic teachings. As a result, researchers used sociological analysis tools¹⁵ to perform in-depth observations and interviews, as well as analyze the background, ritual process, and ritual purpose. The research is located in Angkola, South Tapanuli. The Angkola area itself consists of two regions. It is Angkola Jae in the south of Batang Angkola, and it is Angkola Julu in the north side. The research time was from April 2020 to 2021.

B. The Angkola People and Traditions of Death Ceremonies

Most of Angkola's people are dominated by the Batak Tribe, Angkola Batak. People harmony starts from the Family Kinship Association of *Dalihan Na Tolu* (familiar,

⁴Donald Qomaidiasyah Tungkagi and Tasya Aziza Mokodongan, "The Polemic of the Tradition of Beating Golombang in Funeral Rituals in the Muslim Community of Bolaang Mongondow," *Pusaka Jurnal Khazanah Keagamaan* 10, no. 2 (2022): 392–413.

⁵Lilis Hartini, "Tradisi Dan Ritual Kematian Di Garut: Sebuah Kajian Dialektologi," *Artikulasi* 1, no. 2 (2021): 111–22.

⁶Fachrir Rahman, "Patuq Dalam Tradisi Kematian Masyarakat Desa Kuta (Sebuah Tinjauan Antropologi Hukum Islam)," *Samarah* 3, no. 2 (2019): 341–64, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjkh.v3i2.3925>.

⁷A Syihabuddin, "Tradisi Upacara Kematian Pada Masyarakat Nahdhiyyin Dalam Tinjauan Agama Dan Adat," *Al-Adyan* 8, no. 1 (2017): 1–27, <http://ejournal.radenintan.ac.id/index.php/alAdyan/article/view/523>.

⁸Satimin Satimin, "Nilai-Nilai Filosofis Dalam Memperingati Upacara Hari Kematian Dalam Tradisi Jawa Ditinjau Dari Aspek Sosial (Studi Di Air Banai Kecamatan Hulu Palik Kabupaten Bengkulu Utara)," *Manthiq* 6, no. 1 (2021): 42–64, <https://journal.iainbengkulu.ac.id/index.php/manthiq/article/view/5180>.

⁹Karim, "Makna Ritual Kematian Dalam Tradisi Islam Jawa."

¹⁰Lukman Solihin. 2013. "Mengantar Arwah Jenazah Ke Parai Marapu : Upacara Kubur Batu Pada Masyarakat Umalulu, Sumba Timur." Patanjala: *Jurnal Penelitian Sejarah Dan Budaya* 5 (2): 232. <https://doi.org/10.30959/patanjala.v5i2.135>.

¹¹Eva Junita. 2016. "Upacara Kematian Saurmatua Pada Adat Masyarakat Batak Toba (Studi Kasus Tentang Kesiapan Keluarga) Di Desa Purbatua Kecamatan Purbatua Kabupaten Tapanuli Utara." *Jom FISIP* 3 (1).

¹²Rini Handayani Siregar. 2015. "Fungsi Makanan Dalam Upacara Adat Istiadat Batak Angkola Di Kecamatan Hulu Sihapas Kabupaten Padang Lawas Utara." Universitas Negeri Medan.

¹³Nenggih Susilowati. 2018. "Tradisi Mengunyah Sirih Dan Memotong Kerbau Pada Upacara Adat (Horja) Di Angkola – Mandailing." *Berkala Arkeologi SANGKHA KALA* 20 (2): 117. <https://doi.org/10.24832/bas.v20i2.283>.

¹⁴Fretdy M. Manurung. 2013. "Makna Kerbau (Horbo) Pada Masyarakat Batak Toba Dalam Upacara Kematian Saur Matua: Studi Di Kecamatan Simanindo Kabupaten Samosir." Universitas Negeri Medan.

¹⁵Burhan Bungin, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif (Aktualisasi Metodologis Ke Arah Ragam Varian Kontemporer)* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2017).

harmonious, loving, compassionate, mutual respect). Angkola is a term for an area in the Tapanuli area which comes from the name of a river in the South Tapanuli area, namely the Batang Angkola River¹⁶. The Angkola area itself consists of two regions. It is Angkola Jae in the south of Batang Angkola, and it is Angkola Julu in the north side. The Angkola people have a tradition when someone dies, especially from the king or parents who have functions and positions in indigenous people. During the funeral, the slaughtering buffalo is a sign to show that he is a respected person.¹⁷

In the Indonesian Dictionary, traditions are customs passed down from ancestors carried out among people¹⁸. The practice of death ceremonies in the Angkola people, especially among the kings, if someone dies, it is informed to all *luat* (villages). So what must be done first is the discussion of *Dalihan Natolu*, *Hatobangon*, and *Harajaon* in the *Huta* or (village) or hold a *marpokat* to determine the *ginjang godang ni siluaon siluluton* (the shape and size of the buffalo to be slaughtered).

When someone dies, the Angkola people will hold the *Horja Mijur* tradition (*Siluluton* Traditional Party/Grief)¹⁹. The *Siluluton* traditional party is divided into two; Firstly, *Mangongkal Holi/Saring-Saring* and secondly, *Horja Siluluton*. The implementation of the tradition in the Angkola people still begins with *Martahi*. The tradition of death in its implementation gathers and involves *Hatobangon*, *Harajaon*, and *Namar Dalihan Na Tolu* in the *Huta*. If the *Suhut* party intends to hold a *Horja Siluluton* party, then at the time of *marontang* (deliberations), they must wear a *panyurduan haronduk* (bag) wrapped with *abit Batak* (Batak cloth).

The traditions of the Angkola people who died have the right to be attended to in a death ceremony that has offspring²⁰. However, if a person who died did not have offspring (children), then the person who died did not have the right to be attended, too. When the deceased Angkola people holds *Horja Mijur*, it will show its greatness signs of highly respected someone in their environment at the funeral ceremony.

C. Results

C.1. Background of Angkola People Slaughtering Buffalo at a Death Ceremony

Researchers conducted in-depth interviews with many key persons to better understand the motivations for buffalo slaughter and the implementation of death ceremonies among the Angkola people. The informants are Sultan Malim Naposo (*Raja Luat Angkola Julu*), Basa Sahala Harahap, Gelar Sutan Raja Enda Kumala Harahap (*Raja Luat Pijor*

¹⁶ Pajung Bangun, "Kebudayaan Batak," in *Manusia Dan Kebudayaan Di Indonesia*, 20th ed. (Jakarta: Djambatan, 2004), 55.

¹⁷ Interview with Basa Sahala Harahap, Raja Luat Pijorkoling on Friday, 6th of June 2021 in Bagas Godang Raja Luat Pijorkoling.

¹⁸ Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, 4th ed. (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2008).

¹⁹ Sutan Raja Pinayungan Rambe, "Peranan Pemuka Adat Etnik Angkola Dalam Membangun Kehidupan Sosial Keagamaan Di Desa Sitaratoit Kecamatan Angkola Barat," *IAIN Padangsidimpuan* (IAIN Padangsidimpuan, 2014); Rahmat Hidayat, "Construction of Character Education in Mandailing and Angkola Culture in North Sumatra Province," *Society* 8, no. 2 (2020): 611–27, <https://doi.org/10.33019/society.v8i2.212>; Harisan Boni Firmando, "Orientasi Nilai Budaya Batak Toba, Umat Beragama Di Tapanuli Utara (Analisis Sosiologis)," *Studia Sosia Religia* 3, no. 2 (2020): 47–69; Puji Kurniawan, "Akulturasi Hukum Islam Dan Budaya Lokal (Studi Terhadap Tradisi Masyarakat Batak Angkola Padangsidimpuan: Perspektif Antropologi)" (Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2014); Akhiril Pane et al., "The Performance of Mangupa Tradition in Angkola Custom, Medan, Indonesia," *TAZKIR: Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial Dan Keislaman* 5, no. 2 (2019): 235–52, <https://doi.org/10.24952/tazkir.v5i2.2298>.

²⁰ Harisan Boni Firmando, "Perubahan Sosial Dalam Upacara Adat Kematian Pada Etnis Batak Toba Di Kota Medan" (Universitas Sumatera Utara, 2018).

Arbanur Rasyid, Rayendriani Fahmei Lubis, Maulana Arafat Lubis, Nashran Azizan: Batak Muslim Local Wisdom: Sociological Analysis of Buffalo Slaughtering Tradition of Angkola Community Death Ceremony

Koling), Faisal Siregar (previous deceased party), Tongku Raja Parlaungan (*Raja Luat Daerah Angkola*), Sutan Raja Parhimpunan (*Raja Luat Losung Batu*), Rudi Ritonga Gelar Mangaraja Hasan Naposo (deceased party), and Darwin Siregar (local of Huta Padang Village).

Sultan Malim Naposo (*Raja Luat Angkola Julu*)²¹ stated:

“The beginning of slaughtering buffalo in the Angkola people is when someone dies. Then, the human flesh is eaten together. When the king's parents died, the king did not want to give his parents to eat but instead was an ox.

In implementing this tradition, initially, it was an ox that was slaughtered. Because of the Angkola custom, slaughtering a cow does not have a firm name. When it was initially about to be slaughtered, the ox was released. This situation then makes the bulls have no meaning in the Angkola custom. This tradition has passed. Next, the buffalo is slaughtered. It is because the king changed the cow to the buffalo. After all, they were changed to buffalo.

In this implementation, it is explained that so that the big name of the deceased parent is not lost, the buffalo must be slaughtered. Parents who die leave a big name passed on to the first child's grandson. In this case, the person who died was notified to the general public and the village king to hold a traditional tradition of slaughtering buffalo”

Basa Sahala Harahap, Gelar Sutan Raja Enda Kumala Harahap (*Raja Luat Pijor Koling*)²² explained:

“Slaughtering a buffalo at the event of a deceased person is preceded by the child's birth. The slaughtering of a buffalo is preceded by a newborn child, followed by a traditional death ceremony.

This tradition is held to liven up the big name of the parents. In addition, the practice of slaughtering buffalo is carried out as maintenance or caring for the harmony of parents' good reputation in the people.

The background of the slaughter is still related to the parents' good name. It also happened to Christianity in the Pijor Koling Village area. The presence of a king at a death ceremony is also related to maintaining good relations with fellow human beings even though they have different beliefs.

In addition to giving alms in the form of food, this tradition also gives alms in money.” Implementing the traditional tradition of slaughtering buffalo, giving alms by giving money is an act of respect for parents”.

Faisal Siregar (previous deceased party)²³ stated:

“Implementing customary traditions is a people custom, religious teachings, and as a medium to convey to the public that the person concerned has died.

Slaughtering buffalo aims to maintain a good name in the people. In addition, if this is not carried out, then if one day the person concerned wants to hold a party, *Raja Luat* can prohibit the party because the family has not carried out the traditional tradition of slaughtering buffalo before.

Implementing this tradition is also an expression of respect and love for ancestors.

²¹ Interview with Sultan Malim Naposo, Raja Luat Angkola Julu on Wednesday, 9th of June 2021.

²² Interview with Basa Sahala Harahap, Gelar Sutan Raja Enda Kumala Harahap, Raja Luat Pijor Koling on Friday, 11th of June 2021.

²³ Interview with Faisal Siregar on Friday, 11th of June 2021.

The implementation of this custom consists of three customs; the small custom of slaughtering the chicken, the middle custom of slaughtering the goat, and the big custom of slaughtering the buffalo.

In implementing the tradition, the slaughtered animal may not be replaced with another animal, such as an ox. If so, it will create other customs. In the *Sabungan Juli* people, for example. Although it consists of the *Siregar*, *Hasibuan*, and *Sitompul* clans, this tradition can still be carried out. However, the animal that is slaughtered is a buffalo”

Tongku Raja Parlaungan (*Raja Luat Daerah Angkola*)²⁴ stated:

“Implementing this tradition aims to so that the title it carries is not lost. The deceased will have *fardhu kifayah* completed and delivered to the burial place so that the body that is delivered is only the body. However, the big name will be passed on to the first grandson of the son. It is a procedure for preserving the customs in South Tapanuli.

This implementation requires many logistics according to the number of people who come to mourn. In addition, if this custom is not implemented, there is a sense of prestige and shame because most people will be given alms in the form of lunch when they return from the funeral”

Sutan Raja Parhimpunan (*Raja Luat Losung Batu*)²⁵ explained:

“Slaughtering buffalo aims to maintain a good name that is already fragrant in the midst of the people. It must be preserved so that the title of sultan or king remains attached to the family. Furthermore, it is also given to the grandson of the eldest son.

The implementation of this tradition is closely related to the status of society. Our society consists of high, middle, and low castes. Generally, those with a high caste and a well-established economy can carry out this tradition. The implementation of this tradition is similar to a religious procession in dealing with corpses in general, bathing the shroud, praying, and burying the corpse. In addition, to maintain caste in society, the Angkola people consistently carry out this tradition to respect their ancestors”

Rudi Ritonga Gelar Mangaraja Hasan Naposo (deceased party)²⁶ explained:

“He carried out this tradition because his parents passed away. In addition, his father is a village owner, the first to come to open the village. In his opinion, of course, the deceased had a big name in the people. The teaching of older people in the past was that an animal had to be slaughtered every time there was an activity, be it a wedding ceremony or a death ceremony.

The activities we carry out are a form of being more active in charity in religious matters, upholding religious teachings, and staying away from God's prohibitions because we will return to Him in the end. For this reason, the activity in carrying out the Angkola tradition is a form of gratitude for parents and does not want parents to be disappointed in their children who are tired of raising us”

Darwin Siregar (local of Huta Padang Village)²⁷ explained:

“At first, he did not understand the meaning of implementing this traditional tradition. However, after explaining the various purposes of this traditional tradition, he

²⁴ Interview with Tongku Raja Parlaungan, Raja Luat Angkola Julu on Saturday, 6th of June 2021 in Bagas Gonjong Sabungan Julu

²⁵ Interview with Sutan Raja Parhimpunan, Raja Luat Losung Batu on Sunday, 13th of June 2021 in Losung Batu sub-district at 9 a.m.

²⁶ Interview with Rudi Ritonga Gelar Mangaraja Hasan Naposo on Saturday, 12th of June 2021 at 8 a.m. in Joring Naposo Village, Padangsidempuan Angkola Julu District.

²⁷ Interview with Darwin Siregar, one of locals of Huta Padang Village on Sunday, 7th of June 2021 at 8 a.m.

understood that the initial purpose of this implementation was for good and the people's will. Good values such as maintaining the good name of parents and alms are positive aspects of this traditional tradition”

From seven key informants, the backgrounds of the tradition of slaughtering buffalo in a death ceremony in the Angkola people are: 1) They preserve the cultural customs of the people where the Angkola people have long implemented the custom; 2) They maintain the title given by the previous people to maintain it properly; 3) They give alms to the mourners from various regions (*luat*); and 4) They deliver a parent's will to a child if he or she later dies, then the person concerned must be held accountable, and usually, in situations like this, money is already prepared for these needs.

C.2. The Ritual Procedure for Slaughtering Buffalo of the Angkola People at the Death Ceremony

In addition to asking about the background of the traditional tradition of buffalo slaughter, the researcher also interviewed several informants about the procedure for slaughtering buffalo at the death ceremony.

Sultan Malim Naposo (*Raja Luat Angkola Julu*)²⁸ stated:

“There must be deliberation to reach an agreement with all elements of the village, including the traditional holders, kings, and other elements. At this meeting, the intention was conveyed to slaughter a buffalo, or in the Batak language of Angkola, it was given the term *mambaen nagodang*. Through this meeting, the king can find out how the family's condition left behind. If possible or able, it will be implemented. However, if it burdens the affected party by selling their property, then it is permissible not to slaughter the buffalo for a while, considering that the orphan is still borne by the party left behind.

In terms of financing, the deceased family pays the buffalo. However, after completing all the events related to *fardhu kifayah* and others, then on the next day, there will be a gathering with his relatives, who in Batak terms are called *Mora*, *Kahanggi*, *Anak boru*. They discuss the money spent on slaughtering the buffalo to share it.

Basa Sahala Harahap, Gelar Sutan Raja Enda Kumala Harahap (*Raja Luat Pijor Koling*)²⁹ explained:

“The slaughter of this buffalo must begin with an agreement or deliberation first. The time of this slaughter can be done on the day according to the agreement and according to the king's approval. There is a group that slaughters on the day of death. However, some groups slaughter after completing all activities related to *fardhu kifayah* from the deceased. He gave his consent to slaughter the buffalo 40 days after the death.

Depending on the family's agreement, whether they want one week, in 40 days, or when they can afford it in the next two years. In the past, when his parents died, he had no money. He then asked for other help, and in 40 days, we carried on the tradition. That is why he said earlier that time-honored traditions are *habblum minannas*; if they can, please go ahead. However, if they cannot afford it, do not force it.

The timing of the slaughtering ceremony in the Angkola people is carried out according to ability”

²⁸ Interview with Sultan Malim Naposo, Raja Luat Angkola Julu on Wednesday, 9th of June 2021.

²⁹ Interview with Basa Sahala Harahap, Gelar Sutan Raja Enda Kumala Harahap, Raja Luat Pijor Koling on Friday, 11th of June 2021.

Faisal Siregar (previous deceased party)³⁰ explained:

“This buffalo slaughtering practice was carried out using private money attended by the king and all the villagers to respect the parents who died.

Deliberation is the first process carried out to reach an agreement. This deliberation was conducted by *dalihan natolu*, namely *mora*, *kahanggi*, *anak boru*, regarding the financing and implementation of this slaughter.

Meanwhile, if a deceased family cannot afford it at the time of the death, it is permissible to slaughter it on another day where the disaster expert can do it.

Tongku Raja Parlaungan (*Raja Luat Daerah Angkola*)³¹ explained:

“The implementation of the slaughter of buffalo at the death ceremony is a must and must go through deliberation first. The deliberation in question is a deliberation on the funding for this buffalo slaughter. In this case, deceased family can jointly consult with their relatives for the implementation of this ceremonial activity”

Rudi Ritonga Gelar Mangaraja Hasan Naposo (deceased party)³² explained:

“The timing of the buffalo slaughter itself is not forced or depends on the agreement of the deceased family.

The ceremony of slaughtering buffalo in the Angkola people in death ceremony involves various elements of society. Therefore, the deceased family invites all community leaders to convene or deliberate on the day of the death and divide the work.

Slaughtering buffalo at death ceremonies in the Angkola people is a shared responsibility of the deceased family or relatives”

Darwin Siregar (local of Huta Padang Village)³³ explained:

“After an agreement is made to make *nagodang* or buffalo slaughter, everything must be prepared, such as buffalo, rice, chili, and other ingredients, but still in a state that has not been paid. After finishing matters relating to *fardhu kifayah*, an event called *Manga pogu* or loss was held the next day. This event was attended voluntarily by the people without being invited. This event is a meal together with the buffalo dish slaughtered earlier. The people who attended also participated voluntarily by bringing money to be collected. This money will then be added to the disaster expert in overcoming the costs of the slaughter”

Mahmudin Nasution Gelar Sutan Kinaya Sakti Sakti (Chief of Forkala Padangsidempuan City)³⁴ explained:

“Direct deliberation is held at the time of mourning news about how the process will be carried out in the death ceremony. This deliberation also contains the assignment of responsibilities or duties to certain parties related to customs in the process of delivering the corpse.

³⁰ Interview with Faisal Siregar on Friday, 11th of June 2021.

³¹ Interview with Tongku Raja Parlaungan, Raja Luat Angkola Julu on Saturday, 6th of June 2021 in Bagas Gonjong Sabungan Julu

³² Interview with Rudi Ritonga Gelar Mangaraja Hasan Naposo on Saturday, 12th of June 2021 at 8 a.m. in Joring Naposo Village, Padangsidempuan Angkola Julu District.

³³ Interview with Darwin Siregar, one of locals of Huta Padang Village on Sunday, 7th of June 2021 at 8 a.m.

³⁴ Interview with Mahmudin Nasution Gelar Sutan Kinaya Sakti Sakti on Sunday, 13th of June 2021 at 10.30 a.m. – 11 a.m. in Hafiz Wek II lounge, Padangsidempuan city.

The values of togetherness and the same fate and sharing in the Angkola people are still strongly influenced by customs. It shows that adat plays a role in forming a sense of togetherness in the Angkola people. At the slaughtering ceremony itself, the next day after completing the *fardhu kifayah* of the corpse, a communal meal was held, which was essentially a *tuppak* from the people as a form of their voluntary participation in assisting disaster experts in terms of funding for the slaughter of buffalo.

In terms of funding, morality also has a role and participation. It is a substitute for the meat/bone part given to them”

Baginda Sori Tua Harahap (*Raja Luat Siharang-Karang*)³⁵ explained:

“The ceremony of slaughtering buffalo at the death ceremony in the Angkola people reflects the power of *Natolu's dalihan*. The thing that is death is not predictable at the time, but in carrying out the custom, the slaughtering ceremony is a collaboration of various traditional elements in a short time. Then the *Anak Boru* was ordered to look for a buffalo to be slaughtered. After all, events related to *fardhu kifayah*, reciting the Koran, and others are completed, the *Martaruk Rugui* gathering is carried out. Gathering *Martaruk Rugui* for the community members at the death ceremony is eating with the animals that were slaughtered earlier with the whole people. In this event, all parties contribute as a sense of togetherness, namely *martuppak*. In other words, *martuppak* is giving donations in the form of money collected together as additional funds to overcome this slaughter”

We also received information from the persons involved during the observation, they stated:

The slaughtering buffalo at the death ceremony is attended and carried out by the disaster party. However, the death ceremony involved various parties, such as all elements of the village and relatives, namely *mora*, *kahanggi*, *anak boru*, *pisang raut*, *hatobangon*, or an elder like a king, be it the king of the village, the *Raja Pangundian*, or the *Raja Luat*. In addition, this activity also involves the ulama, village government, and the rich. We can see that the people of Angkola still highly respect the values of gotong royong and cooperation in terms of slaughtering buffalo at death ceremonies.

Based on the results of the interviews and observations described above, the researcher concludes several processes/procedures in slaughtering buffalo in the death ceremony in the Angkola people. The ritual procedure for slaughtering buffalo in the Angkola people at the death ceremony are: 1) People with family. The first thing to do is to deliberate with relatives about the procurement of buffalo slaughter at the death ceremony; 2) People of tasks with elements or apparatus or traditional leaders in the people, such as *Raja/harajaon*, *hatobangon*, *pious ulama*, *dalihat natolu*, and so on regarding traditional processes and worship at death ceremonies; 3) After mutual agreement, the buffalo slaughter can be carried out on the day that has been mutually agreed. In this case, it is adjusted to the ability or time and the wishes of the calamity expert. It can be carried out on that day; it can also be 40 days after death; it can accomplish according to conditions; 4) Funding or sources of funds for the slaughter of buffalo in the ritual of death ceremonies in the Angkola people are the results of voluntary participation from the village people obtained at the meal of the slaughtered buffalo or what is called *Martuppak/Mangan pogu* on the day after completing

³⁵ Interview with Baginda Sori Tua, Raja Luat Siharang- Karang, Lembah Lubuk Manik Village on Monday, 14th of June 2020 at 8 p.m – 10 p.m.

all *fardu kifayah* and matters related to it. Financing is the responsibility of the son of a deceased family. However, the customs or togetherness of the Angkola people has helped ease the burden of this slaughter.

C.3. The Purpose of the Angkola People to Slaughter Buffalo at the Death Ceremony

In examining the background and procession of the Angkola people's traditional ceremony at the death ceremony, the researcher then explored the purpose of the Angkola people to slaughter buffalo at the traditional ceremony. 11 informants gave the information about it detailed.

Sultan Malim Naposo (*Raja Luat Angkola Julu*)³⁶

“This slaughter is part of maintaining honor. The phrase *Mabang kalihi stays tukko* means that when the eagle flies, it leaves the stick or where it stopped before. It shows the importance of this slaughter as a form of maintaining honor by passing down the name to the grandchildren or descendants left behind. In other words, the ritual aims to maintain the honor and authority of those who passed away and the family”

Basa Sahala Harahap, Gelar Sutan Raja Enda Kumala Harahap (*Raja Luat Pijor Koling*)³⁷

“The purpose of this slaughter is as a dish for guests and the people. In other words, this buffalo is used as a dish. It also alms for guests and the people who will participate in taking care of the customs and worship of the people affected by the disaster. However, the primary purpose of this slaughter is a form of passing down the name to the deceased grandson”

Faisal Siregar (previous deceased party)³⁸

“This slaughter is a form of respect. The respect in question is the last respect given to parents who have died. It means that his affairs are towards his final resting place. Besides, being completed with worship with religious events is also completed with the customs of the surrounding people”

Pamusuk Harahap (*Raja Pamusuk Batinju Village, Batang Angkola District*)³⁹

“The ritual of slaughtering buffalo at the death ceremony in the Angkola people is a form of respect for parents who have raised and fought for their children. It becomes a debt for the child to repay the parent, at least at the time of the parent's death — the ritual of slaughtering buffalo as a form of remuneration and respect for parents”

Tongku Raja Parlaungan (*Raja Luat Daerah Angkola*)⁴⁰

“The purpose of slaughtering this buffalo is to pass down the name to the descendants or grandchildren of the deceased. The title that a person holds in the Angkola people cannot be passed down to the eldest son of a son if the ritual of slaughtering the buffalo has not been held. Therefore, every title held by descendants in the Batak people must begin with slaughtering a buffalo as a form of respect for the deceased. Decreasing the

³⁶ Interview with Sultan Malim Naposo, Raja Luat Angkola Julu on Wednesday, 9th of June 2021.

³⁷ Interview with Basa Sahala Harahap, Gelar Sutan Raja Enda Kumala Harahap, Raja Luat Pijor Koling on Friday, 11th of June 2021.

³⁸ Interview with Faisal Siregar on Friday, 11th of June 2021.

³⁹ Interview with Pamusuk Harahap, Raja Luat Bittuju Angkola Muara Tais District on Friday, 11th of June 2021

⁴⁰ Interview with Tongku Raja Parlaungan, Raja Luat Angkola Julu, on Saturday, 6th of June 2021 in Bagas Gonjong Sabungan Julu.

Arbanur Rasyid, Rayendriani Fahmei Lubis, Maulana Arafat Lubis, Nashran Azizan: Batak Muslim Local Wisdom: Sociological Analysis of Buffalo Slaughtering Tradition of Angkola Community Death Ceremony

title to the grandson as a successor to his position is another tradition of the Angkola people. It is also a form of preserving the culture of Angkola itself”

Rudi Ritonga Gelar Mangaraja Hasan Naposo (deceased party)⁴¹

“There are two purposes of slaughtering buffalo in the ritual of death ceremonies in the Angkola people. The first is as a forum to pass down the name to the most fabulous grandson to continue the title and position left behind in the future. Then, this activity has also been carried out for generations in the Angkola people so that this ritual is also an effort to preserve the Angkola cultural customs so that they are not lost”

Darwin Siregar (local of Huta Padang Village)⁴²

“This ritual of sacrificing is a form of respect for parents. It is clear from the following dialogue excerpt *Sannari, harana au tong mangikutkon pengorbanan ni orang tua niba on do*. Thus, one of the purposes of slaughtering buffalo at this death ceremony is a form of respect for parents or, in other words, is a form of revenge for the sacrifices of parents throughout their lives”

Sutan Raja Parhimpunan (*Raja Luat Losung Batu*)⁴³

“The purpose of this traditional slaughtering ritual, apart from lowering the name, maintaining dignity, is also to preserve customs. Therefore, the purpose of the ritual of slaughtering buffalo at the death ceremony in the Angkola people is at least three, namely to pass down names from grandfather to grandson, maintain family dignity, and preserve Angkola cultural customs”

Sutan Paruhum Harahap (*Raja Luat Hutaimbaru*)⁴⁴

“One of the purposes of slaughtering buffalo at a death ceremony is to give charity. Alms is meant by the hope of bringing glory and good fortune to the bereaved family. The Angkola people believe that the meat eaten through this ritual slaughter will bring goodness and sustenance to those left behind. This slaughter must be carried out with a sincere heart with the condition”

Banggur Ritonga (local of Joring Natobang Village)⁴⁵

“There are three purposes for holding a buffalo slaughter ritual at a death ceremony: maintaining the preservation of customs, maintaining honor/caste, and so that the name or title is not lost after the death of the king's grandfather”

Baginda Sori Tua Harahap (*Raja Luat Siharang-Karang*)⁴⁶

“This custom is carried out to raise the dignity of the bereaved family. Therefore, implementing this buffalo slaughter ritual in principle is to pride oneself and maintain prestige”

⁴¹ Interview with Rudi Ritonga Gelar Mangaraja Hasan Naposoon Saturday, 12th of June 2021 at 8 a.m. in Joring Naposo Village, Padangsidimpuan Angkola Julu District.

⁴² Interview with Darwin Siregar, one of locals of Huta Padang Village on Sunday, 7th of June 2021 at 8 a.m.

⁴³ Interview with Sutan Raja Parhimpunan, Raja Luat Losung Batu on Sunday, 13th of June 2021 at 9 a.m. – 10 a.m. in Yunus' lounge, Sabungan Jae.

⁴⁴ Interview with Raja Hutaimbaru Sutan Paruhum, Raja Luat Hutaimbaru, on Sunday, 13th of June 2021 at 6.30 p.m. – 9 p.m. in his house.

⁴⁵ Interview with Banggur Ritonga on Monday, 14th of June 2021, at 7 p.m. – 8 p.m.

⁴⁶ Interview with Baginda Sori Tua, Raja Luat Siharang- Karang, Lembah Lubuk Manik Village on Monday, 14th of June 2020 at 8 p.m – 10 p.m.

In the Angkola custom, passing the name to his grandson can revive someone. Passing the name is not only about passing down the name, but how about the name given or passed down to grandchildren? It can be used as a function rather than leaving when alive. For example, in the case of a king who dies, the children or grandchildren entitled to sit in his position in traditional activities are his children or grandchildren. It shows that the slaughter of this buffalo is part of maintaining honor.

In Angkola culture, there is a social sanction when we have property, but we do not pay our last respects to our parents through the ritual of slaughtering a buffalo at the parents' death ceremony. So that the term in Angkola culture emerged, namely *inda tartanom namatei*, which means someone who dies, has not finished his business with the world before the slaughter of buffalo has been carried out. Therefore, it is necessary to slaughter so that his body is genuinely embedded, and his name has been passed down or implanted to his grandson so that his name will come back to life.

Another purpose in the ritual of slaughtering this animal is as a form of prestige. We can see this clearly in the following excerpt from the dialogue: *Anggo sanksi memang inda pola adong i, kan setidak na namangolu on, adong do timbal balikna ninna, kan, setidakna inda mangalehen ia tong kinnai, terjadi tu iba muse, inda ro alak mambantu be, songon kahanggi nakkian. Sada contoh majolo, au majolo mambaen karejo, posisi anak boru kun a marepeng do ia, tapi inda mambantu ia, jadi kan marbalik tokkin nai, di sia musibah, au mora nia, marepang au, indara au tong mangalehenna. Ima contoh kecilna, makana timbal balik do tongan i. harana marganti do tongan i.* What is meant by prestige here is an unpleasant feeling; when someone's misfortune occurs, no slaughter is accomplished, while when someone else dies, someone is present and participates in the buffalo slaughtering ritual there. In addition, the fear of the absence of people at one's formal event is also the reason behind the occurrence of this ritual.

Based on the results of the interviews described above, the researchers conclude five objectives of carrying out the ritual of slaughtering buffalo at the death ceremony in the Angkola people, namely: 1) They pass the title of king or king's name from parents to the eldest grandson. In the Angkola people, the title or name of the grandfather cannot be passed down if the ritual of slaughtering buffalo is not carried out; 2) They do the ritual of slaughtering buffalo as a form of respect/reward to parents; 3) They do the ritual of slaughtering to maintain dignity and prestige amid society; 4) They wish goodness through alms. The Angkola people believe that meat from those slaughtered at a death ceremony can bring good and fortune. At least, the results of the alms will flow rewards for parents who have died; and 5) They preserve the customs and culture of Angkola. Angkola culture appeared in ancient times, even before Islam in the Angkola region.

The study's findings indicate that the Angkola people are in accordance with the cultural tenets of other communities, death has some ramifications for both religious beliefs and societal social life.⁴⁷ The modern Angkola people attempt to preserve their culture by continuing the ritualistic tradition of butchering a buffalo on the occasion of death, but they also adapt by making some changes, at least in line with Islamic principles. Other contemporary communities, like the people of the Belarusian Podvinje⁴⁸, engage out actions like these.

⁴⁷ Zoe Morris Trainor et al., "Death Salience Moderates the Effect of Trauma on Religiosity.," *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy* 11, no. 6 (September 2019): 639–46, <https://doi.org/10.1037/tra0000430>.

⁴⁸ Uladzimir Auseichyk, "Features of The Modern Commemoration Rituals of Belarusian Podvinje," *Antropologicheskij Forum* 15, no. 41 (June 24, 2019): 123–44, <https://doi.org/10.31250/1815-8870-2019-15-41-123-144>.

Angkola people attempting to carry out a cultural revolution by constructing more compassionate rituals by adopting Islamic concepts to enhance existing traditions. Respecting their ancestors is an obligation for them to keep their good reputation and guidance after their death. Love and respect for ancestors is a way for sustaining the social and cultural strata that serve as the foundation of ethnic communities' civilization.

The Muslim community's wisdom in infusing culture with Islamic teachings will continue to exhibit culturally friendly diversity. As a result, the religion of Islam does not detach humans from their community as a certain ethnicity or nation. The emergence of multiple different cultural traditions as a result of the establishment of local Muslim communities in Indonesia provides more flexible alternatives for practicing Islam that can be carried out in a variety of contexts and situations. This will make religious teachings more acceptable to every human community with a distinct culture.

D. Conclusion

The Angkola Muslim community's local wisdom is built through efforts to acculturate culture with the concepts of Islamization of traditions that appear more universal in conserving the humanity of its members. Ancestral rituals are still used as a reference once elders and community leaders die, but without discarding their values and religious foundation. Furthermore, the tradition is utilized to propagate Islamic religious teachings, such as dedication and respect for parents, as well as sharing with fellow human beings through feeding and sharing possessions, as preached by the Prophet Muhammad *pbuh*.

This study demonstrates that the local wisdom of community traditions can be used to propagate religious teachings, demonstrating that local acculturation with Islamic teachings is the getting for responding to each local tradition. Even so, traditional leaders' wisdom is still required in guiding members of their tribe to observe universal religious ideals that might be embedded in the traditions that are perpetuated.

Thus, the transmission of Islamic teachings has increased as it is carried out not just through formal education but also through the realms of culture and local wisdom that have been part of people's lives.

References

- Auseichyk, Uladzimir. "Features of The Modern Commemoration Rituals of Belarusian Podvinje." *Antropologicheskij Forum* 15, no. 41 (June 24, 2019): 123–44. <https://doi.org/10.31250/1815-8870-2019-15-41-123-144>.
- Bangun, Pajung. "Kebudayaan Batak." In *Manusia Dan Kebudayaan Di Indonesia*, 20th ed., 55. Jakarta: Djambatan, 2004.
- Bungin, Burhan. *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif (Aktualisasi Metodologis Ke Arah Ragam Varian Kontemporer)*. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2017.
- Depertemen Pendidikan Nasional. *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*. 4th ed. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2008.
- Firmando, Harisan Boni. "Orientasi Nilai Budaya Batak Toba, Umat Beragama Di Tapanuli Utara (Analisis Sosiologis)." *Studia Sosia Religia* 3, no. 2 (2020): 47–69.
- . "Perubahan Sosial Dalam Upacara Adat Kematian Pada Etnis Batak Toba Di Kota Medan." Universitas Sumatera Utara, 2018.
- Hartini, Lilis. "Tradisi Dan Ritual Kematian Di Garut: Sebuah Kajian Dialektologi." *Artikulasi* 1, no. 2 (2021): 111–22.
- Hidayat, Rahmat. "Construction of Character Education in Mandailing and Angkola Culture in North Sumatra Province." *Society* 8, no. 2 (2020): 611–27. <https://doi.org/10.33019/society.v8i2.212>.
- Karim, Abdul. "Makna Ritual Kematian Dalam Tradisi Islam Jawa." *Sabda : Jurnal Kajian*

- Kebudayaan* 12, no. 2 (2017): 161. <https://doi.org/10.14710/sabda.12.2.161-171>.
- Kurniawan, Puji. "Akulturasi Hukum Islam Dan Budaya Lokal (Studi Terhadap Tradisi Masyarakat Batak Angkola Padangsidimpuan: Perspektif Antropologi)." Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2014.
- Morris Trainor, Zoe, Jonathan Jong, Matthias Bluemke, and Jamin Halberstadt. "Death Salience Moderates the Effect of Trauma on Religiosity." *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy* 11, no. 6 (September 2019): 639–46. <https://doi.org/10.1037/tra0000430>.
- Nuruddin, Sabara. "Islam Dalam Tradisi Masyarakat Lokal Di Sulawesi Selatan." *Mimikri: Jurnal Agama Dan Kebudayaan* 4, no. 1 (2018): 50–67.
- Pane, Akhiril, Robet Sibarani, Ikhwanuddin Nasution, and Muhammad Takari. "The Performance of Mangupa Tradition in Angkola Custom, Medan, Indonesia." *TAZKIR: Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial Dan Keislaman* 5, no. 2 (2019): 235–52. <https://doi.org/10.24952/tazkir.v5i2.2298>.
- Rahman, Fachrir. "Patuq Dalam Tradisi Kematian Masyarakat Desa Kuta (Sebuah Tinjauan Antropologi Hukum Islam)." *Samarah* 3, no. 2 (2019): 341–64. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhc.v3i2.3925>.
- Rambe, Sutan Raja Pinayungan. "Peranan Pemuka Adat Etnik Angkola Dalam Membangun Kehidupan Sosial Keagamaan Di Desa Sitaratoit Kecamatan Angkola Barat." *IAIN Padangsidimpuan*. IAIN Padangsidimpuan, 2014.
- Satimin, Satimin. "Nilai-Nilai Filosofis Dalam Memperingati Upacara Hari Kematian Dalam Tradisi Jawa Ditinjau Dari Aspek Sosial (Studi Di Air Banai Kecamatan Hulu Palik Kabupaten Bengkulu Utara)." *Manthiq* 6, no. 1 (2021): 42–64. <https://journal.iainbengkulu.ac.id/index.php/manthiq/article/view/5180>.
- Syihabuddin, A. "Tradisi Upacara Kematian Pada Masyarakat Nahdhiyyin Dalam Tinjauan Agama Dan Adat." *Al-Adyan* 8, no. 1 (2017): 1–27. <http://ejournal.radenintan.ac.id/index.php/alAdyan/article/view/523>.
- Tungkagi, Donald Qomaidiasyah, and Tasya Aziza Mokodongan. "The Polemic of the Tradition of Beating Golomang in Funeral Rituals in the Muslim Community of Bolaang Mongondow." *Pusaka Jurnal Khazanah Keagamaan* 10, no. 2 (2022): 392–413.