

## VALUES BEHIND OSONG KAPALI CEREMONY: SOCIOCULTURAL REVIEW OF INDIGENOUS AND RELIGIOUS TRADITION

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### **Abstract**

*This study describes the domination of local custom and religion behind the tradition of Osong Kapali among Sungai Patai community in Tanah Datar, Minangkabau, Indonesia during the decease of Datuak (the leader of ethnic group). It employs a qualitative method with observation, interviews, and documentation as research instruments. It revealed, for people, that the majesty of datuak is reflected on not only the time he receive the tittle but also the time he passes away. This ceremony is intended to honor the dead datuak. The tradition begins with baretong (planning), mangkaji adaik (discussing the tradition), mancabiak kain kafan (tearing the shroud), osong kapali (putting on the traditional fabric), marocak (spreading the coin along the way to Datuak grave), pidato alam (welcoming speech), and manigo ari (praying after the funeral procession). It contains values within, such as the leader's majesty, datuak wisdom, and symbols of broad and clean thought. In addition, it holds sharia, educational, and social values. Osong kapali tradition is a combination of custom and religion represented in the ceremonial sequences which agree with the ideology of sarak basandi kitabullah, the Quran-based tradition.*

*Penelitian ini mendeskripsikan dominasi adat dan agama pada tradisi Osong Kapali yang dilakukan oleh masyarakat Nagari Sungai Patai kabupaten Tanah*

Datar di Minangkabau Indonesia ketika seorang *datuak* meninggal dunia. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif melalui observasi, wawancara, dan dokumentasi sebagai instrumen penelitian. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa bagi masyarakat kebesaran seorang *Datuak* tidak hanya tergambar pada upacara pengangkatan gelar namun juga pada saat seorang *datuak* tersebut tutup usia. Upacara adat ini bertujuan untuk penghormatan kepada seorang *datuak* yang meninggal. Upacara *Osong Kapali* dimulai dengan *baretong* (Perencanaan), *mangkaji adaik* (mendiskusikan adat), *mancabiak kain kafan* (merobek kain kafan), *Osong Kapali*, pemasangan kain *adaik* (Pemasangan kain adat), *maroncak* (Menyebarkan koin sepanjang perjalanan ke kuburan *Datuak*), *pidato alam* (Pidato), dan *manigo hari* (berdoa setelah upacara pemakaman). Terdapat nilai-nilai seperti kebesaran seorang pemimpin, kebijaksanaan seorang *datuak* dan simbol pemikiran yang luas dan bersih. Selain itu, terdapat nilai teologi yakni nilai syari'ah, pendidikan dan sosial. *Osong Kapali* ini merupakan kombinasi antara adat dan agama yang terlihat dari rangkaian pelaksanaannya sesuai dengan filosofi adat "sarak basandi kitabullah".

**Keywords:** Custom and religion; *Ddatuak*; *Osong Kapali*; theological values

## Introduction

Minangkabau is a civilized country with majority Muslim population. In everyday life, sometimes customs and religion dominate each other. Some religions dominate customs, also some customs dominate religions. However, there are customs and religions that go hand in and to complement each other. Therefore, the customary law in Minangkabau should not conflict with Islam. This is represented in the burial ceremony of the *datuak* or the chief according to the *Osong Kapali* tradition (Evaliza, 2014).

In Minangkabau, there applied not only one tradition, but each of Nagari (villages) has their respective uniqueness, as if they compete one another. One of the unique traditions is *Osong Kapali*. Minangkabau is an ethnic group which is still maintaining the custom with Islam as the religion of majority people. In daily life, custom and religion sometimes dominate each other (Rahman et al., 2020). There is time when religion dominates over custom and vice versa, yet they complete each other in other times. Therefore, customary law cannot go against Islam. It is reflected in the *Datuak* funeral ceremony recognized as *Osong Kapali* tradition (We & Fauziah, 2020).

*Osong Kapali* is the *Datuak* funeral ceremony. *Datuak* (the ethnic leader) is a typical officer in Minangkabau. In Sungai Patai, people's belief in the

greatness of *Datuak* appears not only during his working phases but also the time he passes away. Therefore, Sungai Patai communities conduct a traditional ceremony named *Osong Kapali*. *Osong Kapali* ceremony is conducted to honor *Datuak* who has passed away, remaining his dedication to ethnic group members and village (Rajo, interview, 2021, December 6).

Besides, along the time, the tradition to honor the dead *Datuak* is rarely conducted in West Sumatera, especially in Minangkabau, so it must be preserved. Thus, *Datuak's* appointment in Minangkabau basically needs ceremony, as well as his death. The *Datuak* death ceremony is not similar to that of ordinary people. In Minangkabau, the *datuak* funeral ceremony is always related to tradition, and it must not miss the funeral service based on Islam (Panghulu, interview, 2021, December 6).

Research regarding funeral tradition in several places around Minangkabau, such as Hasmira et al. revealed that *manyanda* custom is one part of death traditional ceremonies. This tradition is intended to find out the successor of dead person to substitute social position (Saputra, 2019). Hidayati (2016) remarked that *manjapuik adat jo pusako* tradition is done when a mother in a family died. It means picking up a man who has become a widower by custom because at the time of marriage he is also delivered by custom. This tradition is organized at the 14th day after death and after *tahlilan* (prayer for remains). It is done at Sikabau societies, Pulau Punjung, Dharmasraya (Yolanda, 2018). Aziz et al. (2020) explore that the acculturation of Minang customs and culture with Islam takes the forms of syncretism, while the *adat* adapts to its teachings. When Islam with Minang customs and culture blend into one, changes occur in three kinds. According to Tono et al., (2019), Minangkabau, one of the major tribes in Indonesia that embraces Islam, has unique and distinctive customs, one of which is the distribution of inheritance in its matrilineal family system. Islam adheres to a bilateral-parental system.

Under the findings of the studies on the custom of Minang, more exploration is needed concerning the tradition of *datuak* funeral. Therefore, this study aims to reveal and investigate the procession of *Osong Kapali* ceremony and the reason to preserve this tradition. In addition, it also examines whether the arrangement of *Osong Kapali* tradition is suitable to societies' theological value at Sungai Patai, Sungayang, Tanah Datar.

## Method

The current research adopted a qualitative study which gathers data directly from the field. The data were collected through sequences of observation, interview, and documentation. Interviews were conducted with *Datuak* (the ethnic leader), Kerapatan Adat Nagari (abbreviated as KAN) as a Minangkabau customary institution which protects and preserves Minangkabau customs and culture, KAN, *Bundo Kanduang*, *Dubalang*, headman, and other public figure. Data were also collected using interpretation and verification technique. The research took place in Sungai Patai village Sungayang sub-district, Tanah Datar regency, West Sumatera.

Several approaches were employed in this research, first cultural anthropology approach, which studies human from cultural side. Cultural anthropology understands human way of life, human ability to have culture along the time, and their way to utilize their unique minds to succeed in changing the environment using experience and teaching in its broadest sense. This research observed the organization of funeral ceremony on local community culture in treating the dead *datuak* (Potabuga, 2020).

Sociology approach is a social science with community as the object. Social interaction is the main factor in social life (Hanani, 2015). Social interaction is relationship among human group or individual and group. This approach assists in discovering the relationship among community in Sungai Patai village during *Osong Kapali* ceremony on *datuak* funeral wherein the beginning and the last procession is always related to the togetherness and mutual cooperation (Leni, 2018).

## Finding and Discussion

### The Social and Religious Community of Sungai Patai

Sungai Patai village is located in one of regions in Luhak Nan Tuo, Tanah Datar. Tanah Datar is also identical with the name cultural city which is close to the centre of Minangkabau kingdom, Pagaruyuang (Pasaribu, 2019).

Sungai Patai village is administratively located at Sungayang sub-district, Tanah Datar regency. Sungai patai village has 11-kilometer square area or 16,81% of Sungayang sub-district area. It is 5 km away from the district capital and 13 km from the capital of Tanah Datar regency. It is geographically located on the height of 700-750 meters above the sea level (Evaliza, 2014).

The total population of Sungai Patai village is 2,006 people, 1,034 women and 927 men, and 485 families. Balai Tabuah village is 8 km width with 1,238 total population. Talago jaya village is 3-kilometer square width with 768 total populations. This village has several formal education units, such as Primary school 01 Sungayang, Primary School 16 Sungayang, and Sungai Patai Private Islamic Junior High School. Moreover, there are also several health facilities, such one unit of public health service (Masril, 2021).

According to the history, the village is called Sungai Patai village because there lies river flow surrounding the area, and there are also a lot of big *patai* trees. When the people spread from *talago tinggi* (*water gathering place*), they prefer to clear the land around *patai* trees. Accordingly, the name of village turn *Sungai Patai* (Yuliyus & Susilawati, 2021).

In the research note of *Datuak* Paduko Jalelo related to the origin of Sungai Patai village, there written a typical saying “*adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah, penghulu mamagang sako jo pusako, panghulu nagari jo kerapatan dan nagari balabuah batapian, bamusajik balai*”, which means that the custom is based on religion, and the religion refers to the Quran. *Datuak* (the ethnic leader) is given custom title and the ethnic group property. There are headman and officers who solve custom issue, and the public facilities, such as village road, public bathroom, mosque, market, and meeting place.

At that time, every people who will move to a new place is required to build *rumah gadang* (Minang traditional house), which is built through cooperation. However, the local community was unable to fulfill one requirement. They did not have a road. In order to solve that problem, several meetings were conducted in *balai* (meeting place without roof) to discuss about it. Nowadays, the meeting place is named *medan nan Bapaneh* (meeting place which has no roof) (Zainora, interview, 2021, October 5). *Medan nan bapaneh* is registered in Cultural Heritage Archeological Centre (CHAC) Batusangkar registration number 22/BCB-TB/A/12/2007, with thirty seats back stones and U-shaped and pile of stone at the centre.

At that time, they did not have food supplies which caused drastic population grow. Based on the agreement of *datuak nan tigo puluh* and *tuanku nan empat puluh* led by *datuak djo mandur* (*a customary title given to a man through the agreement of a tribe or tribe in*), they were agreed to move into new place. They finally moved and stayed in *koto rajo*. As a result, new term rose: *Nan bajanjang di sungai patai dan bapintu ka koto rajo*” (two families that have kinship relations both according to the father’s line and the mother’s line).

Based on the proverb above, people obey their leader. Along with the dead of DT. Rajo mandur, they passed new road from the meeting place. From that position, *datuak* back of and point out *koto*, region started from *ikua koto to kapalo koto* (Wirdanengsih, 2019). At that place, new road is built (Asrinaldi & Yoserizal, 2020).

At the same time, they build a mosque at village. They also construct rice field. The rice field irrigation is named *bandar buluh kasok*. It is the name of a collection place in irrigating rice fields that have roots. That place has many upstream roots and *bandar buluh*. Moreover, there are many roots especially *buluh sikasok* (Alade, 2020).

After the construction of rice field irrigation, they make watering for the importance of village. The irrigation is named *bandar pulang*. *Bandar pulang* is used for the flow of sewers for village irrigation. Thus, the other irrigations are built and called new drain. All irrigation facilities are constructed in the era of *kelarasan sungai tarab*. It means the flow of the government system in the Tarab River sub-district.

After moving from Talago tinggi, the construction of mosque and custom meeting place of Sungai Patai government started. Leading system of Sungai Patai consisted of 30 *penghulu* or *Datuak* (the ethnic leader). The leadership of Sungai patai includes on custom federation which is under the federation of Sungai Tarab (Yuliyus & Susilawati, 2021).

### The Custom System of Sungai Patai Village

The custom system applied in Sungai Patai village refers to the term, “*ramo ramo sikumbang jati, kati endah pulang bakudo, patah tumbuhan hilang baganti, soko lamo baitu juo. Biriak biriak tabang kasasak, dari sasak tabang ka halaman, dari niniak turun kamamak dari mamak turun ka kamanakan*” (Daryusti, 2018). It refers to the heir of *penghulu* title in Sungai Patai inherited from generation to generation. *Penghulu* (title is owned by *mamak*, and it will be inherited to a nephew considered to be able to accept and meet the responsibility as *penghulu*. This system aims to make ancestral lineage in a community and inheritance title still remains during the rapid shift of era (Elfiani et al., 2022).

In social life of Sungai Patai village, community used the system of “*karajo baiak bahimbauan karajo buruak basamo-samo malarang*” [good work is informed, but bad work is prohibited]. The above customs phrase refers to the regulation of community social life in Sungai Patai. They help one another and do work for the society benefit through cooperation. As a result, any kind

of work is done together. The existence of those system is confirmed with the institution and the officer of village custom supervisor, traditional meeting place. The institution and the system affect the development of a tradition, typical to Sungai Patai (Sungai Patai traditional self-defense arts) (Yuliyus & Susilawati, 2021).

### The Implementation of *Osong Kapali* Tradition: *Datuak* Funeral Ceremony

There are two interesting parts related to Islamic practices in Indonesia, especially in Minangkabau. People assumed that Islamic doctrine has changed into a tradition as normative and the truest. Thus, Islamic tradition has a strong basis in Islamic teachings attached to Muslim daily life in Indonesia (Martha, 2020).

In Indonesian dictionary, the word tradition is commonly understood by Indonesians, and it has become their habit recognized as a certain definition of both action and words (Bahardur, 2018). For people in Minangkabau, funeral ceremony is the one example of ceremonial and cultural aspect noticed in several forms of traditional ceremony sequences. Therefore, research on “funeral ceremony” means discovering life values of Minangkabau people from time to time and intensively highlight the implementation of life values for Minangkabau society, which is rich with symbols. In this field, the systematic discussion means the discussion of related sub-culture philosophy and symbolic meaning within.

Minangkabau area has different leadership system with the other areas in Indonesia. Leadership system is firstly recognized as the element of *urang nan barampek jinih* (male group leader in the tribe) consisted of *penghulu* (leader of a tribe or tribe), *manti* (traditional expert), *dubalang* (security guard in the village) and *malin* (religious expert). However, after Minangkabau is conquered by Dutch, the position of *manti* and *dubalang* is deleted according to village government system constructed at the time. Meanwhile, the role of *malin* is altered into *ulama*. Since then, the element of *urang ampek jinih* is changed into *penghulu*, *alim ulama*, and *cerdik pandai* which is ideally recognized as the concept of *tungku tigo sajarangan* (traditional leadership in Minangkabau) or *tali tigo sapilin* (Amri et al., 2021).

*Penghulu* or *Datuak* is the leader of an ethnic group or the king or nephew, functioned as the government head, becoming leader and role model for the group as well as prosecutor and defender on the issues coming from

the outside group. As a group leader, *penghulu* is responsible for maintaining the safety and the prosperity of the group according to law and prevalence. As stated in proverb, *penghulu ibarat kayu gadang ditengah padang, ureknyo tampek baselo, dahanyo tampek bagantuang, daunyo tampek balinduang, batangnyo tampek basanda* (*penghulu* is like a big wood in the centre of field, the root is a place to sit, the branch is a place to swing, the leaves are protectors, and the log is a place to lean back) (Penyusun et al., 2017).

*Penghulu* has responsibility which cannot be missed. First, *manuruik alua nan luruih (trust)*, which means every activity must be done according to the truth regulated by custom. Second, *manampuah jalan nan pasa (leader traits)*, which means every rule must be implemented in daily life. *Penghulu* must obey and implement what has been regulated by custom and religion. He must not ignore the existed rules. The third is having *tangan harato pusako* and caring for the young generation. *Penghulu* must be able to keep all the ethnic group property for common interest and caring for the young generation to prevent them from deviant behavior. Because *penghulu* hold a lot of serious and noble responsibilities, if a *datuak* or *penghulu* died, the funeral ceremony is conducted according to the custom ritual. The custom to bury a *datuak* in Sungai Patai village is different from that in the other regions. If *datuak* in Sungai Patai village died, the community will manage funeral ceremony to respect *datuak*.

The community of Sungai Patai feels the greatness of *penghulu* not only when *penghulu* is *malewakan gala* (given title) but also the time when he passes away. The community respects him by funeral ceremonies according to the custom rules which has been agreed upon (Zainora, interview, 2021, October 5). Because every died *niniak mamak* (traditional leader) contributes to the society, *Osong Kapali* tradition is conducted to remember his contribution, paraded from the *datuak* house to the mosque, then from the mosque to the grave (Zainora, interview, 2021, October 5). This funeral model has been done inherited from generation to generation and the steps are still conducted. If a *datuak* died, all of activities stopped until the remain is buried. Formerly, the *Osong Kapali* tradition is recognized as kacang kapali which still exists until now (Zainora, interview, 2021, October 5). The custom ceremony of *datuak* burial in Sungai Patai starts in series:

First, *Baretong* (discussion about the implementation of custom procession) (Putiah, interview, 2021, October 5). *Baretong* is the most prominent procession from all *penghulu* funeral events because it is the determination of the next



steps. After the remain has arrived in the house, *panghulu* parent's house, the *baretong* procession starts (Auliarahman, 2018).

According to the customary rules which prevails in Sungai Patai, all *penghulu* must attend on this process without exception. This process is also attended by *dubalang* which is the officer of custom supervisor. However, if one of *penghulu* is absent, he will be represented by Bundo Kandung of *panghulu* concerned. The representative of Bundo Kandung must wear *baju kuruang* (minang traditional cloth for women) and use *tingkuluak kain panjang* (traditional clothing section) (Pratama, 2015).

The process of *baretong* is functioned as a discussion medium of *datuak* or *penghulu* in deciding the tomb location of the dead *penghulu*. In Sungai Patai, the location of tomb is usually discussed in the house of *pangkat* or *sipokok*. The *datuak* of *bako* side request to bury in *bako* funeral. If he requests not to be buried in *bako*, the must be met. After that, the *datuak* of child side will also request to be buried in the children funeral. If it is not accepted, the proverb rises, "*indak makabuah tanah sabingkah, kapan salampih mintak dikabulkan*" (Panghulu, interview, 2021, December 6). This *baretong* procession is also applied among the society to both *penghulu* and community. *Baretong* is done at *rumah gadang*. It is attended by all *niniak mamak*.

Second, *Mangaji adaik* (study about tradition). The procession is conducted after the agreement about *datuak* tomb agreed. It is a process to determine the amount of *penghulu*'s debt to the village. The debt is burdened to the tribesman or *penghulu*'s family. The debt paid is named *utang adaik* to *monti* who is one of custom supervisor (Auliarahman, 2018).

The term of paying of *penghulu*'s debt did not indicate that *penghulu* has personal debt to the village, but it means to run agreed custom rules (Pratama, 2015). The debt unit of *penghulu* is called *kupang*. The amount of *kupang* which must be paid by *penghulu* must be discussed by all *datuak*. The number of one *kupang* is not known exactly if measured with Rupiah or gold.

Moreover, according to *penghulu* of those village, there are differences of debt amount burdened. The dead *penghulu pucuk* must pay 32 *kupang*, and dead *penghulu andiko* is burdened 24 *kupang* (Penyusun et al., 2017). *Kupang* is a value indicating the currency used in the past. *Penghulu* debt unit is called *kupang*. The number of *kupang* which must be paid by *penghulu* must be discussed by all *datuak*. The amount of one *kupang* is not clearly indentified, if compared to rupiah or gold. However, referring to the use of *kupang* during Aceh Kingdom which has ruled west coast of Sumatera, the use of *kupang* is

possibly common in historical literature (Zainora, interview, 2021, October 5). The amount of kupang agreed by *penghulu* to be paid by the heir is utilized to the interest of *datuak* funeral ceremony. *Datuak* funeral ceremony in Sungai Patai is recognized as *Osong Kapali* as stated in community adage “*datuak mati ba sangkapali. Bundo kanduang mati ba sonduak sonduak*” (Zainora, interview, 2021, October 5).

The meaning of custom command is that when *penghulu* passes away, the coffin uses *Osong Kapali* and when *bundo kanduang* dies, the coffin uses *sonduak sonduak*. *Osongkapli*, the corpse coffin is made from bamboo and palm leaf. At the past, the process to make *Osong Kapali* did not utilize nail but bar. *Osong Kapali* uses cover cloth, but *sonduak-sonduak* uses cover cloth.

From the past until now, someone who has given contribution and been in a position will be respected. In ancient kingdoms, when the king was given title, or the king conducted a wedding ceremony or even when king abdicated, he would wear “*kacang kapali*” (now called *panca persada*). *Kacang kapali* is the greatness symbol of *penghulu* (Hasmira et al., 1990).

Therefore, based on the agreement of Sungai Patai community, every *penghulu* must attend *penghulu* funeral procession (Auliarahman, 2018). The amount of kupang paid by *datuak* is varied according to the position in traditional government. If *datuak pucuk* dies, custom debt to pay is 32 kupang. If *datuak andiko* dies, the custom debt is 24. If *dubalang* dead, the debt is 8 kupang, and if the government staff dies, the debt is 16 kupang.

Kupang is a value agreed upon by all *datuak* in Sungai Patai. The amount of kupang paid by *datuak* varies according to the position in traditional government. The highest position in traditional government is *datuak pucuk* (Penyusun et al., 2017). The debt is used for the traditional ceremony of dead *datuak*. In traditional government of Sungai Patai, *Datuak pucuk* is the highest leader in custom structure”. *Datuak pucuk* leads several tribes which called *pasukuan* (group of tribes). There are 4 *pasukuan* in Sungai Patai which consisted of 4 groups. The *pasukuan* existed on Sungai Patai village is *pasukuan Koto Piliang Tanguang Payobada*, *Pasukuan Tigo Niniak Singkuang Bodi* and *Caniago*, *pasukuan Salo Nan Tujuh Salo Jambak*, *Patopoang* and *Kutianyah*, *Pasukuan Panai Mandahliang* and *Malayu* (Panghulu, interview, 2021, December 6).

During the step of *mangkaji adat*, it is also included as an education medium for supervision. From the procession view, *penghulu* will manage the debt paid by the previous *penghulu* to the village. The debt management paid to the village must be set wisely and honestly (Potabuga, 2020).

The third, tearing the shroud to cover *datuak* corpse. It is an activity done by *angku nan ampek*, coming from four kinds of tribes in Sungai Patai. Procession to tear the shroud is not only the responsibility of *angku nan barampek*, but it is also the responsibility of all parties. *Angku nan ampek* is a symbol that the funeral service is the responsibility of all community in Sungai Patai. Each person has their own duty which has been determined by *Datuak* to all of parties, and it is based on community agreement (Auliarahman, 2018).

In this step, *deta* (man custom hat) is also created called *kain deta putihah*. *Deta* is created from shroud rolled and formed resembling headband. It is rolled forming circle which is then placed on the top of *Osong Kapali*. The process to create *deta* is done by custom's staff. After finishing the *deta*, it is handed over to *monti*.

Moreover, funeral service is done in Islam. The corpse is bathed, shrouded, and prayed. When the *datuak* remains is bathed and shrouded, in the other place people together with Bundo Kandung and Dubalang create coffin called "*Osong Kapali*" (Busyairy, 2018).

The fourth, *Osong Kapali* (Making coffin from bamboo and palm leaf). *Osong Kapali* is a unique coffin, which is still made using traditional way by peg and tie system without nail, like the building of *rumah gadang* in Minangkabau. *Osong Kapali* is made from palm leaf and bamboo. It is created by *dubalang nan barampek*. *Dubalang* comes from different tribes. *Dubalang nan Barampekis* consisted of of Melayu titled Togok, Salo titled Tan Gagah, Mandahiliang titled Galoga, the tribe koto titled tan dilangik, and the tribe of Caniago titled Tan kalomok. After *Osong Kapali* is made, they set black umbrella (symbol of leader greatness, and samiri fabric as *datuak* wisdom symbol and *kain deta katagi*, the symbol of broad and clean thinking). After *Osong Kapali* is created, they set the custom cloth.

Community use *Osong Kapali* to bring *penghulu* remains. However, if an ordinary person dies, they use the coffin which has already been prepared for everyone. \_ tis magnetism of *penghulu* funeral service at Sungai Patai.

The fifth is setting custom cloth from bamboo and palm leaf (Palanta, 2020a). Custom cloth is fabric used to cover the *Osong Kapali*. The custom fabric is set by covering all sides. Custom fabric is called *kain samiri* (traditional cloth). It has wol base, created like the lump resembling human head. After that, it is wrapped with red cloth. Then, it is tied with white fabric, so *Osong Kapali* is tightly covered.

The setting of *kain samiri* is done by *bundo kanduang* of each tribe in Sungai Patai. *Bundo kanduang* represents four *datuak pucuak* in Sungai Patai, and one of *manti*. It means five *bundo kanduang* (the oldest female leader in the clan) which has authority in setting *kain samiri*. *Bundo kanduang* sets the custom cloth on *Osong Kapali* representing 4 tribes that is *koto* tribe, *singkuang* tribe, *salo* tribe, and *panai* tribe deputize *datuak pucuak* while *tanjuang* tribe represent custom *monti*. *Bundo kanduang* is a title for Minangkabau women. *Bundo kanduang* represents each of *datuak pucuak* and *manti*. *Bundo kanduang* set the custom fabric on *Osong Kapali* in which they must wear *tingkuluak tanduak* and *baju kuruang* (traditional clothes). *Tingkuluak tanduak* is the headgear of *bundo kanduang*, wearing *baju kuruang* typically Minangkabau women.

After the custom set, the custom fabric is covered with the the dead *datuak*'s cloth to respect the contribution of *datuak* from the giving of title until *datuak* died. After *Osong Kapali* is created, the lifting of *Osong Kapali* is firstly done by *dubalang nan barampek* (security personnel in the village) with the symbol of white fabric given by *datuak* by placing it on shoulder with the term "*aleh bahu*" (a cloth placed on the shoulders when carrying the coffin) or shoulder pad.

After *Osong Kapali* is covered with custom fabric, *datuak* remain is placed on *Osong Kapali*. The Sixth is *maghocak* (step into the coffin which brings *datuak* remains). The procession of *marocak* is the most unique from all of procession sequences. *Marocak* (climbing the coffin) is the activity to spread coins to the community along the way into *penghulu* grave. The activities of *maroncak* are done by *anak pisang* (call to son from brother's) in the custom of dead *penghulu*. Coins which are spread is provided by *sipangka* or family left by *penghulu*. *Anak pisang* who *maroncak* (step into) *Osong Kapali* is *penghulu* family.

To be *penghulu* in Minangkabau, there are several requirements to fulfil. One of them is having property. The ownership of property is illustrated in the procession of *maroncak*. Coins spread along the way will be taken by people, from the oldest to the youngest.

The procession of *marocak* is done when *penghulu*'s remain has finished the funeral service based on Islam teachings. Before the remain departs to the grave, one of *anak panca*, that is *anak pisang* of *penghulu* step into *Osong Kapali*. After *anak panca* has already been on *Osong Kapali*, the people will lift it to the funeral along the way from the place to pray for the corpse until funeral. *Anak panca* will spread coins and people will take the coins. *Marocak* can mean step into *Osong Kapali* by *anak panca*.

*Anak panca* is *anak pisang* which has a direct blood relation to the dead *penghulu*. However, not all *anak pisang* can be called *anak panca* and becoming *peroncak Osong Kapali*. The selection of *panca* is based on *anak pisang* who also has *penghulu* on his big family. *Anak panca* must have blood relation to *penghulu*. In custom, the process of *maroncak* is functioned to keep the culture and as the culture ratification

The seventh is *Pandam pakuburan sambakato togak* (respectful announcement speech to nature). When the remain has been buried, one representative of *sipangka* side do *sambah kato tagak*. *Sipangka* side recites text of *Minangkabau pasambahan* called *pasambahan alam* (respectful announcement speech to nature). This announcement is addressed to *datuak pucuaik* as the representative of all societies who has attended the funeral ceremony. At the same time *siriah carani* is shared to the *penghulu* attending funeral. After the corpse is buried, *pasambahan alam* is recited.

Next is nature speech as the last tribute to *datuak*. The funeral of the corp is accompanied with nature speech that is *alua pasambahan*. *Alua pasambahan* contains apology, *tambo*, *Minangkabau* laws. At the time, complete *carano* containing betel and other stuff is distributed. Finally, the funeral is ended with prayer together. After *Datuaks* corpse arrives at the grave, custom speech is recited by a *datuak pucuaik* in standing position. Custom speech contains apology, *tambo*, and *Minangkabau* laws.

The step of “*manigo hari*” conducted by *Sungai Patai* community to the dead *datuak* has uniqueness and differences than that of the ordinary people. The difference is on custom speech. If an ordinary person dies, there will be no custom speech. It aims to remember the functions of community elements, such as *penghulu*, *dubalang*, *bundo kanduang*, and young generation as well as to respect the greatness of *penghulu* as the ethnic leader.

The first day of *Manigo* (pray after the burial of *Datuak*). This procession is generally found in every death at *Sungai Patai*. *Manigo hari* is activity to visit and pray for the corpse who passes away in parents’ house. A day after the death, the family is usually attended by close family and typically with no crowd. They visit the heir house of someone dead to pray for the corpse, and this activity applies for everyone. This activity is called “*manjanguak* and *mangaji*”. This activity is conducted at *Datuak* parent house or tribe traditional house of dead *datuak* (Hasmira et al., 1990).

Moreover, after reciting the *Quran*, the visitors go back to home but the family of dead *datuak manago* (refrain for a moment to not back home). It

aims to stay in touch among the family, paying the *datuak*'s debt, and deciding the day to *mamatua* the tomb (giving the tombstone) (Palanta, 2020).

At the second day, the community of Sungai Patai call it *manigo hari kaum*. The ones who attend the funeral home are the tribesmen of the dead *datuak* (*manigo ari sopokok*) (Putiah, interview, 2021, October 5).

In the third day, they do *takzi* and praying for the dead. In the third day, the *datuak* is attended by certain people, such as *penghulu* of Sungai Patai village to respect the dead *datuak* or *penghulu*. They read Quran and *datuak* or *niniak mamak* recite *alur pasambahan* by standing. The content of *alur pasambahan* (custom speech) is similar to the other custom speech. The third day of visiting the dead *datuak* house is called *manigo hari Nagari* (Datuak Lelo Nan Putiah 2021).

At the end of the third day, "Manigo hari Nagari", all of mourner will go home. However, all *penghulu* or *niniak mamak* stay for a moment. They meet for discussion with several agendas, like meeting the tribesman, discussing, and paying the *datuak* debt, and deciding the day to set the tombstone known as the day of *mamatua kuburan* (Putiah, interview, 2021, October 5).

In general, in Minangkabau or West Sumatera, the family side plays a vital role in funeral service according to Islam rules. After following all of Islam rules, the custom rules will be run. Principally, *Datuak* funeral ceremony in West Sumatera is not quite different to the funeral service of ordinary people. The funeral ceremony is done before and after funeral.

However, the procession of *datuak* funeral service in Sungai Patai is unique. Among the procession which has been discussed in the previous subtitles, we decided to find the uniqueness, and it is only founded in Sungai Patai village. The procession is called *Osong Kapali* and *maroncak*. The *Osong Kapali* is unique because of the material and process to make it. It is made from bamboo while the other coffin is created from steel or board. *Osong Kapali* is decorated with symbols illustrating the greatness of *penghulu* in Minangkabau.

Apart from *Osong Kapali*, the uniqueness of *Datuak* funeral service in Sungai Patai lies in *maroncak*. Spreading coins is called *maroncak* by Sungai Patai community and it is the most unique procession among others. After funeral service, *anak pisang* of *penghulu* called *anak panca* will step into *Osong Kapali*, then spreading coins along the way to funerals. The procession of *maroncak* indicates the glory of *penghulu* that is property. Then, the spreading of coins also indicates the generosity of *penghulu* in Minangkabau upon leading the tribe. The social values behind the procession of *maroncak* become a strong

reason to keep that procession. The procession of maroncak does only exist in the funeral of Sungai Patai.

The process of penghulu funeral ceremony in West Sumatera is generally similar to the common funeral service. Funeral ceremony is usually divided into before funeral and after funeral. However, in Sungai Pua, *Datuak* funeral ceremony is unique. There are eight steps in *Datuak* funeral ceremony in Sungai Patai which has already been explained previously. *Datuak* funeral ceremony is only found in Sungai Patai, and that is the uniqueness.

### The Symbols behind *Osong Kapali*

*Osong Kapali* is created with several items. Principally, *Osong Kapali* do not use nail, but peg or tie. It consisted of: black umbrella, which indicates the greatness of *niniak mamak*, because black umbrella is used when he is given title; white deta, which symbolizes the death of *penghulu*; and custom fabric or *samiri*, which is red in color resembling the head of Deta Katari. Deta \_urrounding *samiri* cloth is worn when the title “*datuak*” is given. It is like the shape of *penghulu*’s head. It consists of three colors: red, yellow, and white. Each color has its own meaning. Red symbolizes *niniak mamak*, yellow indicate greatness, and white shows purity. Custom fabric is layered with *penghulu*’s costum. It means, even though the body of *penghulu* has already gone, he still exists as he lives. Besides, *Osong Kapali* is also made from *sisamping* cloth, *tungkek*, shawl, and belt. Therefore, we can notice that *penghulu* has the greatness when is dead (Irfan Zainora, 2021).

*Penghulu* costum or *datuak* costum set on *Osong Kapali* symbolizes that even though *datuak* is dead, the contribution and the kindness along his life remains. The use of money or coins spread backward from the accompaniment of *datuak* corpse symbolizes his generosity.

### Values behind *Osong Kapali* Tradition

The practise of *Osong Kapali* is generally similar to funeral ceremony at the other region and it prioritizes the requirement of funeral according to Islam, such as bathing, shrouding, praying, burrying. However, in *Osong Kapali*, there are several processions added to the process, such as *baretong* (discussion), *Osong Kapali* (the making of coffin to bring *datuak* corpse), *marocak* (step into *Osong Kapali* (coffin) to bring *datuak* corpse), *manyerakkan pith* (spreading money to the mourner of *datuak* remains from the funeral house to the grave), *pidato alam* (speech related to apology and others) (Pratama, 2015).

In the procession of *Osong Kapali* ceremony, there are indirect theological values, such that in the process of organizing the body of the dead *datuak*, including sharia values. The educational value is found in the meaning of black umbrella attribute used in the process of delivering the body of a dead *datuak*. And social value is seen in the *marocak* process, where *anak pisang* riding an *Osong Kapali* throws money. It symbolizes the generosity of the dead *datuak*.

## Conclusion

The tradition of *Osong Kapali* is well-preserved to honor the *datuak* who passes away. Therefore, they honor him in both the time he is appointed to be *datuak* and the time he passes away. It starts from *baretung*, *mangkaji adaik*, tearing shroud, *Osong Kapali*, setting the custom fabric, *marocak*, and welcoming speech. Every step contains some values, such as sharia value in the organization of the corpse, education value in the black umbrella attribute which refers to the greatness and majesty of *datuak*, and social value behind the *marocak* process (throwing money) which means generosity. *Osong Kapali* integrates the local custom ritual and Islamic-based funeral. It is a local custom based on Islam, and Islam based on the Quran.

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