

Tradition of Using *Susunan* to Carry Corpses to Cemetery on The Custom of Death in Nagari Bukit Tandang, Bukit Sundi District Solok Regency

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ABSTRACT

This research is entitled "The Tradition of Using *Susunan* for *Maanta Mayit Ka Pabururan* in Death Customs in Nagari Bukit Tandang, Bukit Sundi District, Solok Regency". The purpose of this study is to describe the process of implementing *susunan* in the death custom in Nagari Bukit Tandang and reveal the meaning contained in the use of *susunan* to *maanta moringa ka pabururan*. The theory used in this study is the Interpretive Theory of Symbols from Clifford Geertz. The methods used in this study were carried out by observation, interview and documentation methods. The data analysis technique in this study uses steps including data reduction, data presentation and conclusion drawn. The results of this study show that *susunan* is a traditional coffin made of bamboo and covered with a long cloth. The main materials for making *susunan* are *batuang* (bamboo), *tagut* (small bamboo), *palapah anau* (pepelah palm), wood and rope. The amount of money used to carry funeral remains varies depending on the social status of the body in the community. The meaning contained in the tradition of using *susunan* for *maanta mayit ka pabururan* in the death custom in Nagari Bukit Tandang in general is the meaning of togetherness and mutual cooperation with the existence of *this susungan* the community can show high concern and solidarity in the Nagari Bukit Tandang community, in addition to the meaning of mutual cooperation there is also a meaning that there is social stratification in the Nagari Tandang community, This can be seen from the difference in the shape of *the body* used to transport the body to the cemetery depending on the social status of the body in the community.

Keywords: *Tradition, Arrangement, Meaning, Interpretive*

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INTRODUCTION

Tradition is an individual and social belief, thought, understanding, attitude, habit, method, method or practice that has been going on for a long time in society and is inherited from generation to generation by ancestors from generation to generation (Sumanto Al Qutuby et al, 2019: 9). Tradition is the inheritance of norms, rules, and habits. Tradition can also be said to be a habit that goes down in a society, with its broad nature, tradition can cover all complexities of life, understood as a habit of a society that has a historical foothold in the past in the field of customs, language, social order of beliefs and so on, as well as the

process of handing over or passing it on to the next generation (Muhammad Anwar Rub'i, et al, 2024).

Tradition plays an important role in society, tradition functions as a means to strengthen social ties in society. Tradition also reflects the views held by a group of people towards a thing, for example in the context of customs and culture such as wedding traditions, death ceremonies, religious ceremonies, life rituals, all of which have a deep meaning and are carried out from generation to generation in a community group. Tradition includes not only customs but also cultural values that bind and direct the actions of the community.

Minangkabau is an area in West Sumatra Province that has many cultures and traditions that are still preserved today. Culture is all the work of human works, tastes and creations, namely the entire complex order of ways of life, including knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, customary laws and all other abilities and habits acquired by humans as a member of society (Syakhrani, 2022). The Minangkabau people still highly uphold the cultural values that exist in each tradition and culture that they have, each region has its own characteristics of traditions and culture as well as the tradition of its death ceremony. The process of death ceremonies in Minangkabau is a condition for life values both ritually and spiritually that are still maintained today, one of which is the death custom that exists in Nagari Bukit Tandang, Bukit Sundi district, Solok Regency. Death customs are a series of processes carried out by a community group to commemorate, honor and deliver someone who has passed away to the next realm. Death ceremonies reflect cultural values, beliefs, and social systems in a community group. This opinion is strengthened by Jamrud, who explains that the traditional death ceremony is a form of respect for people who have died, where in its implementation there are several series of activities carried out or prepared by the family or local community, such as bathing, fading, praying, and burying (Jamrud, 2022).

The people of Nagari Bukit Tandang still uphold the traditional values inherited by their ancestors for generations, one of the traditions that is still maintained by the people of Nagari Bukit Tandang until now is the traditional tradition of death. When one of the residents of Nagari Bukit Tandang dies, the news will spread quickly to the entire community of Nagari Bukit Tandang, after receiving the sad news, the people of Nagari Bukit Tandang will immediately go to the funeral home to provide assistance to the families left behind, the arrival of this community is not only to provide assistance but also reflects the social closeness between the residents of Nagari Bukit Tandang.

The death customs in Nagari Bukit Tandang have their own uniqueness compared to the death customs in other areas where the people of Nagari Bukit Tandang still use traditional faucets called *susunan*. *Susunan*, is a corpse's coffin used to transport corpses when they want to go to the cemetery (Mulyadi, 2023). The people of Nagari Bukit Tandang prefer to use traditional coffins and maintain their traditions rather than using modern coffins, which may be more practical and easier for the community. *The susungan* is used to lift the body and deliver it to the grave, the *susunan* used is also different for each person who dies, the difference can be seen from the shape and size of *the susungan* used to deliver the funeral body depending on the status of the body in the Nagari Bukit Tandang

community.

METHOD

Research methods are basically a scientific way to obtain data with specific purposes and uses (Sugiyono, 2008: 2). The qualitative research method is a research method based on the philosophy of post positivism, used to research on the condition of natural objects where the researcher is the key instrument, data collection techniques are carried out in triangulation (combined), data analysis is inductive/qualitative and qualitative research results emphasize more on meaning than generalization (Sugiyono, 2008: 9). This research uses a qualitative method, the researcher goes directly to the field to obtain in-depth data on the tradition of using *susunan* to kill the deceased to the cemetery in the death custom in Nagari Bukit Tandang. In this study, it was carried out by observation, interview and documentation methods. The data analysis technique in this study uses steps including data reduction, data presentation and conclusion drawn.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION RESEARCH RESULTS

A. The process of implementing *susunan* on the death custom in Nagari Bukit Tandang

The implementation of *the susungan* tradition goes through several stages involving both the family of the deceased and the surrounding community. The process starts from the preparation stage until *the burial* can be used to carry the funeral body. The process of organizing *the funeral for the funeral home* in the death custom in Nagari Bukit Tandang will be explained as follows, such as, preparation, making arrangements.

B. Forms of use of breastfeeding

The difference in the shape and completeness *of this arrangement* is a reflection of the last respect given by the community to the deceased in accordance with his social position in the traditional structure and social life of the community. Therefore, the shape of the *susunan* used is not uniform, but is adjusted to its social status in society.

C. Meaning of the use of a snare

There are several meanings related to the use of *susunan* in the Nagari Bukit Tandang community, including the meaning of togetherness and social stratification. This meaning can be seen from the process of making and using *the arrangement*

DISCUSSION

A. The process of implementing *susunan* on the death custom in Nagari Bukit Tandang

In the traditional burial tradition of the Nagari Bukit Tandang people, the use of *susunan* as a tool for *maanta corpses* (transporting the body) to the burial place is an important part of the death procession. This tradition not only reflects the last respect for the body, but also depicts the values of mutual cooperation, social solidarity, and adherence to the customs that have been passed down from generation to

generation.

The implementation of *the susungan* tradition goes through several stages involving both the family of the deceased and the surrounding community. The process starts from the preparation stage until *the burial* can be used to carry the funeral body. The process of organizing *the funeral for the funeral of the deceased* in the death custom in Nagari Bukit Tandang will be explained by the author as follows:

a. Preparation

The making of *the stack* begins with the process of collecting the necessary materials. When a member of the tribe dies, *the mamak* in the tribe will give directions to *his relatives to immediately find and prepare various needs for making arrangements*. The main materials needed include *batuang* (bamboo), *tagut* (small and thin bamboo), *palapah anau* (palm fronds), wood, boards, and rope. Some of these materials are generally obtained from the surrounding nature, especially from forests in the Nagari Bukit Tandang area. After all the main ingredients are gathered, the family will continue the preparation by providing the arrangement cover fabric. The cloth used consists of seven pieces of long cloth (*jarik*) one piece of sarongcloth and oversized clothes worn by *the ampek jinih* if the deceased is an *ampek jinih* in the tribe, these fabrics will be used to cover the surface of the *arrangement*, and oversized clothes of *ampek jinih* will be installed at the top of the *Susunan* as a form of respect for the deceased in the traditional tradition of death of the Nagari Bukit Tandang community.

Based on the results of the interview with Syafridon, it can be explained that the first step taken in the process of organizing *the susungan* is that the *tribal mamak* of the deceased person will give the task to *his or her mother to find and prepare materials for the manufacture of susungan* and if all the materials have been collected then the community, which is generally male, will work together to make *arrangement*. *so everyone already has their own duties, whether it's mamak, kamanakan* or family who are grieving, this opinion is also supported by an interview with Mr. Syafridon, 2025).

b. Creation of a spark

In the process of making *the susun*, the first step is to cut *the stone* (bamboo) according to the length of the person who died, then after the bamboo is cut, the bamboo will be perforated to insert the wood that has been prepared as *a base for the arrangement until it is shaped like a ladder, then the pillars* (*tonggak*) and the legs of the arrangement are attached.



Figure 4.2 The process of cutting the *bamboos* (Riski Amalia, June 28, 2025)

From the picture above, it can be explained that the first step taken by the community is to cut *the batuang* (bamboo) that has been inserted beforehand. The bamboo is cut according to the size of the body that will be delivered to the cemetery, this cutting is carried out by several people who are men in cooperation, and the cutting is done manually using tools such as machetes and saws.



Figure 4.3 carving holes in bamboo arrays (Documentation: Riski Amalia Lubis, June 28, 2025)

From the documentation above, it can be seen that several people are carving bamboo, carving is done using axes and machetes, the carved bamboo is given holes of a certain size that function as a foundation for the main parts of the *ridge*, namely *the janjang* (arrangement base), the legs of the arrangement, and the pillars of the ridge (tonggak).



Figure 4.4 The process of making a *janjang* (arrangement mat) (Documentation: Riski Amalia Lubis, July 28, 2025).

From the documentation above, it can be seen that several men are making the arrangement base, the bamboo that has been cut and hollowed out will be inserted with wood in the holes until it forms a *janjang* (ladder) and this *janjang* will be the base of *the arrangement*.

The initial step in making *the body* begins with the process of measuring the body, this measurement aims to adjust the length of the bamboo that will be used as the basic framework in making *the arrangement*, the length of the body is the main reference in determining the size of *the body* so that the size produced is really in accordance with the size of the body and is suitable for carrying the body to the cemetery (Waldi, 2025).



Figure 4.5 The process of installing *palapah anau* (palm fronds)(Documentation of Riski Amalia Lubis, June 28, 2025).

From the documentation above, it can be seen that the community is installing *palapah anau* (palm fronds) which is one of the main materials in making *arrangements*, this *palapah anau* is installed lengthwise following the length of *the seam* that has been made previously, before installing *the palapah anau* is cut first according to needs, adjusting the length and width of *the seam*, after that *the palapah*

anau is plugged in and tied to the *stacking poles*. The function of *this palapah anau* is to support the fabric covering *the arrangement*.



Figure 4.6 Wood planting for gutter support
(Documentation: Iman Azhar Tanjung 14 October 2024)

From the photo above, it can be explained that a resident is inserting wood which will later be useful for the gutter support which will be the top of *the arrangement*. After finishing installing *the palapah anau*, then a gutter that has been cut into pieces will be installed at the top of *the arrangement*. *The gutter* serves as a long cloth placement which will later be used as a cover for *the arrangement*.



Figure 4.5 The process of installing *palapah anau* (palm fronds)(Documentation of Riski Amalia Lubis, June 28, 2025).

From the documentation above, it can be seen that the community is installing *palapah anau* (palm fronds) which is one of the main materials in making *arrangements*, this *palapah anau* is installed lengthwise following the length of *the seam* that has been made previously, before installing *the palapah anau* is cut first according to needs, adjusting the length and width of *the seam*, after that *the palapah*

anau is plugged in and tied to the *stacking poles*. The function of *this palapah anau* is to support the fabric covering *the arrangement*.



Figure 4.7 Installation of gutters on the arrangement (Documentation; Iman Azhar Tanjung 14 October 2024)

From the documentation above, it can be explained that after the installation of wood in the middle of the next *tribute*, the community will attach a *gutter* to the wood, the *gutter* that is attached is a *gutter* that has been cut into several parts and a *gutter* It will later be woven to form a *gonjong* which will later be used as a support for the long cloth or the covering cloth *of the arrangement*.

After the gutter is installed, the last process is the installation of the cloth for the *cover of the arrangement*, the *cover cloth* consists of seven long pieces of cloth and one piece of sarongcloth where all the cloth will later be wrapped around all parts of *the curtain* until the *curtain* is properly closed and if the deceased is a *poor person* eating at the top *his arrangement will be worn with a great shirt during his life*.



Figure 4.8 The process of installing the arrangement cover fabric (Documentation of Riski Amalia Lubis, June 28, 2025)

From the documentation above, it can be seen that several people installed the arrangement cover fabric, the fabric used was a long cloth of seven pieces and a sarong. The fabrics were attached to the pillars and roof of the arrangement that had been woven using gutters, the entire fabric would cover the entire part of the arrangement.

From the results of Mr. Waldi's interview, after the gutter is installed, the community will then pair a long cloth and a sarong, which has been prepared by the family as a cover for the arrangement. and a person who has a role to enforce the customs of the Nagari salingka. Not all traditional enforcers will be paired with their oversized clothes at the top of the susunngan like bundo kanduang even though bundo kanduang is one of the traditional enforcers of salingka Nagari but if he dies then his oversized clothes are not paired, the only thing that is paired is the male enforcer of the salingka Nagari custom, namely the four jinih. So what is worn in oversized clothes at the top of the susunngan is only the traditional enforcer of the bajinih Nagari (ampek jinih) who is male-only, while for bundo kanduang there are no oversized clothes that are paired at the top of the arrangement even though the bundo kanduang also has the same role as the enforcer of the salingka custom Stuart (2025).

After all the frames are finished and the cover fabric has been thoroughly fitted, then the covers are ready to be used. The body was then put into a coffin and carried together by the family and the community to the burial location. After the funeral process is completed, the burial is not directly taken home but placed on the pusaro (grave), this is done to protect the grave from wild animals and as a marker that it is a new grave.

Table 4.1 Stub Making Process

| Yes | Susunan Making Process | Unmarried teens and adults | Married adults | Four-Piece |
|-----|---|----------------------------|----------------|------------|
| 1. | Cutting <i>of stones</i> (bamboo) according to the size of the body | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| 2. | Sculpture of holes in the stone (bamboo) <i>of the</i> | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| 3. | Wood Planting for <i>Janjang</i> (Arrangement Base) | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| 4. | Foot plugs and stumps | – | ✓ | ✓ |
| 5. | Installation of <i>the anorexia palapah</i> | – | ✓ | ✓ |
| 6. | Chamfer installation | – | ✓ | ✓ |
| 7. | Installation of the cover fabric | – | ✓ | ✓ |
| 8 | Installation of oversized shirts | – | – | ✓ |

B. Forms of use of breastfeeding

Death rituals affirm that the organization of the death procession in the life of individuals or groups in society is closely related to the social status of the deceased while in the world of life, the difference in the social status of a person or group is very visible at the time of death (Lutfi, 2015). The difference in the shape and completeness *of this arrangement* is a reflection of the last respect given by the community to the deceased in accordance with his social position in the traditional structure and social life of the community. Therefore, the shape of the *susunan* used is not uniform, but is adjusted to its social status in society. The forms of the use *of susungan* are as follows:

1. Unmarried teenagers and adults

For bodies that are still teenagers and have not yet entered the marriage stage in Nagari Bukit Tandang, the form of *the susungan* used in the procession of delivery to the cemetery is different from the body of a married person. The bodies of teenagers or unmarried adults are only carried using the bottom of the *arrangement*, namely the *bedding* or what is called the *janjang part*. No poles, roofs, or complete covering cloth are used as in intact *coverings*.

The use of this form of *surrogacy* is based on customary provisions that distinguish the treatment of the corpse based on the stages of social life that the corpse has or has not gone through during its life. The burial process is carried out by placing the body on a *janjang* or arrangement mat, then the body is covered and tied with a cloth so that the body does not fall during the journey to the cemetery, usually the burial is carried out by the family and the community alternately until they arrive at the burial place.

2. Married adults

If the deceased is a married person, then the process of delivering the funeral body in Nagari Bukit Tandang is carried out using a complete *retinue*. *This intact susunggan* consists of *janjang* (arranging base), *arranging legs*, *tunggak* (arranging poles), and *atok* (arranging roof). *The casket* used has been adjusted to the size of the body to be carried.

3. Four Tribes (Tribes)

If the body is an ampek jinih or traditional leader in a tribe, then the procession of delivering the body to the cemetery is carried out using a complete arrangement as with *the* arrangement used for married villagers, *the arrangement* used has an intact part starting from *the janjang* (arrangement mat, legs, *pillars* (the arrangement pole), *atok* (roof arrangement) and the covering cloth of *the arrangement* but there is a distinction at the top of the arrangement, namely the addition of oversized clothes belonging to the corpse that are attached to the part or top of the arrangement. Usually, these clothes are complete traditional clothes that the deceased has worn during his life in carrying out traditional roles. Thus, the *susngan* used not only looks bigger and taller, but also more striking because of the leadership symbols attached to the traditional figure.

C. Meaning of the use of a snare

Meaning has a role as a tool to convey the meaning of the experience of the soul, mind and what a person feels (Hanifah, 2023). The meaning contained in the tradition *The use of susunggan to maanta corpse ka pabururan* in the custom of death in Nagari Bukit Tandang culturally. There are several meanings related to *the use of susunggan* in the community of Nagari Bukit Tandang, including:

1. The Meaning of Togetherness

In general, the meaning of the use of *susunggan* for *maanta corpse ka pabururan* in the death custom in Nagari Bukit Tandang is as a form of community respect for someone who has passed away, besides that *susunggan* also reflects the values of togetherness and mutual cooperation between families, niniak mamak, and the people of Nagari Bukit Tandang which are the core of community life.

When one of the residents of Nagari Bukik Tandang dies, the local community will immediately show solidarity and social concern by coming to the funeral home. Their arrival is not only to offer condolences, but also to help the bereaved family in preparing for all the needs of the funeral procession. The presence of this community is part of a habit that has been firmly rooted in Nagari's social life, where every death is not only a matter of the nuclear family, but also a shared responsibility in the traditional and community environment. Men will generally work together to take care of technical matters such as preparing *the burial* that will be used to transport the body to the cemetery. They will work together to cut bamboo, arrange the frame of *the arrangement*, install the covering cloth and take the body to the cemetery according to customary provisions. Meanwhile, the women will come with various staple food

ingredients, these ingredients will then be cooked together for consumption needs during the series of death ceremonies, both for families, mourners, and residents who help. This entire process shows the active involvement of all elements of society in providing support to bereaved families.

It was explained that *this susungan* is a forum for the people in Nagari Bukit Tandang to work together and help each other in the community, so in addition to the community's obligation to take care of the body, it is also a place for the community to gather and teach the younger generation about social care if it is *a*. This is eliminated and replaced with a modern coffin, then the value of mutual cooperation in society will also be lost and concern between fellow communities will also be reduced, so that is the reason why *this backbone* is still maintained until now (Waldi, 2025).

2. Social Stratification

Apart from the meaning of mutual cooperation and social values contained in *the Susungan* there is also a meaning contained in the form of the use of *the Susungan*, in the implementation of *the Susungan* tradition as part of the procession of delivering the body in Nagari Bukit Tandang there are differences in the form and use of *Susungan* which is based on the social status and age of the body in society. This difference reflects the social stratification and values that are still strong in the lives of local communities. *The casket* used to deliver the body is not made the same for each individual but is adjusted to the social position, age and marital status of the corpse, the difference can be seen from the following explanation:

3. Susungan used by adolescents and unmarried adults

For bodies that are teenagers and have not yet entered the marriage stage, the procession of delivery to the cemetery in Nagari Bukit Tandang is not carried out using *the entire body* as used by adult and married bodies, in this case the body is only carried using the bottom of the *body*, namely the *janjang* or the base of *the* arrangement. The body will

be covered with a long cloth and then tied to the *janjang* so that the body does not fall when carried to the cemetery.



Figure 4.9 *Breastfeeding* used for adolescents and unmarried adults
(Documentation: Rafnis, November 5, 2024)

From the photo above, you can see the shape *of the body* used by the body of a teenager or an unmarried adult, the *body* used to carry the funeral body only uses the *janjang* (arrangement mat). The body is placed on a bedstead then covered using a long cloth and tied to *the bed*, this is so that the body does not fall when it is taken to the cemetery.

Syahrul, explained that in Nagari Bukit Tandang, for the bodies of teenagers and unmarried, the *susunan* used to deliver the body to the cemetery is only part of the *janjang susungan* (bedspread). There are no pillars, roofs or tops like those used for the bodies of married adults (Syahrul, 2025)

4. Married adults

If the deceased is a married person, then the body will be carried to the cemetery using a full *burial*. *This arrangement* is covered with seven long pieces of cloth (*finger cloth*) and one piece of sarong.



Figure 4.10 Breastfeeding used for adult and married corpses (Documentation: Riski Amalia, June 28, 2025)

The documentation above is a photo of the body used to transport the bodies of adults and married people to the cemetery, the form of the body used for married people is different from the body of an unmarried person. For married people, the susun used is a complete susunan that has legs, poles, roof and a fabric covering the susun.

For the body of a married adult, use a complete send, this is because he has entered the custom and already has a customary responsibility, Ampek jinih (traditional figure in the tribe) (SyafriDon, 2025).

If the body is an *ampek jinih* or a traditional figure in a tribe, then the delivery procession will be carried out using a complete arrangement like a married adult. However, the deceased's oversized clothes will be paired at the top of the *arrangement*.



Figure 4.11 A sledgehammer used for the corpse of a scorpion. Documentation: Monograph of Nagari Bukit Tandang, 2020).

The picture above is a form of sustenance that is usually used to deliver the body for the four jinih. On the arrangement used, it can be seen at the top of the arrangement that he wore oversized clothes that he wore during his life.

From the interview of Mr. Syafridon, it can be concluded that the susungan used on the body which is a jinih ampek remains the same as the susungan used by married adults, but there is a little special in this susungan where the deceased's oversized clothes during his life are attached to the top of the arrangement, this indicates that the deceased was a traditional enforcer in the nagari. This oversized dress not only serves as a visual form or marker that the deceased was an ampek jinih but it also contains a very deep meaning of the installation of the shirt symbolizes the high respect for the community for the deceased as someone who has carried out the traditional mandate with full responsibility (Syafridon, 2025).

In contrast to women who also hold traditional roles, Minangkabau women play the role of: (a) educators, which means a lot to the Minangkabau people; "*Clean up the big house*" symbolizes women as pillars of the gadang house who are obliged to pay attention to the education, morals, and ethics of their children in order to become useful and responsible people for their families, tribes and tribes and their nation, otherwise this gadang house will collapse; (b) as a manager of household finances, where money is in his hands; "Amban Puro" the ruler who holds the keys to the estate; (c) a source of wisdom, as a place to ask questions, because of his authority, the education he has; (d) Moral Ethics Guide. Minangkabau women play an important role as cultural guardians, heirs of wealth, and determinants of lineage (Idris, 2023) In a matrilineal social system, they have strong authority but formal customary decision-

making is still carried out by men. *São Paulo* Because structurally, women are not included in the *Four-Dimensional*.

This is in accordance with Geertz's opinion, According to Geertz in the translation of his book entitled *Cultural Interpretation*, Culture is a complex thing, to find out the meaning of the culture the researcher must conduct an in-depth study that can only be studied using symbols. Mead said that symbols are something that cannot be separated from the actual situation and are used to see the meaning in it. Some of these symbols can be in the form of words, gestures, paintings, sounds and equipment used (Geertz: 1992:56).

CONCLUSION

The tradition of using *susunan* to *bury corpses in the* death custom in Nagari Bukit Tandang is a tradition that is still maintained and preserved to this day. *Susunan* is a traditional coffin made of *batuang* (bamboo), *talang* (small bamboo), *palapah anau* (palm fronds), wood, and rope which is then covered using a long cloth and sarong, most of the materials for making this *susunan* are obtained from the nature around Nagari Bukit Tandang. *The investigation* was made immediately after the news that one of the residents of Nagari Bukit Tandang had died. The process of organizing this *susunan* starts from *mamak* giving tasks to *his parents* to find the materials needed for making *susunan* then after the materials are collected, the community will work together to make *susunan* until it is finished. *The burial* that has been used to transport the body to the cemetery will usually be left for 3 or 4 days until the stone is placed on the grave, this is done as a protection so that the grave is not disturbed by wild animals and also as a sign that it is a new grave.

In general, the tradition of using *susunan* to *bury the deceased* in Nagari Bukit Tandang reflects the social and cultural values that are still strongly maintained by the community. This tradition illustrates the spirit of mutual cooperation of the people of Nagari Bukit Tandang, in addition to mutual cooperation this tradition also shows solidarity and concern of the community for grieving families. Thus, *susunan* is not only a physical means to transport the body to the cemetery, but also a symbol of strong social ties, the value of empathy for cultural heritage that upholds togetherness and mutual help between residents.

In addition to representing the spirit of mutual cooperation and social values, the tradition of using *susunan* in the procession of delivering the body in Nagari Bukik Tandang is also full of meaning that is reflected through the form and variety of its use. This tradition not only serves as a means of transportation for the body to the funeral, but also as a medium to communicate the social position, age, and marital status of the deceased or deceased in the Nagari Bukit Tandang community.

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