

## Fundraising Management in Death Rituals in Indonesian Society<sup>1)</sup>

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### ABSTRACT

*This paper presents an analysis of death rituals in West Sumatra, Indonesia. The death rituals become social events as a family and society members help each other to organize a funeral, hold Koran recital, and manage fundraising for the events. In addition, such rituals are also part of religious and cultural teaching that should be conducted by its followers. The rituals change from time to time in terms of fundraising management and holding the ceremonies. This paper, therefore, observes the changes of the death rituals from being sacred to profane involving social parties in the events and views the events as socially formed rituals. There are also economic practices in celebrating the rituals, where people have to gather funds and manage manpower in the event.*

Keywords: Death ritual, West Sumatra, Indonesia, Management, Fundraising

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## I. Introduction

Indonesia consists of hundreds of ethnic groups.<sup>2)</sup> Each Indonesian society has different ways of celebrating and respecting their important events and people. An important ritual within society is performing last tribute to those who passed away. Each society has its own way of performing rituals for corpses such as special rituals based on culture or religion. It is needed to give the last honor to corpses as fellow human. Although in some societies funeral is followed by other rituals even for several years later. The death rituals sometimes need more money and time. In Indonesia, these complex rituals can be found in Tana Toraja (Sulawesi)<sup>3)</sup> or in Bali<sup>4)</sup>. Death rituals in these places are famous for its uniqueness.

The death ritual is no less important than other life circle rituals such as turun mandi (a ritual celebrating a baby who is just born), circumcisions, weddings, or other social rituals.<sup>5)</sup> Some extraordinary people hold the rituals in very attractive manners for their family members. On the other hand, common people put it in a simple way. Also, the rituals are bound to particularity concerning one's institution, race, or religion.<sup>6)</sup> Death

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2) The idea of developing this theme was influenced by the discussion with Ben Arps (Leiden University) on the subject of performance studies in Southeast Asia. I would like to thank to him for his knowledge sharing on this theme. The invaluable comments and suggestions of two anonymous reviewers of this journal have also helped me to sharpen and develop this paper. I would also like to acknowledge the help of Donny Syofyan for editing my English of this paper. However, I bear responsibility for any mistake or misinterpretation throughout this paper.

3) For death ritual and ceremonies in Toraja, see for example Hetty Nooy-Palm and Reimar Schefold(1986), "Colour and Anti-colour in the Death Ritual in Tana Toraja," *Archipel*, 32, 39-49.

4) For death rituals in Bali, see Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin and I Wayan Ardika(2008), *Burials, Texts and Rituals Ethnoarchaeological Investigations in North Bali*, Indonesia, 1, Göttinger Beiträge zur Ethnologie Universitätsverlag Göttingen.

5) See for example an interesting ethnographic article on the daily and society ceremonies in Java by Jan Newberry(2007), "Rituals of Rule in the Administered Community: Javanese Slametan Reconsidered," *Modern Asian Studies*, 41(6), 1295- 1329. On a further comparison of how important of death ritual within society in other parts of the world, see for example Gnetian Vyshksa and Bardhyl Cipi's(2010), "Death Rituals in Albania an Anthropological Review," *Antrocom Online Journal of Anthropology*, 6(2), 235-246.

6) For this discussion, see for instance Sudarmoko(2005), "Membaca Kematian dalam Sastra",

rituals are highly important and these can have stages continuing for years to assist the dead in the journey through the afterworld.<sup>7)</sup> The important of the death rituals is found in most society, especially in term of traditional believe and system. Apart from the focus of this paper in West Sumatran society, in Aboriginal society, the death rituals “are extremely important for indigenous people and take precedence over all other activities”. In holding the rituals, correct ceremonies should be held with the present of correct people and other steps of the ceremonies (Maddock and Rayner 2003).

This paper is analyzing the death rituals in society focusing on yasinan<sup>8)</sup> and pasambahan<sup>9)</sup> as cultural events and referring it them original sources, which is Islamic teaching. The theme of this paper is based on my own experiences in my village. I used to attending the death rituals held by family whose their family members died. From these events, I observed some interesting points taking place in the death rituals. The place of research is West Pasaman, a district in West Sumatra. In this area, there are a number of people from outside Sumatra, mostly coming from Java through national transmigration program. They reside in this area since 1950s. For many cases, people joining transmigration program live their life as their previous circumstances in their villages. In this condition, they are practicing their habits and rituals, such as death rituals, wedding ceremonies, performance arts, and social rules. In this paper, analysis and description of death rituals is based on this observation, especially seen from Koran recital event held after few days of the funeral. In addition, the analysis exerts emphasis on the Minangkabau and West Sumatrans’ ways with a view to giving another brief picture of the death rituals. This also includes the observation of recent and contemporary lifestyles in Padang city, especially looking at how people in more modern condition organizing the ritual in contemporary ways.

There are also some remarks as to this event and how it is seen from socially constructed culture. Yasinan is traditionally performed in villages or places inhabited by

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*Kompas*, 13(March).

7) <http://philtar.ucsm.ac.uk/encyclopedia/indon/geness.html>.

8) Reciting a chapter of Koran entitled Yasin.

9) Pasambahan is a traditional ceremony in West Sumatra where family and social leaders giving speech at the funeral.

people with traditional school(mazhab) of their Islamic teaching such as Nahdhatul Ulama(NU) or Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah(PERTI).<sup>10)</sup> The pasambahan is traditionally held in Minangkabau region as part of its ceremonies. These rituals can be found in West Sumatra, especially in peripheral villages. This paper makes the region the point of departure for elaborating the problem. For religious teaching reason, some other Islamic groups do not implement and forbid their followers from joining these rituals and ceremonies.

## II. Death Rituals in Society: From Sacred to Profane

While there is bad news within a family or village on the death of one of its members, people should prepare for procession to deal with the dead body. They need to gather their members or relatives to take any appropriate steps. The prepared rituals involve many people with some being publicly held. In Minangkabau's proverb, it is stated that the good news (such as wedding) is announced and the bad news (such as death) is scattered.<sup>11)</sup>

Usually, the news announcement is spread through loudspeaker of mosques. The person in charge of the announcement is called garin; the keeper of the mosque. In the past, this announcement used traditional instrument such as cymbal or wooden drum with specific sounds and rhythm. Today marked by highly developed technology era, news spreading methods cover loudspeaker, hand phone, radio, telephone, and others. It is an obligation that people who hear the bad news that one of their society members passed away should immediately come to location of the family of the dead.

The rituals then occur with performing arts. For example, for most Islamic societies in Indonesia, especially among traditional Islamic followers in villages, we can find yasinan<sup>12)</sup>

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10) These two Islamic organizations are regarded as traditional, because it accommodate local values and approach for their programs and followers.

11) Kaba baiak bahimbauan kaba buruak baambauan (Fairul Zabadi(2010), "Mengungkap Identitas Keindonesiaan/Kemelayuan Melalui Peribahasa: Makna, Kekuasaan, dan Globalisasi" 8-16).

12) See for example M. Quraish Shihab(1997), *Hidangan Ilahi Ayat-ayat Tahlil*, Jakarta: Lentera Hati.

(yasin is one 'chapter' in Koran). Yasinan literally means reading and reciting the surah together for certain reason such as this death ritual held every night for 7 consecutive days since the funeral. That is done during the waiting time preparing for the funeral as well.

The common procedures of holding this ceremony are as follows. One or two days before the ceremony, a person, usually a young boy, representing the host of the ceremony, comes to each house and ask people to attend the planned ceremony. The visit of the boy usually takes place in the afternoon, when people have finished their works and stayed at homes. The boy prepares a short introduction based on the tradition's speech as inviting others. He talks that he represents the host of the ceremony and informs the location and time of the ceremony. A different way to invite is through announcement in mosque after people are finished praying in mosque.

There is a modin or ulama who lead the ceremony on behalf of the family (ahlul bait) of the dead body. It is mostly held in the evening (after maghrib prayer and sometimes after Isya prayer, at around 20.00 pm) and attended by adult men, head of households, and other neighbors and relatives of the family. Likewise, the family is responsible for providing drink, snacks and meals. They are to be served once the yasinan is over or brought by audiences to their home.

It is social responsibility that a person, usually older males like husband or the oldest son, attends the ceremony of yasin recital. If one does not attend the ceremony for any reason, he is supposed to let others know. Attending the ceremony will greatly increase one's credibility in the eyes of people. They would not come to his house, for instance, if he had the same ceremony for his family, or tell his behavior to other fellows.

The yasinan is a recitation of surah yaasiin, a chapter from Koran. It is also opened by several verses of the Koran in the beginning of the ritual. The first is the recitation of the surat al Fatihah (the opening chapter in Koran), followed by shalawat (blessing) upon the Prophet Muhammad, and continued by other zikr (words or sentences to remember God). Yasin recitation goes by reading a special pocket book comprising guidelines of the rituals and verses of Koran together with its translation in Bahasa(Indonesian language). In general, the books are available in modin's house, surau or mosque. They are bought as

public property. The modin or/and ulama lead the recitation loudly while others follow the reading at once.

In many cases, modin and other attendants read it by heart because they often recite it. It is a mere repetition. The ritual usually takes one hour or more. Having read the yaasiin, people sit for a while and talk to each other about anything, ranging from daily news in the village to recent televisions or newspapers issues. Some youngsters serve meal for them for joint meals. Prior to going home, especially in the 3rd, 7th, 40th, 100th, 1000th days, each will get parcels of meal packaged in a food container or katidiang (a bowl made from bamboo).<sup>13)</sup> This indicates that the death rituals or ceremonies might be deemed public space for sharing and discussing recent issues among people.

Another death ritual is pidato pasambahan.<sup>14)</sup> This is typically Minangkabaunese's way of paying the last tribute for their fellow human. Pasambahan is an oral literature of Minangkabau. It goes along with every single step of the funeral ceremony. The pasambahan is usually led by penghulus or adat rulers and therefore it is a part of adat (custom) ceremonies. In this pasambahan, the master of ceremony gives opportunity for representative of the family to ask audience's apologies for the late one, requesting that those with claims to be collected report to the family to get payment, and beg off pray for the deceased one. Then, there will be representative of audiences to give speech in response to the family's requests. All are done in Minangkabaunese language.

In addition, the pasambahan ritual starts off any single step of the death rituals. They involve, among others, deciding the time to start the procession, choosing who will bring kafan (shroud), settling on where the dead body will be buried until the time to return to their houses. The death rituals or processions are held with conversation (pasambahan).

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13) Similar to this case, some other societies have also important dates of ceremonies for the dead based on their traditional and cultural values. For a comparison, in Ryukyus' society the important dates are 49th day and 33th years (Baksheev, 2008: 280-287).

14) See the explanation and transcription of pasambahan at death ritual in Syamsuddin Udin et. al.(1989), *Sastra Lisan Minangkabau: Tradisi Pasambahan pada Upacara Kematian*, Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. For more details of the processes of funeral in West Sumatra, see Amir B and Ahmad Yunus, 1985. *Upacara Tradisional (Upacara Kematian) di Daerah Sumatera Barat*, Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Kebudayaan Daerah.

The speech is different from one another due to various backgrounds and social status, ages, and sexes. During this *pasambahan*, there are two group leaders representing guests and hosts. They talk about the guests' proposal and feelings conveyed to the hosts and make agreements (*mufakat*) on these proposals. This *pasambahan* is held in Minangkabau traditional way, which also accommodates Islamic teachings on funeral, and performed in public. In Minangkabau society, Islam is the foundation of its custom, as it also happens for Malay world's identity in general. So in this *pasambahan*, as social performance, Islamic teachings are presented as the basic and guidance for the ceremony.

Both examples, *yasinan* and *pasambahan*, are held during the funeral procession and next regular days on 40th, 100th, and 1000th days. There are also other rituals or processions to commemorate the late one such as erecting *tugu* (tower) in Batak, North Sumatra.<sup>15)</sup> Both examples (*yasinan* and *pasambahan*), however, are basically related to the religious (Islamic) teaching on how people should do with dead body in the circle of family and neighborhood. Islam demands that Muslims hasten the funeral of dead body immediately. The funeral rites are told clearly from the guidance of religious institution and even taught in several occasions, like in Islamic schools and during the preaching in mosques. In most places in Indonesia, there are a number of funeral ceremonies contests, especially for children, in order to teach them on how do funeral rites in line with Islamic teaching.

During the procession there are fundamental steps to be fulfilled by people such as washing (*memandikan*), shrouding (*mengkafani*), performing funeral prayer (*menshalati*), and burying (*menguburkan*). In fact, transforming the religious into traditional rituals means adding accessorized or ornamented values to the rites. For example, during the washing process, people usually prepare various and flowers to make the dead body fragrant. The same thing is applied to the funeral with people putting flowers, perfume, and natural water on the gravesite. Such traditional or cultural ceremonies are not obviously mentioned in the Islamic teachings.

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15) See the explanation of Anthony Reid in his article, "Island of the Dead. Why do Bataks Erect Tugu?" in Chambert Loir and Anthony Reid(2002), *The Potent Dead*. Honolulu: Allen & Unwin and University of Hawai'i Press, 91.

The way people interpret the religious teaching combined with culture and tradition is an interesting phenomenon. Internalization and self-identification with outside sources in an attempt to make it self-ownership cannot be distracted from the need of cultural identity. Even important rituals such as the death rituals eventually turn out to be performed rituals with strong social interests.

From the mentioned examples, we may trace the shifting ceremonies from being sacred to profane. The religious teaching mainly putting a strong foundation to the procession gets mixed with other sources. People modify it with the intention of actualizing the teaching and render the guidance more vivid. It is not only applying a religious order but also social one. For people in Minangkabau, applying social (adat) values means applying religious order at once.<sup>16)</sup> Thus the religious teaching, which is basically sacred, meets with and brought by the culture followed by people into profane area.

Despite the rite is still performed in sacred (religious) area, putting cultural elements on the religious rite or transforming it into traditional ritual has shifted the procession from being sacred into profane, at least semi profane. It really belongs to society. People are inherent in the newly transformed rite.

### **III. The management of fundraising**

People mostly cannot afford when it comes to holding death ritual. Some preparations and stages of the ritual need a lot of money. The have persons face no problem, simply allocating budget for the necessary cost.<sup>17)</sup> In contrast, the have-no definitely encounter financial problems since the person-in-charge remains the family member with the

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16) The well known and extremely important fundament of Minangkabau is Islam as mentioned in their philosophy “Adat basandi syara’, syara’ basandi kitabullah, syara’ mangato adat mamakai” (custom is based on religion (Islam), religion is based on the Holy Book, religion says the law and custom practices it)

17) For an interesting further discussion on the differences of holding death rituals see McRae(2010). She provides an illustration of death rituals based on the sociological and cultural values, social statues, the role of media in creating images of the rituals and the deads and perception of society toward the deaths of high ranking people in New Zealand.



deceased.

However, the social life system does not differ between the rich and the poor. As a social ritual, contribution from people to the family who held a death ritual is based on the obligation as society members. In this basic understanding, the problem of providing fund or part of requested fund, for the death ritual as a communal responsibility is secured by the social system.

In Minangkabau tradition, family members are entitled to pawn their tribe properties in order to organize and satisfy the needs of the death rituals. This extraordinary right or privilege only applies to very important events such as wedding parties of daughters of the family, relieving disgrace; rebuilding of tribe houses, and the death rituals.<sup>18)</sup> Minangkabau culture provides this sort of right as a social security in its social system. Any particular emergency cases must be immediately solved where people are allowed to use their properties, whereas in fact it is not tolerable in normal situations.

In a more modern way, fundraising is conducted in a different method. People made social associations for various purposes, including for death ritual. In the district of Lubuk Buaya, Koto Tangah, Padang, West Sumatra, each Rukun Warga (administrative unit at the next-to-lowest level in the city)<sup>19)</sup>, people devised kongsi kematian (a social organization for death ceremonies). Each member has to pay certain amount of money monthly to raise and spend major sums for the funeral rite and its related needs. This spending includes purchasing ritual requirements (such as soap, shroud, funeral prayer, and a gift for the family with the deceased as sympathy or condolence), preparing meals for those who engage in the ritual, transportation, and incentive paid for those who prepare the gravesite.

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18) Mas'ood Abidin(2007), "Posisi Bapak di Minangkabau," paper presented at seminar and workshop Balancing Human Rights and Custom Society's Law from Human Rights' Perspective held by National Commission on Human Rights and Faculty of Law, Andalas University, Padang, 12.

19) The Rukun Warga(RW, literally means Harmonious Citizens) usually consists of 7-10 Rukun Tetangga(RT, literally means Harmonious Neighborhoods). RT usually consists of 30 families. Several RWs become Desa or Kelurahan or Nagari (village). In West Sumatra the village is named as Nagari for its specific historical and traditional reason. It is also supported by the decentralization governance in Indonesia that allowed such local system and custom to be practiced locally. The upper level of village is Kecamatan (sub-district) and then Kota or Kabupaten (city or district) that build a province.

The following days, people make a plan to pay the family a visit to pray for the deceased and give them certain amount of money. The visit is also then followed by social association of females (households) and others in a different time. On this occasion, a representative of neighborhood association and others deliver speech expressing their sympathy and to less the burden of the family.

On particular day, neighbors, friends and colleagues, and anyone who know the family would visit the house of the family. This is called takziah, a visit to express condolence. During the visit, guests bring money or rice for the family symbolizing their together with their pray. In addition, the gifts serve to raise fund in order that the family run the ceremony. It is a social responsibility for each member of society to attend the gathering in the family's house with the late one. People seriously heed anyone who are attending and judge people who never or rarely attend the ceremonies.

The management of ceremony is organized by the social agreement. There is a clear job description of the society members during the ceremony. Reason for choosing certain people is based on their skill and ability in the jobs resulting from their experiences in holding the death rituals and social activities. The illustration goes as follow:

Duties	Persons-in-charge
Spreading the news	Garin or mosque's keeper
Preparing for ritual before funeral	Religious leader
Preparing the gravesite	Grave keeper
Preparing food during the ceremony	Females or association of household
Spreading invitation for yasinan	A boy representing the host
Holding the ceremony for yasinan	Religious leader

#### **IV. Implications of Death Rituals in Terms of Fundraising Management**

As mentioned above, death rituals is not only the ritual of personal or family of the dead, but also as part of social business and responsibility. Death rituals, therefore, function as a medium of revitalizing social capital to ensure that people live as a member of a society, let the social system run in its way, establish the rules of social system, and more importantly reconsider the dignity of human life with its humanism values. For non western societies, especially those with strong existence of ethnic and religious groups, death is not seen as a single event, but as a process from the land of the living to that of the dead, followed by rituals of mourning, and rituals of death(O’Gorman 1998). O’Gorman’s article describes the comparison of death rituals in western and non-western societies, shows the importance of death rituals within societies, and the classifications of death based on the reason of death.

The involvement of each part and body in holding death rituals gives a picture of how social life, in this paper focusing on West Sumatran society, provides opportunity for any social members to participate in the event. The opportunity is equal based on their capabilities. The role of women in public sphere as described above, for example, also provides an opportunity to share recent information and issues among them while preparing meals for engaged participants in rituals.<sup>20)</sup> In most cases, treatments for fundraising donation, process of death rituals, gifts and ceremonies after burial are conducted as in the same ways for all members of society. Though some death rituals are conducted in more prestigious and highly celebrated because of the social status of the dead or the family, basic treatments of rituals are held in the same ways as others. This indicates that there is no stratification, prioritizing or subordinating one to another.

In terms of fundraising management in correlation with death rituals, I will provide

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20) In Mani (Greece) death rituals, the roles of women are very significant, both in during the process of burial and the following rituals held within the society (Seremetakis, 1987: 108-110). See also Newberry’s explanation on how women in Java (Indonesia) use their participation in National housewives organization (Support for the Prosperous Family, PKK) as medium of sharing knowledge and information among them (Newberry, 2007: 1295-1300).

some illustration based on the requested needs. Firstly, in most cases, each local government has a secure area as a grave yard for public. People who want to bury a dead of their family member could use this area with charge. This area is managed by a special office. In addition, in traditional rules, each clan has also an area for their own grave yard(pandam pakuburan). Members of a clan can make use this area for their purpose of burying the dead body. A traditional security for basic public facilities once a nagari(village) is about to be built in Minangkabau should fulfill these requirements: suku nan ampek(clans of four), balai(market), labuah(road), tapian(bathing place), sawah(rice field), ladang(field), pandam pakuburan(grave yard), masjid(mosque)(Ramayulis 2010).

Secondly, during funeral family of the dead is usually in a mourning situation. They have less ability to manage the rituals. On this occasion, the involvement of society in helping rituals is valuable support for the event. The support as a social activity cannot be compared with money in terms of managing and conducting rituals. Gift or present of social members as symbol of supplication and condolence also supports family in an emergency case, like such death rituals. As it is very important to hold the rituals as soon as possible after a death of a person, the support and involvement of neighboring social members is very important. For those who have no enough funds, support stemming from society in managing rituals is very helpful. This social capital ensures the very important ritual within society to run well.

Thirdly, when family members of the dead hold yasinan after funeral, the management of directing and conducting the events is shared among neighbors. Assistance from outside the family is highly needed as the family has also less power because of their mourning situation. People who are engaged in this preparation for events do not receive payment. As an appreciation, the family usually provides meals for them and their family preparing for the event. This mostly happens during the first seven days, the seventh, fortieth, hundredth, and thousandth days when the events are held in larger scale and attended by more people.

Being volunteers in holding death rituals is another form of social capital. For Indonesian society, voluntary participation in developing society's life is an inherent characters and identity called gotong-royong(mutual cooperation). This character and

identity should be promoted and maintained in daily activities from time to time, including the one in death rituals.

Fourthly, *kongsi kematian* as a social based organization, which is influenced by more modern management, could be promoted as an ideal system of death rituals management within Indonesian society. This organization is a kind of self-social capital empowerment preparing for social members' fund in response to death rituals and funerals in times to come. *Kongsi kematian* manages fund for specific events taking place in every family of society. Compared to modern management system, like life insurance as a growing trend, tradition-based management is more familiar for Indonesian people. This is easily provable that traditional management system provides interaction among people to get involved and interacted in their daily business. Social values in the system is kept and applied in fundraising management, where people may reconsider their position within society, help each other, strengthen social values, and keep their identity as human being.

## V. Some Remarks

In *yasinan*, the collective Koran recital becomes customary and repeatedly done with the view to accompanying the soul of the deceased when answering the questions from the angels in the grave as the first stage of the Hereafter. As a matter of fact, it is not aimed at getting reward and bless(*pahala*) from God or Allah the Almighty to the readers. Rather, as said in some sources, reading and hearing the Koran are useful activities for both readers and listeners.

The intention of reading the Koran, like *yasinan*, is more to do with the deceased. The ties between the late one and human life are believed to have been off. Yet, some beliefs in society remain that there are still relations between dead people and their relatives bridged by such rituals.

Concerning the *pasambahan*, the conversation is medium to bridge one step to another discussing the steps of the ceremonies. Looking at the Islamic teaching, the burial is clearly explained and leaves no question about its procedure. But why in the *pasambahan*

discussion remain? The answer is related to tradition reasons. It is not only fulfilling religious order but also applying social function in which people live. They regard the corpses as human fellows; treating them as human being should be.

As social rituals and events, these death rituals serve as medium for gathering and interacting with people. Negative side of these rituals remains, especially judging from social status of hosts. In the case of yasinan, serving food for around twenty people for one week truly cost them. It needs extra money for serving food during the mourning period. Addressing such circumstance, some people demand that the host is needless to serve meals for the guest, which is considered ignoring the mourning mood.

Socially constructed ritual such as death ritual is a part of social identity, which is followed by large number of people. They are engaged in social values and always try to keep it established as long as possible. Occasionally, time and money is no longer barrier in presenting such rituals in the society. In some societies, Minangkabau for example, provide big budget and waste more time to hold social events. This is also bolstered by social status as driving forces to show their position.<sup>21)</sup>

Yasinan and Pasambahan can be seen as media for people to express their need as society members. Pemberton clearly explains that every single step of wedding ritual has its own meaning.<sup>22)</sup> Pemberton, in the beginning of his article(p.197), says the differences of a same event, wedding, between its original and different part of places and societies. So many procedures and meanings from the rituals are related by people to their belief. And the New Order government also used the (Javanese) wedding as the image and example of tradition (Pemberton p.204).

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21) The best example of this situation can be found when people return from rantau (temporary migrant) in holydays (lebaran) to their villages. They usually bring luxury accessories or cars even they must rent it. They save money the whole year which would be spent in a week during holidays. See further portrait of this habit in the novel written by Mohammad Radjab(1950), *Semasa Ketjil Dikampung (1913-1928)* (Autobiografi Seorang Anak Minangkabau), Djakarta: Balai Pustaka. Pemberton (1994: 232, see footnote 17) states that it also happens in other places such as in Elephant Mountain (Gunung Gajah), Bayat, Central Java.

22) Pemberton, John(1994), "On the practice of wedding" in his *On the subject of "Java"*, 197-235. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

In fact, there are many parties getting engaged in a ritual held within society. The process from ritual's origin to social practices contains many influences from various teachings, institutions and parties, be they authorities, religions, ethnic group rulers, or other bodies which have interests in it.

The ritual is not standing alone, referring to itself an sich. Like the wedding, as Pemberton explains, death ritual is constructed according to thoughts of people by considering certain reasons. The yasinan, for example, for some religious groups, is still debatable, especially between NU and Muhammadiyah as it is referred to be a bid'ah or something that does not exist during the life of Prophet Mohammad nor has reference in Islamic texts.<sup>23)</sup>

Social custom make people secure raise fund and hold the death ceremonies. With customary rules being built in the experiences of people in their day-to-day actual life, Minangkabau tradition exposes another picture of how social security is provided by social system and values through guaranteeing the use of tribe properties. Anybody living or saying away from their homeland, they might enjoy different manners of managing fundraising thanks to more modern way of life.

## VI. Conclusion

Death ritual is more or less the opposite of wedding party. While in the death ritual people feel mourning, they are happy in wedding party instead. But, they have similarity. Both can be found in every society. They are not merely linked to any religious reason but also highly swayed by values of social and humanity. In practice, people include many additional practices based on their habits and opinions. For most cases, death rituals are conducted as emergency cases done immediately. For this reason, the management of fundraising is different from other ceremonies, which can be prepared previously. It is

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23) Differences between NU and Muhammadiyah can be read in a book written by Zainuddin Fananie(2000). Sumber Konflik Masyarakat Muslim Muhammadiyah – NU: Perspektif Keberterimaan Tahlil, Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University Press and The Asia Foundation.

likely that every ethnic group mostly has its own way to anticipate this necessity.

Seen from the practices of death ritual, where this paper focuses on Islamic and traditional society, there is significant process from its original cause to recent practice. The process is so called tradisional-ized (referring to Pemberton's term). It makes the teachings or orders of religions a part of people's daily life. Religious teachings, which were previously deemed outsider and outlandish for people, become an inherent identity of people through this similar process.

In managing and holding the rituals, social system has its rules and practices allowing its members to organize the rituals. This is influenced by many factors resulting from the development of society and lifestyles. There are still different interests in practical field of religious teachings or adat, which frequently lead to conflict. It should be dealt with cultural approaches and find the historical backgrounds. We also see that social system provides opportunity for people to make use the death ritual events for gathering, social interaction, mutual cooperation for betterment and reconsidering people as community members who should keep their identity and dignity as human being. This paper has suggested how an ethnic group in Indonesia performs the death rituals and the problems of organizing the rituals, especially in terms of holding the ritual applying the traditional management.

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