

# The Handover of *Bungo Kelapo* in The Marriage Tradition of The Malay Community of The Bukit Bulan Clan: A Hermeneutics Overview

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**Abstract.** This paper examines the tradition of handing over *bungo kelapo* carried out by the Bukit Bulan Clan as a traditional wealth that needs to be explored. *Bungo kelapo* is a symbolic custom that is handed over by the *induk bako* (the men's side) in the wedding procession to the *semendo* party (the woman). Usually a symbol that holds various meanings, it requires an interpretive approach to explore multi-layered meanings which in this case is Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutic. The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative. Data was collected by means of observation, interviews and documentation which were then analyzed in Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutic review. The findings of this study suggest that the interpretation contained in the tradition of handing over *bungo kelapo* is a symbol of prosperity, love, and the responsibility of the *induk bako* to the nephew who is getting married.

**Keywords:** *Seserahan*, *Bungo kelapo*, Hermeneutics.

## 1 Introduction

The existence of tradition and culture is closely related to the community's understanding of its urgency and sacredness to be implemented[1]. Therefore, every region in Indonesia has a unique variety of traditional wedding rituals with their symbols as a form of expression expressing the understanding, goals, and thoughts of a group of people. For example, cultural traditions in wedding processions are still mostly carried out by the Betawi people with *tanjidor* and *ondel-ondel*[2], Malay community with *pantun*[3], Minang[4], Batak[5], Jawa[6], Sunda[7], and other tribes in Indonesia.

In Jambi Province, the Malay Community of the Bukit Bulan Clan still carries out a traditional wedding procession known as the *seserahan bungo kelapo*. The practice of *seserahan bungo kelapo* in the marriage custom of the Bukit Bulan clan has historically been around since the 13/14 AD. when the envoy of the Minangkabau Kingdom, Pagaruyung, Batu Sangkar. Datuk Mangkuto Alam, the envoy and his entourage traveled to the Bukit-Moon area, Berkun Village, Sarolangun Regency Jambi and settled there[8]. Since then the Bukit Bulan area was led by a Pasirah, until 1983 the leadership changed to village head. Until now, the procession of handing over *bungo kelapo* in traditional marriages still exists.

There are 5 kinds of the *bungo kelapo tutuah temano* pegang pakai by the people of Bukit-bulan to date, namely: (1). *Bungo kelapo betegak umah/ tungkek junjuang*, that is when building

a house; (2). *Bungo kelapo batunak tani*, that is when marriage; (3). *Bungo kelapo batindiak dabuang*, that is when the ears pierced for girls; (4). *Bungo kelapo sunah rosul*, bathe in the river, and; (5). *Bungo kelapo pembesar datang*, namely government officials who visited the Bukit-Moon Marga area[9]. *Seserahan bungo kelapo* each of these has a symbol in each of its implementations, both in *betegak umah*, *baralek*, and *pembesar datang*.

The symbols in cultural customs cannot be interpreted from an empirical point of view only because they also have meanings behind them. Symbols also can not be known the meaning and can not be understood just like that. Because symbols need explanations, have multiple meanings, and even multiple interpretations. Looking at today, culture develops and is dynamic in accordance with the development of society, culture requires a dynamic approach to understand it, namely hermeneutics[10]. Hermeneutics as an approach that has the aim of stating, translating, define, analyze, and interpreting[11].

The study of extracting the meaning of symbols in cultural customs is interesting because it holds multiple interpretations that need to be explored and becomes another way of preserving customs and culture. Especially by using a hermeneutic review. Several researches on symbols in the tradition include: Izrin[12], who studies *The Meaning of Symbols in the Labuhan Tulak Bilahi Ceremony Tradition*. Ibrahim Arrosyid[13], who studied *The Symbolic Meaning of the Offering Ceremony in the Carnival Ceremony of Suro 1 Suro Keraton Kasunanan Surakarta Hadiningrat*. Martina[14], who studied *The Ritual Communication of the Nyandran Procession in the Widing Tuban Village*. As for the study of cultural customs in Bukit Bulan, there has not been much done. In the researcher's search, there is only one cultural research conducted in Bukit Bulan, namely Abdul Razak's[9] research which *The examines community wisdom in forest resource management: Traditional forest management, in Marga Bukit Bulan Villages, Limun District, Sarolangan Regency, Jambi Province*. Meanwhile, research on the handover of *bungo kelapo* has never been done at all.

Based on the foregoing, this paper will also examine the handover of *bungo kelapo* with a hermeneutical review. This paper aims to explore the history of the development of the tradition of handing over of *bungo kelapo*, the traditional Malay wedding of the Bukit Bulan clan, to see how the procession is carried out, and to find out the symbolic meaning of the hand over of *bungo kelapo* by the Bukit Bulan clan. For this reason, in interpreting the tradition of handing over of *bungo kelapo*, Malay wedding customs are associated with the hermeneutic concept of Paul Ricoeur. Studying symbols that have meanings that can be interpreted, so that they can reveal hidden meanings that are not yet known by most of the people of the Bukit Bulan clan in particular and all readers of this research in general.

## 2 Methodology

The method used in this paper is the qualitative method of Bogdan and Taylor, in their understanding of the qualitative method as a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words and the writings of the observed actors[15]. Data collection was carried out by the methods of observation, interviews, and documentation. Considering that this study attempts to describe the tradition of handing over of *bungo kelapo*, the traditional Malay marriage of the Bukit-Bulan clan, the data is then described in the form of descriptions that show the value of a traditional tradition of the Bukit-Bulan clan community.

The data obtained were then interpreted using Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutics. In general, hermeneutics is defined as a theory or philosophy that discusses interpretation[16].

Hermeneutics has three general thoughts, namely: stating or speaking, interpreting or explaining, and translating. Hermeneutics as a system of interpretation used to reach the meaning behind myths and symbols[17]. According to Paul Ricoeur, hermeneutics refers back to the focus of textual exegesis as a distinctive and central element in hermeneutics[18].

Paul Ricoeur positions symbols as an integral structure in his hermeneutics. This is because symbols can refer directly to literal meanings and then add a double meaning, the first two forms are figurative. In another meaning, Ricoeur said that in his hermeneutic study, symbols can have multiple meanings[19]. According to Ricoeur interpretation is the decomposition of hidden meanings from visible meanings. Ricoeur also explained that every word is a symbol that can describe other meanings that are figurative in nature, can only be understood through symbolization and so on[20]. Because according to Ricoeur humans can understand everything through language and language itself is the main requirement for all human experience[21].

The selection of Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutics is on the grounds that Ricoeur is counted as the final figure of the existing hermeneutic thinkers. By seeing his role as the last character makes his famous theories unique, because he always negates from previous hermeneutic thoughts. Not only that, the theory is quite fresh from the previous hermeneutic theory. In his practice in the field, Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutics views symbols and symbols as having multiple layers of meaning which are then considered as texts. The steps of Paul's hermeneutics starting from the understanding that takes place starting from the appreciation of symbols to the level of ideas about thinking from the symbols, among others[22], there are three: First, the symbolic step or understanding of the symbols; Second, giving meaning by symbols and careful exploration of meaning; Third, the philosophical step, namely thinking by using symbols as the starting point[23].

### **3 Result and Discussion**

#### **3.1 The historicity of the handover of Bungo kelapo Bukit Bulan Clan**

The Bukit Bulan clan is a Malay community who lives in a village called Berkun. Administratively, Berkun village is included in Limun District, Sarolangun Regency, Jambi Province. Geographically, Berkun village is located between 02°41.7" North Latitude and between 102°54'24" East Longitude to 102°19.20'07" East Longitude. Berkun Village is located at an altitude of 150 – 700 meters above sea level with an annual rainfall of more than 3,000 mm per year, with the dominant soil type being red yellow padzolic. The area of Berkun Village is 9,968 hectares with unstable and hilly land contours.

Historically, around the 13th-14th century AD in the history of several envoys from the Minangkabau kingdom of Pagaruyung Batu Sangkar Datuk Mangkuto Alam and several of his friends traveled to the Bukit Bulan[8]. Bukit-Bulan in the traditional proverb says: "*kampuang nan lapan, Bumi batin jo Penghulu*". That is, at that time the Hill-Moon consisted of eight parts. Five village chiefs, three inner villages. As the results of the interview with the traditional institution of Bukit-Bulan "*Wilayah Kampuang jo penghulu*", namely: (1) Penghulu Lareh Datuk Mangkuto Alam (Temalang); (2) Penghulu Datuk Mangkuto Sakti (Sei Beduri); (3) Datuk Rajo Nan sati (Mersip); (4) Datuk Singo Marajo (Napal Melintang); (5) Datuk Penghulu Batuah

(Dusun Meribung); Whereas *tigo kampuang batin*, yaitu: (1) Batin Peniti (Lubuk Bedorong) (2) Batin Anak Dalam (Berkun) (3) Batin Manggi.<sup>1</sup>

The tradition of handing over of *bungo kelapo* is the customary holding of the Bukit-Bulan community which was inherited by the previous ancestors. The custom of handing over of *bungo kelapo* comes from the Minangkabau Batu Sangkar, which was brought by the *penghulu* community (nomads) and later became the holding custom of the local community.<sup>2</sup> In the history of the inner community first lived in Bukit-Moon before the *penghulu* community. The traditional and spiritual community in Bukit Bulan are of the *sesuku* (ethnic) and *selembago* but not as *seadat* (customs) and *spesako*.<sup>3</sup> One of the customs brought by the *penghulu* from Minangkabau is the *bungo kelapo* cession in wedding traditions.

As time goes by, the tradition handing over of *bungo kelapo* is ingrained in the Bukit Bulan Malay community. *Bungo kelapo* symbolizes affection, love and kinship. With the development of civilization, the *bungo kelapo* underwent a slight change in the delivery system, according to information obtained by the author during an interview with the Bukit-Bulan Marga Customary Institution, the *induk bako* only brought one *bungo kelapo* representing the other *induk bako*. This is what is meant by *tali sapilin* (consensus word) the word *seiyo* from the *induk bako* in the delegation. But over time, judging by the changes, every *induk bako* brings *bungo kelapo*. The more *induk bako*, the more *bungo kelapo*. And vice versa *bungo kelapo* will look a little bit if the father only has a brother or sister. Although there is a shift in the handing over of *bungo kelapo*, it does not reduce the value, the intended meaning.

### 3.2 Procession of The Handover Bungo kelapo

The stages of the procession in the series of events at the Malay Bukit-Bulan Clan wedding reception are:

a. *The first stage of the induak bakoparading the bride*

The first stage is the *induk bako* parading the bride and groom to the bride's house, accompanied by a very lively sprinkling of tambourines, walking together with the *suku nan sabolah* (the *induk bako* group). The host and invited guests are ready to wait for the procession group in front of the house, welcoming the arrival of the procession group from the *induk bako*. The distance of the bridal procession by the *induk bako*, is not too far from the residence of the bride and groom.

After arriving right at the bridal procession by the *induk bako*, the entourage and luggage from the *suku nan sabolah* were immediately welcomed by the *samondo nan nunggu, tingkat nan babatang, bore nan batalam*. Then placed on the bed in front of the bride and groom sitting, invited guests, everyone present stood in the yard to continue the next traditional procession.

b. *The Handover of Bungo kelapo by representatives of Induk Bako:*

Furthermore, the handing over of *bungo kelapo*, please note that the contents of *bungo kelapo* are *seloko*, rhymes and old sayings whose meaning is to contribute to society, becoming a reference for traditional life in Bukit-Moon. In the handing over of *bungo*

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<sup>1</sup> Mahmud (Traditional leader of the Bukit-Bulan clan) Interview with the author 27 November 2020, Sarolangun Regency.

<sup>2</sup> Mahmud (Traditional leader of the Bukit-Bulan clan) Interview with the author, 27 November 2020, Bukit-Bulan.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.35

*kelapo*, the *induk bako* submits and expresses the purpose of the group coming from the *nan sabolah* tribe, using *seloko* and rhymes and figurative languages that not everyone can understand.

c. *The Reception of Bungo kelapo*

After the *nan sabolah* tribe/*induk bako* delivered the *bungo kelapo*, they handed over their belongings with *seloko* followed by the recipient, similarly the *induk bako* gave the *bungo kelapo* with *seloko* and rhyme, *bungo kelapo* was also received and greeted with *seloko* and rhymes by the *semondo*/ host.

d. *Silat Adat*

The last procession is *silat adat*, this traditional silat is demonstrated by two or more people, usually performed by *semondo* in the hamlet who shows their respective skills in martial arts. According to Hermanto, basically this traditional silat is the same as other martial arts in general, only differs in movement and movement blocking. The attacks carried out, have been set in such a way. This traditional silat is also intended to entertain the invitees/community.<sup>4</sup>

### 3.3 The Symbolic Meaning of the Handover of Bungo kelapo

Humans are cultural creatures, and human culture is full of symbols, so it can be said that humans are full of symbolism, which is an order of thought or understanding that emphasizes or follows patterns that are based on symbols. The meaning of the symbol comes from the word *symbolos* which means characteristics or signs that can give an understanding of something to someone[24]. The symbol can be interpreted as a sign, word, etc. which states something that has a specific purpose, for example: *Bungo kelapo* is a symbol of love, white symbolizes purity and so on. In another sense a symbol or symbol is a means or mediation to create and convey a message.

The handover of the *bungo kelapo* is a symbol of the result of joint thought and mutual agreement by the previous *ninik muniang* of the Bukit-Bulan Marga, which is packaged to form a culture. In the delivery and receipt of the *bungo kelapo*, he conveyed an expression of the goals of the household that would be pursued in the future and also conveyed an expression of love and affection from the *induk bako nan babaki*.<sup>5</sup>

The meaning of handing over *bungo kelapo* is a symbol of the affection attached to the *induk bako* for her niece who is getting married. The tradition of handing over *bungo kelapo* contains many symbolic elements that aim to be conveyed to the indigenous people of the Bukit-Bulan clan, so that they can be understand and understood as guidelines and role models in living their daily lives. The power of this symbol is able to lead people to believe in, and preserve the tradition of handing over *bungo kelapo*.

The meaning of the symbols in the tradition of handing over *bungo kelapo*, according to the traditional elders of the Bukit Bulan clan, suggests that there are several elements of meaning contained in the tradition of handing over *bungo kelapo* as follows:

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<sup>4</sup> Hermanto, community leader, interview with author, 22 November 2020. Bukit Bulan.

<sup>5</sup> Mahmud, (Traditional leader of the Bukit-Bulan clan), Interview with the author, 27 November 2020. Bukit-Bulan.

a. Hope and Pray

*Bungo kelapo* is a symbol of hope and prayer from the *induak bako nan babaki* so that her nephew is given a sense of security, peace, safety, and happiness in achieving the goal of achieving a happy family, *sakinah mawaddah warrohmah*. With the existence of *bungo kelapo* from the *induak bako nan babaki*, it indicates that the nephew's subordinates have started a new life, namely as husband and wife, ready to continue life, continuing the prevailing customs, working in the community following the traditional way of life. *Bungo kelapo* symbolizes good hope for a life that is just about to begin.

b. As Social Interaction

The people of the Bukit-Bulan clan have institutions and culture that regulate their lives, the tradition of handing over *bungo kelapo* has social elements, this tradition can unite individuals with each other, this can be seen from the procession of submission that binds and builds kinship. During the procession of handing over the *bungo kelapo*, *induak bako nan babaki* from the *Sebolah* tribe and the community participated in the procession to the nephew (bride). Each *bungo kelapo* item has its own meaning, such as: *muniang onam boleh*, *puyang dalapan*, and *ninik ompek*. This symbolizes an obligation to respect the lineage or origin of the descendants who are in the *bumi batin jo penghulu* (Bukit-Moon). *Bungo kelapo* symbolizes love, harmony between family and society.

c. As the Community Identity

Customary tradition is an essential value as an identity of the people of each region. The tradition of handing over *bungo kelapo* has a central position in the Bukit Bulan clan community at the wedding procession. *Adat tradisi ialah suatu yang harus kito jago, adat tradisi itu comin dari kito yang balembago*.<sup>6</sup> This means that traditional customs are provisions that must always be maintained, because customs and traditions are a reflection of an institutionalized society. The procession of handing over *bungo kelapo*, is a symbol that explains the identity of the *induak bako* in the family, a traditional tribe in the Malay land of the Bukit Bulan clan, which has been a tradition for generations.

### 3.4 The Meaning of the Symbols of Objects in the Bungo kelapo Cession

The hand over of *bungo kelapo* given by the *induak bako* at the wedding of the nephew's subordinates has symbols that can be interpreted in each item, thus revealing hidden meanings that are not yet known and understood by most people in general. The submissions included: "*kalapo babungo, tingkat bebatang, sirih bapanaman*".<sup>7</sup>

1. *Bungo*, and coconut

*Bungo* and coconuts in the hand over of *bungo kelapo* at traditional wedding, become social symbols by the people of the Bukit Bulan clan. Coconut fruit symbolizes togetherness, cohesiveness of *induak bako nan babaki*.



<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Mahmud (Traditional leader of the Bukit-Bulan clan) Interview with the author, 27 November 2020, Bukit Bulan.

Fig. 1. Induak Bako Menjunjung, Bungo Kelapo, Buah Kelapo.

## 2. Songket Cloth

As we know that songket is a songket cloth that has spread across parts of Indonesia, songket in each region has different functions and uses. In the area of Sarolangun Regency, especially Bukit Bulan, songket is only used at certain moments such as weddings, inauguration of village officials and others. In the hand-over of *bungo kelapo*, songket cloth is used as a dressing for the prepared coconuts. The purpose of the songket cloth used is as a *bungo kelapo* bandage which is handed over to the marriage custom of the Bukit Bulan clan, symbolizing the *ninik mamak* which is the reference for customs on earth of *batin jo penghulu*.

## 3. Betel leaf

Betel leaf is a leaf that is dubbed "customary leaf" this is because it is widely used in various traditional ceremonies. The betel leaf in the handover of *bungo kelapo* symbolizes the manners of the *suku nan sabolah*, respect for *tuo tengganai*, respect to *suku nan sabolah*.<sup>8</sup> In the Malay marriage custom of the Bukit Bulan clan, betel and *nyirih* equipment are the most important treats that will be presented to *ninik mamak*.

The betel leaf in the handover of *bungo kelapo* is placed in a *paliman*<sup>9</sup> or complete container with areca nut, gambier and whiting. which will later be chewed or eaten together with the *tuo tengganai* invited guests when the moment *tunjuak aja*,<sup>10</sup> customary for the bride and groom who are getting married.



<sup>8</sup> Abu Bakar, Elder of the Bukit-Bulan clan Interview with the author, 22 December 2020. Audio recording.

<sup>9</sup> Antique, yellowish-colored container that is specifically or used as a container for betel nut and other betel quid, which is only used during certain events, such as: handing over *bungo kelapo*, teaching newlyweds, and other traditional ceremonies.

<sup>10</sup> *Tunjuak aja* (show teaching) is the moment after the wedding day the two newlywed couples will be introduced to language, speech, what is the level in the family. The one who teaches and informs it is *ninik mamak*, *tengganai* in the house. It is hoped that after the marriage you will know how the kinship with the new family.

**Fig. 2.** Songket Cloth, Daun Sirih, Tingkat Bebatang

#### 4. Tingkat Bebatang/Rantang

*Tingkat* or what is known as a *rantang* in the marriage custom of the Bukit Bulan clan usually contains food or raw materials such as rice, cooking ingredients, salt, sugar and so on. *Rantang* is still used in various events to bring goods or souvenirs to visit relatives' homes, attend parties. *Tingkat/rantang* symbolizes the well-established social bond between the *induk bako* and her nephew. In addition, *rantang* also symbolizes a sense of help to improve kinship.

*Bungo kelapa/ Kalapo Nan Ba Bungo* is the proof of “[I]nduk bako yang bapanakan, tando kasia yang idak putuih, sayang nan idak sudah”.<sup>11</sup> It means, namely: Evidence that *Induk Bako* has a nephew, a sign of unbroken love, endless love. *Induk Bako* is the name for aunt (sister/brother) from the father's side. *Induk Bako* is considered customary to fulfill obligations to his nephew in the *menjalang* of a *bungo kelapa*, except for the *big bungo kelapa to come*. He also explained that *induk bako* had an obligation to make *bungo kelapa* at his nephew wedding as a symbol of unlimited love from the *induk bako*.<sup>12</sup>

*Bungo* making which consists of four coconuts that have been carved with various types of carvings consists of three stages of making *bungo kelapa*. Each level has its own meaning. First, the *bungo kelapa* is arranged into three pieces, then wrapped in songket cloth symbolizing the *ninik mamak* living in the Malay land following the rules of a *betengganai* house, then one coconut is placed on top of the susunan, the first three coconuts symbolize the *suku sejarang*, the last one is planted with flowers made of from fragments of cloth signifying *kato se-iyu* in stepping, symbolizing *kato bulek dek mupakat*.<sup>13</sup>

This custom of handing over *bungo kelapa* serves as a symbol of affection that connects kinship, strengthens and strengthens the ties of kinship between nephews and the *induk bako* as well as a *betengganai* house. In addition, there is a blend of arts in it, such as reciting rhymes and traditional *seloko*, handing over *bungo kelapa*, handing over *bungo kelapa* martial arts, followed by welcoming *bungo kelapa* by the host or *semondo*.<sup>14</sup> Thus this tradition can be enjoyed so that we can absorb the meaning and values of the traditional symbols of the handover of *bungo kelapa*.

### 3.5 The Handover of Bungo kelapa in Hermeneutic Perspective Paul Ricoeur

Understanding cultural symbols in a hermeneutic review, there are at least three steps of understanding symbols, namely: those that take place from the appreciation of symbols to the idea of 'thinking from' symbols. The second step is the giving of meaning by symbols and careful transfer of meaning. The third step is a truly philosophical step, namely thinking using symbols as a starting point[25].

Paul Ricoeur has a philosophical perspective that shifts from existential analysis to eidetic analysis (such detailed observations), phenomenology, history, hermeneutics and finally

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<sup>11</sup> Hasan, Community Leader Interview with the author, Monday, June 1, 2020 at his residence, Berkun, Bukit Bulan.

<sup>12</sup> Hasan, Community Leader Interview with the author, Monday, June 1, 2020 at his residence, Berkun, Bukit Bulan.

<sup>13</sup> Mahmud (Bukit-Bulan clan traditional leader) Interview with the author, Monday, June 29, 2020. Jambi, Audio Recording.

<sup>14</sup> According to the traditional dictionary, *semondo nanduo* is the husband of the representative aunt of the groom and also the woman. Where both of them sing each other's *seloko* of the acceptance of *bungo kelapa*.



semantics. However, it is suspected that Ricoeur's whole philosophy was ultimately oriented towards hermeneutics, especially interpretation. He stated that life is its own interpretation, if there is a plurality of meanings, then interpretation is needed. Moreover, if symbols are involved, interpretation becomes important, because here there is a meaning that has multiple layers.<sup>15</sup>

Phenomenologically the understanding of symbols in the tradition of handing over *bungo kelapo* begins with the understanding of symbols by and from the symbols themselves (the totality of symbols). At this stage is the first stage of understanding of the three stages of understanding the symbol which then becomes a way of thinking. It should be emphasized here that Ricoeur's hermeneutical phenomenology does not stop at analyzing language and analyzing semantic structures of human expressions with various meanings or multiple meanings, but continues to lead to existence.

According to Ricoeur to obtain an understanding Ricoeur proposes three processes of understanding, namely: (a). The understanding that takes place from the process of appreciating symbols such as the example at the time of the handover procession of *bungo kelapo* takes place in the delivery of advice with *seloko* which then gives listeners an understanding of the content conveyed. (b). Giving meaning in symbols and careful exploration of meanings. The handover of *bungo kelapo* has symbols that can be observed, then it also has its own meaning, for example, *bungo kelapo* as a symbol of social ties.

*Bungo kelapo* is symbolized as a social bond, seen from its submission involving many people, *bungo kelapo* is also an adhesive for relationships with each other. Besides, it has a meaning or symbol of endless love. (c). Thinking using symbols as a starting point. In this last understanding, the understanding of symbols no longer refers to the owner of the symbol. The symbols that exist are universally interpreted without limits. There are many things that refer to values in the handing over of *bungo kelapo*. it means that in tradition there is a need for guidelines that have been ordered, and guidelines that have been passed down from generation to generation. There are no people who have left this tradition, they strongly believe that a divorce will occur and that bad risks will befall it.

The tradition of handing over *bungo kelapo* in the marriage of the Bukit Bulan clan, presents pictures of the life that will be pursued in the future by the bride and groom who are just about to start navigating the ocean of the household. The relationship between tradition and marriage is colored by a picture of the life to come. This can be seen from the delivery procession of *bungo kelapo*, which is delivered through *seloko* whose contents are full of advice and life guidance. The handover of the *bungo kelapo* then became the advice and guidance for advice and expressions of affection from *Induak Bako* who were always included in the Bukit Buan clan Malay traditional wedding procession.

The handing over of *bungo kelapo* is only in the form of a symbol, not a flower (*cengkir*) from a coconut stem, but a flower made from materials including 4 coconuts, flowers from fragments of cloth and then equipped with twigs which also have their own meaning. This *bungo kelapo* tradition serves as a medium of communication, *induak bako* to nephew's subordinates, unifying and bonding kinship". With the custom of handing over *bungo kelapo*, *induak bako* expresses love and care for his nephew's subordinates, making family relations more harmonious. Harmony can be seen from the words of the handingover of *bungo kelapo* from the *induak bako* atau *suku nan sabolah*. "*dek kasiah dan sayang ka ponakan, kok kasiah nan dak abi, kok sayang nan idak sudah*".

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.109

## 4 Conclusion

The handover of the *bungo kelapo* is a custom brought by the ancestors of the Bukit Bulan clan from Minangkabau Batu Sangkar, and later became the *pegang pakai* custom of the Bukit Bullan clan. In its development, the handing over of *bungo kelapo*, as a dynamic culture, has grown in the number of *bungo kelapo*, which was originally enough to be brought by one of *induak bako* representing the other brothers and sisters, then increased according to the number of sisters from the groom's side.

The cession of the *bungo kelapo* is a mandatory ritual that is always included in the traditional Malay wedding procession of the Bukit-Bulan clan. This is because the meaning of the tradition of *bungo kelapo* cession forms a symbol of high solidarity, love, and affection. This disclosure was made by the *induak bako* to her nephew on the wedding day.

The handover of the *bungo kelapo* is a mandatory ritual that is always included in the traditional Malay wedding procession of the Bukit Bulan clan. The handover of the *bungo kelapo* is referred to as a symbol because it can tell stories. *Bungo kelapo* can convey expressions about the goals of the household that will be pursued in the future, and can convey expressions of love and affection from the *induak bako*. The meaning of the tradition of handing over *bungo kelapo* forms a symbol of high solidarity, love, and affection. This disclosure was made by the *induak bako* to her nephew on the wedding day.

This research has limited time and only covers the handing over of *bungo kelapo* in the wedding custom. For this reason, in future research, we can examine the handing over of *bungo kelapo* in *betagak umah/tungkek junjuang*, namely when building a house; *Bungo kelapo batunak tani*, which is at the time of the wedding; *Bungo kelapo batindiak dabuang*, which is when girls get their ears pierced; *Bungo kelapo sunnah rosul*, bathing in the river and the last; and *Bungo kelapo pembesar datang*, which is when the leader comes.

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