



# Proceeding

International Conference on Education,  
Culture and Humanities (ICECH) 2017

## SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES IN LIGHT OF THE CHALLENGES OF A GLOBALIZED WORLD

*Ruteng, 18-20 November 2017*

Editor: Dr. Fransiska Widyawati, M.Hum

**STKIP SANTU PAULUS RUTENG  
FLORES NTT**



# PROCEEDING

International Conference on Education, Culture and Humanities (ICECH) 2017

## Theme:

SOCIALSCIENCEANDHUMANITIESINLIGHTOF THE CHALLENGES  
OF A GLOBALIZED WORLD

Ruteng, 18-20 November 2017

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## **WELCOMING SPEECH FROM THE HEAD OF STKIP ST. PAULUS RUTENG**

It is a great pleasure and pride that the STKIP St. Paulus Ruteng (Saint Paul College), the Research and Community Service (Lembaga Penelitian and Pengabdian kepada Masyarakat - LPPM) and the Committee of International Conference on Education, Culture and Humanities (ICECH) 2017 publish an International Proceeding of the ICECH 2017. The International Conference on Education, Culture and Humanities (ICECH) was conducted from 18-20 November 2017 at three halls: Missio, Roosmalen XII and Roosmalen XI at the campus of St. Paul College. The topic was “Social Science and Humanities in Light of the Challenges of a Globalized World”. There were 36 prominent speakers presenting their papers on the field of education, environmental science, social, culture, language and humanities. They came from six different countries: Indonesia, German, Italy, Malaysia, Netherland, England, and India. Hundreds of audiences attended the conference. The conference was successfully organized.

As the head of the STKIP Santu Paulus, I appreciate the publication of this proceeding. I would like to thank to the Commission of Social Science of the Akademi Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (AIPI) Jakarta, to Indonesia Embassy-New Delhi, attaché of Education and Culture, to the Network Pastoral Asia and Yayasan Ende Flores for the support, and networking that made the conference possible be done smoothly and professionally. I thank to the committee and the editor who had worked very hard to prepare the conference and this publication.

I personally expect that the conference could be a starting point to expand our research and knowledge in the area of education, social, culture and humanities. Enjoy reading and see you all at the next conference.

Dr. Yohanes S. Lon, MA

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# THE VIEW OF MARRIED COUPLE IN RUTENG ABOUT WAGAL AS A TRADITIONAL WEDDING CEREMONY IN MANGGARAI, FLORES, EAST NUSA TENGGARA

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## Abstract

To Manggaraian, *wagal* is not merely a wedding ceremony where a man takes a woman as his wife, but it is most importantly a procedure that binds and unifies the tie of kinship between two families – the groom's and the bride's family. This study aims to explore how far the values of *wagal* are understood and embodied by young couple of 0-15 years of marriage. Through questionnaires asking about the view and the experience of respondents with *wagal*, this study argues that there is a shift in the value of *wagal*. The data show that majority of the respondents viewed *wagal* more as a procedure of bride-wealth than a ceremony that legalizes the wedding of a man and a woman. This study concludes that the shift in the value of *wagal* suggests a shift in the value of Manggaraian as well. There is a shift of priority from the kinship to economic and materialistic values.

## Introduction

Marriage is an integral part of life be it for an individual or a society as it is related to the nature of human being as a social creature. By nature, every person has a motivation to have an intimate relationship with the opposite sex, be it in a sexual way or in a psychological-spiritual way. According to Sproul (1975: 113-114) and Stott (1984: 368), marriage is not just a sign of human civilization. Marriage is not a creation or an invention of men, but it is the creation and the plan of God; marriage has been set by God since the creation of men (Genesis 1:26, 28). Marriage is a vessel and a means to ensure the wellbeing of men.

In the Manggaraian culture, marriage as a means of wellbeing is suggested in phrases such as *temek koé wa* (symbol of fertility), *mbaun koé éta* (symbol of comfort), *jéngok koé lé ulu*, *wiko lau wa'i* (symbol of wealth). These phrases are typically expressed in prayers during a traditional wedding ceremony, especially in *wagal*. In the past before the Catholic Church entered this region, *wagal* was

seen as a ceremony that validates marriage. As people in Manggarai started to adopt the Catholic religion, wedding mass in Church has become the validator of marriage. Even so, *wagal* is still celebrated today before a wedding mass in the Church.

For young men and women of Manggarai, getting married is not simply a personal right like that in the West. Article 28B (1) of the 1945 Indonesia Constitution and Article 10 of the 1999 Indonesia Law Number 39 regarding human rights indeed explicitly acknowledge and emphasize the right of every individual to start a family and procreate through a valid marriage. However, a valid marriage is a marriage according to the law and religious teachings (Article 28B (1) of the 1945 Constitution; Article 2 (1) of the 1974 Indonesia Law Number 1 regarding Marriage). Consequently, marriage in Indonesia is a matter of concern to the state and religious bodies. Article 37 of the Indonesian Law Number 1 Year 1974 regarding marriage also notes the use of the customary law in the matter of divorce and property division after divorce. In the context of Manggarai, besides religious and state law, customary law also plays a role that binds the people and provide basis for ethics in a life as a community including in marriage. According to Hilman Hadikusumo (2007: 82), customary law contributes positively to the development of the state law. Customary law is not a written law; it encompasses regulations adhered by the people of a community (Soepomo, 1986), carries social sanctions (Van Vollenhoven in Soekanto, 1981: 14-16), and comes from the desire for justice within the community itself (Wignyodipuro, 1984).

This paper would like to focus on marriage in Manggarai, especially on *wagal* as wedding ceremony in Manggarai, West Flores. In the past, *wagal* serves as a ceremony that validates marriage for the people in Manggarai; however, due to the Catholic influence, validation of marriage today is done through wedding mass in Church and *wagal* is celebrated before the Church wedding ceremony. This shift generates some questions, including: How far does this change suggest the view of the Manggaraians about *wagal* itself? How does this change affect the future of marriage in Manggarai? How far is *wagal* respected and embodied by the people in Manggarai?

To answer these questions, a survey was conducted on the view and experience of young Catholic couple in Langke Rembong District in October 2017. In this survey, questionnaires were distributed to Catholic spouses who

have been married for 0-15 years. Respondents were randomly selected, which comprised of 60 men and 63 women. Looking at their education background, 29 people completed elementary school or lower, 18 completed junior high school, 44 graduated senior high school, and 32 completed university or higher. The respondents were asked three questions: a) their view and attitude about *wagal* as a Manggaraian culture; b) their experience about *wagal*; c) their view and attitude about *wagal* in relation to a Catholic marriage. Observation on *wagal* ceremony was done at two occasions: once on June 24, 2017 in Lawir, Langke Rembong District and another on September 23, 2017 in Pela, WaeRii District. Interviews were done to *tu'a golo tu'a golo* (Blasius Jehadu and Markus Genggor), *tu'a panga* (Lipus Sudi and Gaspar Wuar), *tu'a kilo* (Stanis Tatul) as main informants about *wagal*.<sup>1</sup>

### Marriage in Manggarai

Manggaraians use several terms to refer to marriage. One of the common terms is the word *kawing* which means marriage in a Christian way (Verheijen, 1967:197). According to Verheijen, the word *kawing* originates from the Indonesian word "kawin" which means creating a family (Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia, online version). In the context of marriage in Manggarai, the term *kawing* suggests a wedding ceremony in the Church in front of a priest. In the daily life, the word *kawing* is typically linked to Church reflected in the phrase *kawing gereja* (*gereja* means Church).

Another term likely to be more original than the word *kawing* is the phrase *na'a wina* which literally means taking a wife (Verheijen, 1967: 197) or the word *laki* which also means to take a wife (Verheijen, 1967: 245). From these terms, come the phrase *ngo na wina* or *ngo laki* (going to take a wife). These phrases suggest that marriage in Manggarai is a process of taking and having a wife. Therefore, marriage encompasses a series of ceremonies in order to make a woman a man's wife. In the past, the peak of the ceremonies was during the ceremony of *wagal/nempung* or *umber*; today, the peak of the wedding ceremonies is during *kawing gereja* (wedding mass in Church).

There are also other terms that describe marriage in Manggarai including *lili*, *tungku*, and *cangkang*. *Lili* refers to marrying a widow from a brother

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<sup>1</sup> *Tu'a golo* means the head of a village; *tu'a panga* is the head of clan or subclan; *tu'a kilo* is the head of a family.

(Verheijen, 1967: 282). The term *lili* is used to describe a levirate marriage where a woman marries the brother of her late husband. In Congkar, East Manggarai, it is also referred to as *tongkeng*. For this type of marriage, there is a proverb that goes *manga ata laga cicing agu ciwal uma*, which literally means somebody is there to build a fence around the field and clear the land (for farming). This bears a meaning that after a man dies, his brother will marry his wife and provides income for the family. Conversely, when a woman dies, and the widower marries her sister, this is termed *tinu lalo* (sororate marriage). The word *tinu* itself means care for, and *lalo* means orphan. The concept of *tinu lalo* emerges from the patriarchal background where a man is deemed responsible for the wellbeing of his wife and children. Thus, when a man dies, his wife and children lose their life support. *Tinu lalo* marriage aims to ensure the future of the children who have are a part of their father's clan. This marriage is sometimes also termed *ganti tikar* (Roosmalen, 1989: 4), meaning change a wife.

*Tungku* is one of the most common types of marriage in Manggarai. In a research by Gordon, 15% of marriages in Manggarai are of *tungku* type; whereby 25% of that is of *tungku cu* type (Gordon, 1975). The word *tungku* means to connect; in the context of marriage, *tungku* is a marriage that connects the family of brother and the family of sister. This concept emerges from the understanding in Manggarai that when a woman (sister) marries, she joins her husband's family (sociological family) and she is no longer a part of her brother's family (biological family). Through *tungku*, the tie with the biological family remains. In Manggarai, there are a few types of *tungku*: *tungku cu* is when a man marries the daughter of his mother's biological brother (cross cousin marriage); *tungku canggot* is when a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother from another sub-clan (*panga*); *tungku sa'i* is when a man marries a woman from the same clan (*wa'u*) (Verheijen, 1967: 663).

*Cako* is a type of endogamy marriage between children of the siblings of the same gender (e.g. children of two brothers, or children of two sisters). This type is also referred to as parallel cousin marriage. There are a few types of *cako*; the first type is *cako cama asé kaé* is a marriage between children of two brothers, which is suggested in the saying *wangka rao ajo, coléng joéng* (meaning the marriage strengthens the existing tie of kinship). This marriage is also called *cako cama oné* or *cako cama wa'u* (Nggoro, 2006: 103) because this marriage occurs within the same sub-clan. The second type is *cako cama salang* which is a marriage between

children of two sisters (Verheijen, 1967: 671). This type of *cako* is also called *cako cama péang* or *cako cama anak wina* (Nggoro, 2006: 104) because the marriage is between the children of two sisters who have joined their husbands' clan.

In Manggarai, exogamy marriage also exists as reported by Coolhaas (1942: 374). Exogamy marriage is a term used to describe a marriage with someone of a different ethnicity, sub-clan, or clan. This type of marriage is also called *kawing cangkang* or *laki/wai péang*. This type of marriage forms a new kinship tie between the wife giver (*anak rona*) and the wife receiver (*anak wina*). This relation is also referred to as *woé nelu*. The role of *anakrona* and *anakwina* is permanent and not interchangeable.

### **Procedure of Traditional Wedding Ceremony in Manggarai**

To Manggaraians, wedding is a ceremony of a man taking a woman as his wife which involves both the extended families of the man and the woman. The procedure of wedding must involve both the families (*woé nelu*). There are at least three procedures in the traditional wedding, as follows:

1. *Tuké mbaru weda rewa*. This is the step whereby a man and his family come to the woman's house. The phrase *tuké mbaru weda rewa* literally means to step on the yard and to climb the house. To Manggaraians, wedding is the business of the extended family instead of the individual. This is why the man's family must formally meet the woman's family. This act shows the sign of respect from the man's family to the woman's family. Within this procedure there are a few steps:
  - a. The man's family voices the man's intention to propose to the woman and to take her as his wife. This is expressed in the saying *ita kala lé pa'ang, tuluk pu'u mbaru watu* (we saw a betel leaf on the gate of the village, so we are looking for the tree in this house). In Manggarai, betel leaf is a symbol for woman. In *tungku* marriage, the expression is instead *inang olo-woté musi* or *alo dalo-pulu wungkut* (the aunt started, so the daughter-in-law must follow). This means that the proposal is not to create a new kinship tie but merely to continue the existing tie set by the man's mother and the woman's father. Sometimes it is also expressed in the saying *baro de inang, api toé caing-waé toé haéng* (your aunt would like to say that she no longer has the energy to cook and to fetch water).

- b. Once the woman's family accepts the proposal, the next step is *paca* where the families talk about bridewealth. This is the step where the speaker (*tongka*) from each family negotiates the amount of money and cattle for bridewealth. This negotiation usually takes a lot of time and can sometimes turn into an argument. Once an agreement is reached, the *tongka* from each family moves on to talk about the wedding ceremony. If the *tongka anak wina* (the speaker from the man's family) says *mai dami oné pa'ang lé mai, bombong iko, jenggu tungga* (we come through the gate of the village with dignity), then the wedding ceremony will be in the form of *wagal*. If he says *mai dami oné radi ngaung, cihir ri'i, wuka wancang* (we come from under the house, through the holes in the ceiling and through the cracks on the wall), then the wedding ceremony will be in the form of *umber*. However, if he says *mai tutung sulu, mai ngguang wai* (we come to serve or worship), then the wedding ceremony will be up to the family of *anakrona* (the woman's family) (Bagul, 1996: 47).
  - c. The next step is *tukar kila* (the exchange of rings) and the sacrifice of *ela mbukut* (pig). This is a symbol of agreement and unification of the two extended families (*pongo*). In this ceremony, the two parties are reminded of the existence of customary sanctions for the party that breach the agreement. If the woman refuses to marry the man, then the bridewealth shall be returned in addition to a pig (*ela podo wa'u*) to send the man to his family. On the other hand, if the man refuses to marry, the bridewealth is not returned but instead, the man's family shall present a horse or a buffalo (*jarang ko kaba cému ritak*) to compensate the embarrassment of the woman's family.
2. *Wagal* or *umber* as a wedding ceremony. In this ceremony, two families agree to make a man and a woman husband and wife. At the same time, the two families agree to become one big family through the marriage. With this ceremony, a man and a woman can legally live together through the ritual of *karong lo'ang* where the woman's parents take the couple into a bedroom (Sudi, July 2017; Basilius, July 2017; Tatul, September 2017).
  3. *Podo wina* or *karong wina*. This is a ceremony where the wife is delivered to her husband's house or village. This ceremony is divided into a few steps:

- a. Farewell in the house of the *anak rona*. Before the wife leaves her parents' house, two rituals are carried out: *widang* (gift giving) and *pampang* (prevent/forbid to leave). The wife's family (*anak rona*) typically give jewellery and household equipment as a gift (*widang*) to the new family (*anak wina*). Then, the family of *anak rona* would not allow their daughter to leave the house (*pampang*). The man's family ought to present some money to the woman's family so that she will be allowed to leave the house. The man's family typically says: *Émé lako anak dité, néka rétang, néka nggao agu nggépo, néka pam pang* (when your child walks, do not cry, do not hug, and do not interfere).
- b. On the way to the husband's house, the wife must ride on a horse and must never touch the ground. As the entourage approaches the husband's village, a group of people on horses would be ready to pick them up. This ritual is called *curu wina*. The wife will be given a special attire to wear by the *anak wina*. Then she will be carried and seated on top of a rock as she must not touch the ground, all while celebratory songs are sung. Typically, the horse guide will purposely walk toward the wrong way and when this happens, the *anak wina* must persuade the *anak rona* to walk the right way by presenting some amount of money. At other times, the horse guide will purposely enter the wrong house and again, they must be presented with money from the *anak wina* to enter the correct house.
- c. Welcome ceremony in the house of the *anak wina*. The woman is carried and let down in front of the man's house while she steps on a raw egg, which symbolizes a new life. At the same time, a *péntang pitak* (literally means to clean the dust) ceremony is carried out to symbolize the woman leaving her parents' traditions behind and from then on, she must follow her in-law's traditions (*ceki*).

### **Traditional Wedding Ceremony (Wagal)**

*Wagal* ceremony is divided into four parts: opening, discussion, validation of marriage (*wagal*), and closing. The opening ceremony starts by welcoming *anak wina* at the gate of the village (*tuak curu lé pa'ang*). If the *anak wina* receives the *tuak curu* (*tuak* of welcome), it symbolizes their agreement of having a wedding ceremony in the form of *wagal*. If they refuse, they will say, *toé oné pa'ang ami lé mai, landing lut para musi* (we did not come from the front door, but from the

back door); this saying symbolizes their wish to have the wedding ceremony not in the form of *wagal*. After that, the *anak wina* will be served with food in a special house or tent where two rituals are performed: *rongkas kintal agu wodar natas* (destroy the fence and step on the yard) and *pa'u lu'u latang ata mata* (pay respect to the dead). In the first ritual, the *anak wina* expresses their apology by presenting some amount of money, for their presence has disrupted the village's harmony. In the second ritual, the *-anak rona* asks for blessings from the ancestors and the dead so that their presence does not surprise or anger them (Sudi, July 2017; Basilius, July 2017; Tatul, September 2017). Then the entourage of *anak wina* are offered drinks and snacks and are given a place to rest for the night (*téing locé* ceremony). The offering is expressed in the following way:

*Ai poli de bantang cama réjé lélé, nai ca anggit tuka ca léléng dité olo reké wíé agu leson, wulang agu tanggal kudut ngasang cikat kina wagak kaba, héla lésak penong pa'ang paténg wa waé worok éta golo bantang woé nelu dité, hoo kali cai dité, toé manga banan dami ris agu kapu ité, toé reweng kanang hoo tuak dami, te toi locé caca kopé dité.*

(We have agreed with one heart and one mind about the wedding ceremony, and now is the time. We have nothing to say except to welcome and serve you with all our hearts. This is the place for you to stay.)

After about an hour, discussion about bride-wealth to be presented by the *anak wina* will commence. The discussion is typically started by the speaker (*tongka*) from the side of *anak rona*, who will state that it is the time for the *anak wina* to present the bridewealth as agreed in the *pongo* ceremony. He will say: *io, ai ho'o dé leson remong cemol latang te sanggéd bantang dité sio olo; reweng dami késa, kudut tala lite* (yes, as this is the day that we had agreed on, we ask you to please present it). It is common for the *tongka anak wina* to reply that they have worked hard day and night, but they cannot bring the amount as agreed (*kawé toé háéng, hoo kanang ata dumpu*). The discussion then progresses dynamically until an agreement can be reached. Both of the parties understand that the matter of bridewealth is not merely a matter of the present (*toé salang tuak*) but it is a matter that would concern many generations in the future (*salang waé téku tédéng*). In the past, the ceremony could immediately proceed to the next step – which is *wagal*– if the *anak wina* had brought at least 50% the amount as agreed. However, the practice today is varied and in some cases, the ceremony cannot proceed to *wagal* because agreement cannot be reached. The *anak rona* always tries to acquire as much money from the *anak wina*, while on the other hand, the *anak wina* tries



to give as least as possible by asking for the generosity of the *anak rona* (*lembak nai*). Sometimes, the discussion of bridewealth takes a turn into a heated debate with seemingly no solution. This is often the case when the *anak rona* asks for money for things that the *anak wina* cannot fulfill. Once there is an agreement about bridewealth, *tongka anak rona* usually reminds the *anak wina* to pay for several other wishes (*raja*) for the next parts of the ceremony. Once agreed, then the bridewealth is presented in the ritual called *coga séng agu paca* (Sudi, July 2017; Basilius, July 2017; Tatul, September 2017).

The peak of the ceremony of *wagal* starts with the ritual of *toto* or *wéla héndéng*, where the bride is presented to the groom. It is a rather dramatic presentation where a false bride is included, while a celebratory song is sung (the song of *surunggé* or *mai ramé*) and a gong is hit. The false bride is presented by her aunt and seated in front of the groom. Once she is seated in front of the groom, the *tongka anak rona* will make a statement to the groom saying: This is your love (*Ai hoo belut nai dité olo*). The groom will reply by saying: She is indeed beautiful, but she is not my rib (*Bo molas ité, landing toé hoo toko racap daku*). The *tongka anak rona* will then ask the groom to present some money to the false bride so she can go back. Sometimes, the second false bride is presented before the real one is brought out. The real bride will be presented in front of the groom accompanied by some of her bridesmaids. She will be seated beside the groom on top of a pillow facing the front door. The company (the women and gong hitter) will typically refuse to return unless some amount of money is given to them by the groom (Sudi, July 2017; Basilius, July 2017; Tatul, September 2017).

The next part of the ceremony is *tudak ela wagal* (traditional prayer) or the sacrifice of animal such as pig or buffalo (*wegak sai ela, sikat sai kina* or *cikat kina wagak/wagal kaba, Ela lé, lancing sili.*) The prayer<sup>2</sup> involves: a) asking for the

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<sup>2</sup> Example of the traditional prayer: *Dengé le méu empo, hoo ami neki weki manga ranga, nai ca anggit tuka ca léléng lonto léok woénelu, ho kudu adakn ga, te cikat sai kina wagak kaba te nipu sanggéd tombo. Tegí dami, wa koé étan tu'a, kudut ité kéta te kolon ngaji kamping Mori Jari, sémbén Mori dédék, tombo agu Mori Wowo. Latang hi enu anak dami, kudut néka lérong kolé ceki de endé ema landing lut ruku weru hitu kali ga, hau enu paka lorong wa'u de ronam ga. Ného taé kali ga porong ka'éng jari, cébo léwé mosé ka'éng golo, beka agu buar tai anak lanar, wing do ného taé kali ga, raés bali recap rés baling lélé agu borék oné bocél. Tesuan kolé, aram manga nggaut agu nggut de asé kaé latang te pandé cuar wina rona disé cua, olélé..., tadang koés situ ta, poro te méu empo sua, paka jaga agu sémbéng kid lité. Néka koé cumang dungka agu pala cala one ka'éng kilo koéd.* (Listen, our ancestors, today we gather with one heart and one voice as a big family for this ceremony where we sacrifice this animal to tie our agreement. Our daughter, the bride, you will leave your parents' custom and follow your husband's custom. We pray that your family will be successful, be blessed with long life, children, and wealth. May all the anger and jealousy that can threaten your family be gone and far away. Ancestors, we pray that you be their guardian and protector of this family. May they never face challenges and difficulties in their married life) (taken from Regus and Deki, 2011: 107)

ancestors' blessings and asking them to be the bridge (mediator) in asking for God's blessings; b) stating that the two families have agreed, together with the villagers, to witness and support the marriage of the man and the wife; c) asking for blessings upon the new family to be wealthy, healthy, to be blessed with children, and to have a permanent marriage until death does them apart<sup>3</sup>; d) stating that the woman has to leave her clan and all her habits there and to join her husband's clan (*néka wedis ceki, néka lagé saké*). When the prayer is said, a spear (*korung*) that symbolizes the man will be stabbed onto a small board (*haju letang*) that symbolizes the bride. The prayer is closed by looking at the heart of a pig and the ceremony of *wali urat dia* by the *anak wina* (the groom's family expressing their gratitude for the success of the prayer by giving money to the bride's family) (Sudi, July 2017; Basilius, July 2017; Tatul, September 2017).

During the closing part of the *wagal*, both parties would typically discuss the plan of wedding mass in the Church. The *anak rona* usually asks for the *anak wina* for money (*raja*) to prepare for wedding mass in the Church (*kawing geréja*) including for the wedding dress (*rédiung kawing*) and for the wedding night ceremony (*karong loang*). Then, the *anak rona* presents a sarong (*towé lecak*) as a symbol of the protection from the *anak rona* to the new family from sickness and the cold (*lecak boto ringing tis pedeng menes*). This gift is of course, repaid by the *anak wina* with a price higher than the market price (in the past the repayment is in the form of a horse); however, if they do not have the money to pay, the *anak wina* would present a money while saying: *kesep lebo kala poong, ho lapéng* (while waiting for our family to be richer, this is some money). Moreover, the speaker (*tongka*) also offers the *anak wina* a sarong (*lipa paténg*). Even if the *anak wina* refuses the gift, it has to be returned with money.

## The View of Catholic Spouses about *Wagal*

In this study, there are three types of questions presented to the respondents. In the question regarding their view about *wagal*, 86.99% of the respondents viewed *wagal* as a form of traditional wedding ceremony in Manggarai while 93.49% of the respondents saw it as a ceremony of bridewealth presentation from the *anak wina* to the *anak rona*. Only 75.60% viewed *wagal* as a ceremony of

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<sup>3</sup> *Ného taé kali ga, porong kaéng, cébo léwé mosé kaéng golo; beka agu buar tai anak banar; wing do ného taé kali garas baling racap, rés baling lélé agu borék oné bocél. Tesuan kolé, aram manga ngga'ut agu nggut de asé kaé latang te pandé cuar wina rona disé, olélé... tang koé situ ta; poro le méu empo sua, paka jaga agu sémbéng kid lité. Néka cumang dungka agu pala cala oné kaéng kilo koéd.*

unification of two families (*woé nelu*). Only 52.03% respondents viewed *wagal* as a ceremony that legitimates a man and a woman to live as husband and wife.

Regarding their experience about *wagal*, this study found the following interesting results. Only 54.47% of the respondents had had *wagal* before their wedding mass in the Church and 73% of those agreed that *wagal* was overall a good experience. 94.30% of the respondents stated that during the ceremony of *tudak wagal*, both of the couple sat next to each other; 73.17% respondents recalled the presence of a false bride in their *wagal* ceremony; and 69.10% of the respondents recalled that the man was asked to point out the real bride. Regarding the relation of *wagal* with the wedding mass, 88.61% of the respondents believed that the wedding of a Manggaraian Catholic in the Church remained valid even without *wagal*. Only 57.72% of the respondents believed that *wagal* contributed to the celebratory mood during the wedding mass. However, 86.99% respondents agreed that *wagal* marked the support of their extended families for their married life.

These data show the phenomenon of the alteration in the values of *wagal* amongst the Manggaraians. Firstly, the role of *wagal* as the peak ceremony of wedding in Manggarai has been replaced by the wedding mass in the Church. This change suggests the dominance of the Church in Manggarai, especially since the Church imposes a sanction for those who refuse to get married in the Church. This change is also due to the requirement of article 1 of the 1974 Indonesia Law Number 1 regarding Marriage which states that a valid marriage is a marriage validated by religious bodies. Consequently, for Manggaraians to have a legal wedding, they will have to go through a Catholic wedding.

Secondly, *wagal* tends to be perceived as a moment of bridewealth presentation rather than a ceremony that legitimates a wedding or even a wedding ceremony. Once *wagal* is perceived merely as a moment when bridewealth is presented, it will also be viewed as economic burden to the groom's family and an economic opportunity to the bride's family. Consequently, the discussion about bridewealth is motivated more by economy rather than kinship. This conflicts the principle of *toé salang tuak landing salang waé* (not the road of *tuak* but the road of water) which prioritizes kinship. This is one of the reasons why the discussion of the bridewealth can often end in conflict. In the research by Lon and Widyawati (2017) it is found that the discussion about bridewealth during *wagal* tends to leave the bride in distress on her wedding day. This usually happens because of the conflict risen from the discussion of the bridewealth. This study also shows

only 73% were content with their *wagal* ceremony. It is not impossible that the less number of couples who have *wagal* before their Church wedding (54.47%) is due to the economic reason. This can also be seen from the high and burdensome amount of bridewealth. In the study by Lon and Widyawati (2017), it is found that the amount of bridewealth can be as high as 500 million Rupiahs. One can imagine how tough it is for an average Manggaraian to acquire such amount of money with their average income of less than 10 million Rupiahs permonth.

This change in the value of *wagal* can be understood as it is only natural (Salim, 2002: 10). Samuel Koenig (1970) views such change as a form of modification in human life. This can occur due to the change in the culture of materials and bridewealth, the increase in the population, and the presence of new inventions (Gillin and Gillin, 1942). As such, this change suggests a shift of focus in *wagal* from kinship to materials. This change is due to the change of production pattern from agrarian to industrial and service (Marx in Smelser, 1973).

## Conclusion

Marriage in Manggarai is a process whereby a man takes a woman as his wife through a series of traditional ceremonies. In the past, the peak of the ceremonies was the *wagal* ceremony. Through *wagal*, the couple was validated as husband and wife and the two families became related as *woé nelu* (*anak rona* and *anak wina*). With the presence of the Catholic Church, there is a shift in the role of *wagal*. It is no longer the peak of the wedding procession, but is simply a step before the peak ceremony, which is the Church wedding. This shift in the role of *wagal* is likely due to the requirement of Chapter 1 of the State Decree Number 1 in 1974 that requires Manggaraians to marry in the Church.

*Wagal* is no longer seen as the ceremony that validates marriage, but merely as the moment of bridewealth presentation from *anak wina* to *anak rona*. With that, the kinship value which is supposed to be the substance of *wagal* is replaced by economic value. This shift has a big impact on the sacredness of *wagal* that unifies two families. If nothing is done, it is possible that *wagal* will only play a pragmatic and materialistic role (*salang tuak*) and will no longer plant the seed of everlasting kinship (*salang waé téku tédeng*). This change will sooner or later threaten the tie of kinship and camaraderie in this region. Once the kinship tie is strained, it is possible that Manggaraians will become more individualistic.

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