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THE VIEW OF MARRIED COUPLE IN RUTENG ABOUT WAGAL AS A TRADITIONAL WEDDING CEREMONY IN MANGGARAI, FLORES, EAST NUSA TENGGARA Abstract To Manggaraians, 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 families the and bride's This aims explore how the of are and by couple 0-15 years marriage. questionnaires about view the of respondents wagal, study that is shift the of The data that of respondents wagal as procedure bride- wealth a that the of man a This concludes that the shift in the value of wagal suggests a shift in the value of Manggaraians 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 motivation have intimate with opposite be in sexual or a way. to (1975: 113-114) Stott 368), is just sign human Marriage is not a creation or an invention of men, but it is the creation and the plan God; has set God the of (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 fertility) mbaun koé éta of comfort), jéngok koé lé ulu, wiko lau wa'i of These 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 310 seen a that marriage. people Manggarai to adopt Catholic wedding in has the of marriage.

Even so, wagal is still celebrated today before a wedding mass in the Church. For men women Manggarai, married not a right that the Article of 1945 Constitution Article 10 the Indonesia Number regarding human indeed acknowledge emphasize right every

individual start family procreate a marriage. 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 Hadikusumo 82), law positively the development of the state law. Customary law is not a written law; it encompasses regulations by people a (Soepomo, carries social sanctions (Van Vollenhoven in Soekanto, 1981: 14-16), and comes from the desire for justice within the community itself (Wignyodipuro, 1984). This would to on in especially wagal as ceremony Manggarai, Flores.

the 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 before Church ceremony. This shift generates some questions, including: How far does this change suggest the view of the Manggaraians about wagal itself future marriage Manggarai? far wagal respected embodied the people in Manggarai? To these a was on view experience young couple Langke District October 2017. this questionnaires distributed Catholic who 311 have married 0-15 Respondents randomly which comprised of 60 men and 63 women.

Looking at their education background, 29 people elementary or 18 junior school, 44 senior school, 32 university higher. 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 at occasions: on 24, in Langke District another September 2017 Pela, District.

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.1 Marriage in Manggarai Manggaraians use several terms to refer to marriage. One of the common terms the kawing which marriage a way 1967:197). According to Verheijen, the word kawing originates from the Indonesian word which creating family Besar 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 linked Church in phrase kawing gereja (gereja means Church).

Another term likely to be more original than the word kawing is the phrase na'a wina literally taking wife 1967: or 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 take wife). phrases that in is process taking having wife. marriage encompasses a series of ceremonies in order to make a woman a man's wife. the the of ceremonies during ceremony wagal/ nempung or umber ; the of wedding is kawing gereja (wedding mass in Church). There are also other terms that describe marriage in Manggarai including lili, tungku, and cangkang.

Lili refers marrying widow a 1 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. 312 (Verheijen, 282). term lili is to a marriage a marries brother her husband. Congkar, Manggarai, it is also referred to as tongkéng. 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 a around field clear land farming). bears a that a dies, brother marry wife provides income for the family. Conversely, when a woman dies, and the widower marries her sister, this is termed tinu lalo (sororate The 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 to the of children have are a part of their father ganti tikar (Roosmalen, 1989: 4), meaning change a wife. Tungku is of most types marriage Manggarai. a research by Gordon, 15% of marriages in Manggarai are of tungku type; whereby 25% that of tungku cu type 1975). 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 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 tungku canggot is when a man marries the daughter of his mother 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 cako cama asé kaé is marriage children two

which is in 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, 103) this occurs the same The type *cako cama salang* which a between 313 children two (Verheijen, 671). type *cako* is also called *cako cama péang* or *cako cama anak wina* 2006: because marriage between **the children of two sisters** who have joined their husbands' clan. In Manggarai, exogamy marriage also exists as reported by Coolhaas (1942: 374).

marriage a used describe marriage someone 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 giver *anak rona* ) the 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 wedding a of man a as wife involves the families the and woman. procedure wedding involve the ( *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 and climb house. Manggaraians, is business of the extended family instead of the individual. This is why the man's family must meet woman's This shows sign 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 her his This expressed the *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 In tungku marriage, expression instead inang *olo-woté musi* or *alo dalo-pulu wungkut* (the started, the must This that proposal not create new 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 would to that no has the energy to cook and to fetch water). 314 b. Once woman's accepts proposal, next is *paca* where families about This the where speaker *tongka* ) each negotiates amount money cattle bridewealth. negotiation takes lot time can sometimes turn into an argument.

Once an agreement is reached, the *tongka* from family on talk the ceremony. If the *tongka anak wina* (the from man's says *mai dami oné pa'ang lé mai, bombong iko, jenggu tungga* (we come through the gate of the with then wedding will in form of *wagal* . he *mai dami oné radi ngaung, cihir ri'i, wuka wancang* 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 . if says mai tutung sulu, mai ngguang wai come serve or worship), then the wedding ceremony will be up to the family of anakrona (the woman's family) (Bagul, 1996: 47). c. The step tukar kila (the of and sacrifice ela mbukut (pig).

is symbol agreement unification the extended families ( pongo ). In this ceremony, the two parties are reminded of existence customary for party breach agreement. the refuses marry man, the shall be returned in addition to a pig ( ela podo wa'u) to send the man to his family. the hand, the refuses marry, bridewealth is returned instead, man's shall a or buffalo ( jarang ko kaba cému ritak) to compensate the embarrassment of the woman's family. 2.

Wagal or umber as wedding In ceremony, families to a and woman and At same the families to one family the With ceremony, man a can live through ritual of karong lo'ang where woman's take couple a (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: 315 a. Farewell the of anak rona . the leaves parents' house, rituals carried widang (gift and pampang (prevent/forbid leave). wife's ( anak rona ) give jewellery household as gift widang ) the family (anak wina ). the of anak rona would allow daughter to leave the house ( pampang ).

man's ought present money the family that will allowed leave house. The man's family typically says: Émé lako anak dité, néka rétang, néka nggao agu nggépo, néka pampang (when your child walks, do not cry, do not hug, and do not interfere). b. On way the house, wife ride a 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 . wife be a attire wear by anak wina. Then will carried seated top a as must touch ground, while songs sung. Typically, the horse guide will purposely walk toward the wrong way and when happens, anak wina must persuade the anak rona to the way presenting amount money.

other the horse will enter wrong and they be presented with money from the anak wina to enter the correct house. c. Welcome in house the anak wina . woman carried and down front the house she on raw which a life. the time, péntang pitak ( literally means to clean the dust) ceremony is carried out to symbolize the woman leaving parents' behind from on, must 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 it their of a ceremony the of wagal . they they say, toé oné pa'ang ami lé mai, landing lut para musidid come the door, from 316 back this symbolizes wish have wedding not in the form of wagal . that, anak wina will served food a special or where rituals performed: rongkas kintal agu wodar natas the and on yard) pa'u lu'u latang ata mata respect the In first the anak wina expresses apology 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 dead that presence not or them 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 anggít tuka ca léléng dité olo reké wié 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 agreed one and mind the ceremony, now the We nothing say to welcome serve with our This the for to stay.)

After an discussion bride-wealth be by the anak wina will The discussion typically by speaker (tongka) from the side of anak rona , will that is time the anak wina to the as in pongo He say: io, ai ho'o dé leson remong cemol latang te sanggéd bantang dité sio olo; reweng dami késa, kudut tala lite as is day we agreed we you please present it). It is common for the tongka anak wina to that have worked hard day and night, but they cannot bring the amount as agreed ( kawé toé haéng, hoo kanang ata dumpu ). discussion progresses until an can reached.

of parties that matter bridewealth is not merely a matter of the present ( toé salang tuak ) but it is a matter that concern generations the ( salang waé téku tédéng ). In the the could proceed the step which wagal– if the anak wina had brought at least 50% the amount as agreed. However, the today varied in cases, ceremony proceed wagal because agreement cannot be reached. The anak rona always tries to acquire as money the anak wina , on other the anak wina tries 317 to as as by for generosity the anak rona (lembak nai ).

the of takes turn a debate with no This often case the anak rona asks money things the anak wina cannot Once is agreement about tongka anak rona usually the anak wina to for several wishes raja ) the parts the Once then the is in ritual coga séng agu paca (Sudi, 2017; Basilius, July 2017; Tatul, September 2017). The of ceremony wagal starts the of

toto or wéla héndéng , the is to groom. is rather presentation a bride included, a song sung (the song of surunggé or mai ramé) and a gong is hit. The false bride is presented by aunt seated front the Once is in of groom, the tongka anak rona will a to groom This your love ( Ai hoo belut nai dité olo ).

The groom will reply by saying: She is indeed beautiful, she not 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 can back. the false is before real is out. real will presented front the accompanied some her She be beside groom on of pillow the door. company women gong hitter) typically to unless amount money given them by the groom (Sudi, July 2017; Basilius, July 2017; Tatul, September 2017). The part the is tudak ela wagal (traditional or the of such pig buffalo wegak sai ela, sikat sai kina or cikat kina wagak/wagal kaba, Ela lé, lancing sili .)

prayer 2 a) for 2 Example of the traditional prayer: Dengéé le méu empo, hoo ami neki weki manga ranga, nai ca anggít tuka ca léléng lonto léok woénelu, ho kudu adakn ga, te cikat sai kina wagak kaba te nipu sanggéd tombo. Tegi 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, oléé..., 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) 318 ancestors' and them be bridge in for God's b) that two have together the villagers, to witness and support the marriage of the man and the wife; c) asking for upon new to wealthy, to blessed children, and to have a permanent marriage until death does them apart 3 ; d) stating the has leave clan all habits and join her clan néka wedis ceki, néka lagé saké ).

the is a spear (korung ) symbolizes man be onto small ( haju letang ) symbolizes bride. prayer closed looking the of pig the of wali urat dia by anak wina (the family expressing gratitude the of prayer giving to bride's family) (Sudi, July 2017; Basilius, July 2017; Tatul, September 2017). During the closing part of the wagal , parties typically the of mass the The anak rona usually for anak wina for ( raja ) prepare wedding in Church kawing geréja) including the dress rédung kawing ) for wedding ceremony karong loang).

Then, the anak rona presents a sarong ( towé lecak) as a symbol the from anak rona to new from and the cold (lecak boto ringing tis pedeng menes ). gift of repaid the anak wina with price than market (in past repayment is the of horse); if do have money pay, anak wina would a while kesep lebo kala poong, ho lapéng (while for family be this some Moreover, speaker tongka ) offers 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 question their about wagal , of respondents viewed wagal a of wedding in while 93.49% the saw as ceremony bridewealth from the anak wina to the anak rona . 75.60% wagal as ceremony 3 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, oléé... 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.

319 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 experience wagal , study the interesting Only of respondents had wagal before their wedding in Church 73% those that wagal was a experience. of respondents that the of tudak wagal , of couple next each 73.17% recalled the presence of a false bride in their wagal ceremony; 69.10% 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 wedding a Catholic the remained even without wagal . Only 57.72% of the respondents believed that wagal contributed to the mood the mass. 86.99% agreed that wagal marked the support of their extended families for their married life. These show phenomenon the in values wagal amongst Manggaraians. the of wagal as peak of wedding Manggarai been by wedding in 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



regarding which that valid is marriage validated religious. Consequently, Manggarians have legal wedding, they will have to go through a Catholic wedding. Secondly, wagal tends to be as moment bridewealth presentation rather than a ceremony that legitimates a wedding or even a wedding ceremony.

wagal is merely a when is presented, it will also be viewed as economic burden to the groom's family and an economic to bride's. Consequently, discussion 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 can end conflict. the by and (2017) is that discussion bridewealth wagal tends to leave bride distress her day. usually because the risen the of bridewealth.

study shows 320 only were with wagal. It not that 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 bridewealth. the by and (2017), is that amount bridewealth be high 500 Rupiahs. can imagine tough is an Manggaraian acquire amount money with their average income of less than 10 million Rupiahs permonth. This change in the value of wagal can understood it only (Salim, 10).

Koenig views change a of modification human. This occur to change the of materials bridewealth, increase the and presence new (Gillin Gillin, As this suggests shift of focus in wagal from to This is to change of pattern agrarian industrial service Marx Smelser, 1973). Conclusion Ma rriage Manggarai a whereby man a as his through series traditional. In past, peak 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). the of Catholic there a in role of wagal.

is longer peak the procession, is a 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 moment bridewealth from anak wina to anak rona. With that, the kinship value which is supposed to be the substance of wagal is replaced by value. shift a impact the of wagal that unifies families. nothing done, is that wagal will play pragmatic and materialistic role (*salang tuak*) will longer the of kinship *salang waé téku tédeng*).

change sooner 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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