

# The Impact of Customary Wedding Culture Rampanan Kapa' in Strengthening the Customary Law and Improving Cultural Tourism in Tana Toraja- South Sulawesi

Asmah Abbas<sup>1,\*</sup> Nur Hidayah<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1,2</sup> *Sawerigading University, of Makassar*

<sup>\*</sup> *Corresponding author. Email: asmahunsa@yahoo.co.id*

## ABSTRACT

Tana Toraja is one area in South Sulawesi-Indonesia that still maintains the cultural customs, which are the heritage of their ancestors since thousands of years ago. This is marked by the validity of customary law, for example, implementing a death ceremony called Rambu Solo' and a traditional wedding ceremony called Rampanan Kapa.' The traditional wedding ceremony of Rampanan Kapa' is one of the attractions for tourists to visit Tana Toraja. This study aims to determine the process of implementing the Rampanan Kapa' traditional wedding ceremony in Tana Toraja related to customary law and its impact on tourism activities in Tana Toraja. This research was conducted in Tana Toraja Regency, with a social-legal approach. The data obtained in the form of primary data and secondary data were analyzed qualitatively. Qualitative analysis is used to analyze the descriptive data. The study results indicated that each process or ritual in the traditional wedding ceremony of Rampanan Kapa' had its meaning, which was closely related to customary law and sanctions for one party if it is proven to be the cause of divorce in marriage. The sanctions that would be given were determined based on the social class or Tana" in Toraja indigenous community. The results of this study also showed that all processes of traditional wedding ceremonies full of various meanings were proven to attract foreign tourists to learn, know, and be involved directly in the Rampanan Kapa' traditional wedding ceremony.

**Keywords:** *Rampanan Kapa', Tana Toraja custom, Traditional wedding.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a unitary country that has a variety of diversity. Indonesia consists of various cultures, local languages, races, ethnicities, religions, and beliefs. However, Indonesia can unite the diversity by the Indonesian motto "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika", which means a different but still one. *Cultural diversity* is a necessity that exists in Indonesia. The diversity that Indonesia has causes Indonesia to have a variety of cultures and customary laws in each region.<sup>1</sup> Different region have different cultures and legal norms. One of the customary environments that still uphold the law of the indigenous community in weddings is Tana Toraja.

Tana Toraja is one area that has very famous customs and culture. Tana Toraja is one of the most reliable tourism destinations in South Sulawesi. Tanah Toraja offers cultural customs as an attraction for tourists. Many tourists from within the country and abroad visit Tana

Toraja to witness the traditional rituals held in Tana Toraja. One of these traditional rituals is the customary wedding ritual. Traditional wedding in Tana Toraja is called Rampanan Kapa'. Although not all regions still adhere to customary law due to the influence of religion and current developments, some areas still adhere to their traditional culture. This proves that customary law still applies in Tana Toraja. Although almost all residents in Tana Toraja district have their religion, it is still very often to found various things in the community related to the belief system of the ancestors Aluk To Dolo for example in carrying out funeral ceremonies Rambu Solo' and wedding that is still carried out in a traditional manner called Rampanan Kapa'.<sup>2</sup>

The indigenous community of Tana Toraja still practices the wedding system in Tana Toraja called Rampanan Kapa'. In contrast to the wedding procedures carried out in general, the wedding of Rampanan Kapa' is not ratified by the penghulu or religious leaders but by

traditional leaders who are called *tao ada'*. All rules regarding marital life are regulated through the rules originating from the beliefs and teachings of the ancestors of Aluk To Dolo (animist beliefs) called Aluk Rampanan Kapa' or Ada' Rampanan Kapa'. In the Rampanan Kapa' traditional wedding, divorce is very rare. If a divorce occurs, both parties will be subject to customary sanctions that are very large and determined based on social status in society. As a result, if there is a case where the marriage cannot be reunited, then the married couple will not divorce, but they only separate or remarry without first getting divorced.

## **2. METHOD**

### **2.1 Research Location and Time**

In order to obtain complete, accurate, and adequate data, the authors conducted the objective research, which was related to the impact of traditional wedding culture "Rampanan Kapa'" in strengthening the customary and improving cultural tourism in Tana Toraja-South Sulawesi. This research was conducted for approximately six months.

### **2.2 Research Approach**

This study used a qualitative approach emphasizing efforts to utilize and collect information about the traditional wedding culture Rampanan Kapa' in Tana Toraja-South Sulawesi.

### **2.3 Type of Research.**

This research was descriptive analysis research, which tried to 1) describe the process of implementing the Rampanan Kapa' traditional wedding ceremony in Tana Toraja related to customary law and 2) describe its impact on tourism activities in Tana Toraja.

### **2.4 Population and Sample**

The samples in this research were two resource people who had followed the traditional wedding ritual of Rampanan Kapa' and had also experienced divorce through a process of sanctions and fines based on the Rampanan Kapa' custom. This research also involved two customary leaders, two village government officials or *lembang*, two civil registration officers, and each Christian and Islamic religious leader in Madandan village, Tana Toraja district.

### **2.5 Types and Sources of Data**

#### **2.5.1 Type of Data**

The data obtained was qualitative data from observations and interviews, a description of the literature, and other library materials.

#### **2.5.2 Source of Data.**

The source of data used is divided into 2 (two): data obtained directly from the samples or primary data and data obtained from library materials or secondary data. In this research, primary data from direct observations and

interviews and secondary data from various library sources will be used.

### **2.6 Data Collection Technique**

In this study, the data collection techniques used are 1. Library Research by reading and studying all materials such as scientific writings, books, archives, magazines, literature, and written sources. 2. Field research uses observation and interview techniques by conducting direct questions and answers to the samples.

### **2.7 Data Analysis Technique**

A descriptive analysis method was used to obtain an accurate explanation regarding the impact of traditional wedding culture Rampanan Kapa' in strengthening the customary law and improving cultural tourism in Tana Toraja-South to analyze the research data Sulawesi.

## **3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

The Toraja tribe is a tribe that lives in the mountains of the northern part of South Sulawesi, Indonesia. The population is estimated at around 1 million people, with around 500,000 still living in Tana Toraja Regency, North Toraja Regency, and Mamasa Regency. The majority of the Toraja are Christian, while some adhere to Islam and animistic beliefs known as Aluk To Dolo. The Indonesian government has recognized this belief as part of the Hindu Dharma Religion.<sup>3</sup>

"Toraja" comes from the Bugis language *to rija*, which means "people who live in the land above." The Dutch colonial government named this tribe Toraja in 1909. The Toraja tribe is famous for its funeral rituals, traditional Tongkonan houses, and wood carvings. Toraja funeral rituals are important social events, usually attended by hundreds of people and lasting for several days.<sup>4</sup> Each process in traditional rituals and religious rituals in Tana Toraja has its laws classified into customary law.

Customary law is a verbal form of law. The form is not written because it is in line with the culture of the customary law community in Indonesia, which is based on oral culture.<sup>5</sup> The emergence of customary law begins with individuals who get thoughts and behavior from God. Behavior that individuals continuously carry out will become a personal habit. If other people imitate the personal habit, then sooner or later, one person and another in the community will also carry out the habit. Then, if all community members carry out these habitual behaviors, these habits will become the community's customs to create that customary law.<sup>6</sup>

### **3.1 The Influence of Rampanan Kapa' Traditional Wedding as A Tourist Attraction**

Tana Toraja is one of the mainstay tourist destinations in South Sulawesi. This area offers its unique Indigenous culture as an attractive offer for tourists. The Toraja indigenous community lives in mountain areas and maintains a distinctive lifestyle. All wedding, divorce,

and death processes are carried out in a unique and inherited from generation to generation, which is different from the wedding, divorce, and death of other tribes in Indonesia in general. Not only offering an enchanting natural atmosphere, but traditional rituals are also one that attracts tourists. One such ritual is a wedding ritual performed by local people. Based on the Central Bureau of Statistics of Tana Toraja Regency, data obtained that more than two hundred thousand visitors come to Tana Toraja for local tourists and more than five thousand foreign tourists per year<sup>7</sup>. Judging from the data above, it shows that there is so much interest from tourists in visiting Tana Toraja.

### **3.2 *Rampanan Kapa' Rules According to The Beliefs of Aluk To Dolo***

#### **3.2.1 *Traditional Wedding***

Before the entry of Christian and Islam, the Toraja indigenous community had a belief called *parandangan* or *aluk to dolo*. *Rampanan kapa'* means *dipasibali* or an agreement between a man and a woman in the traditional wedding vows. *Rampanan kapa'* or commonly called *rambu tuka,*' is a Toraja traditional wedding with various rules and traditional ritual processes. This rule according to the belief *aluk to dolo* comes directly from the sky to humans. According to the myths and beliefs of *aluk to dolo*, this rule came down directly from the sky by *manurung puang tamboro langi* or God Almighty. This rule is marked by pieces of betel. The traditional *aluk to dolo* wedding process is still followed today based on Tana' or caste rules. *Kapa'* must go through the applicable rules based on the caste system as follows:

- a. Tana' bulaan  
Tana bulaan is an aristocratic caste which is the highest caste in the Tana Toraja society. In the process of customary *aluk to dolo* wedding or in the modern society of Tana Toraja, there is a process of agreement or *kapa'* Tana' bulaan, or the highest caste pledged in front of customary officials to both sides of the bride to bind this traditional wedding through Tana' which 12 to 24 buffaloes mark. Tana' marked with 12 to 24 buffaloes as proof of loyalty between the two parties.
- b. Tana' bassi  
Tana' bassi or middle noble caste tied in Tana' which is marked by 6 to 12 buffaloes as a pledge of allegiance in the traditional wedding of the Tana' bassi caste.
- c. Tana' karurung  
Tana' karurung, or ordinary people's caste which is marked by 2 to 6 buffaloes as a pledge of allegiance in the traditional wedding of the Tana' karurung caste.
- d. Tana kua-kua  
Tana kua-kua or Kaunan or servant caste with a maximum number of 2 buffalo. However, the actual customary rules of *aluk to dolo* are only trusted by three rules and caste in the traditional

wedding agreement process: Tana'bulaan, Tana'bassi, and Tana'Karurung. The tana kua-kua caste is made by the Tana Toraja community today, which is adapted to the modern era.<sup>8</sup>

The wedding party or *Rampanan Kapa'* of the Toraja indigenous community is divided into three according to their respective caste levels, namely:

- a. Bo'bo' Bannang  
Bo'bo' Bannang is a party in the lowest caste in a simple traditional celebration attended by only a few invitees and held at night. The menu offered to guests is fish and one or two chickens.
- b. Rampo Karoen  
Rampo Karoen is a middle caste party. The party is held in the afternoon at the bride's house. Wedding poems will be read during the event. At night, the bride and groom listen to all the wedding rules in front of customary witnesses. After that, the event continued with having dinner together.
- c. Rampo Allo  
Rampo Allo is a top caste party. The cost used to organize this party is very large. Many stages started from the proposed event to the wedding party that requires a very long time and preparation.<sup>9</sup>
- d. The Traditional Wedding Process of The Toraja People (From The Aluk To Dolo Period To The Religious Society Period).

The traditional wedding of the Toraja people in the Aluk to Dolo era was very strict because the Aluk To Dolo people firmly adhered to *pemali* or rules/prohibitions. The traditional Aluk To Dolo wedding must be carried out by the caste or Tana' that applies in society. For example: if a Tana' bulaan (noble caste) enters into a customary wedding agreement with another Tana' of a different caste, it will be given customary sanctions by lowering its status in the community. However, by the times, there has been a cultural shift. Inter-caste weddings have occurred in Toraja indigenous community, but sanctions or punishments are still given and must be carried out. Since people still have the belief in Aluk To Dolo to people who already have a religion, the traditional wedding process still has to go through the same rituals, as follows:

- a. Umbawa kada (Family visitation through envoys or family representative)  
In this process, the family representatives are sent to visit the prospective bride. The aim is to find out the caste that the woman belongs to and give the news that the groom will marry the bride. If it is known that there are similarities in caste, then all preparations for marriage begin to be prepared. Unfortunately, as time goes by, there is a shift in cultural values so that the rituals in this traditional marriage only become a habit as a form of

appreciation and respect for the big family of women.

b. Ma'parampo (Proposing)

After the family representatives are sent to the prospective bride's family house returned with news or called umbawa kada, the groom will do ma'parampo or a proposing according to the caste. In the ma'parampo process, if the groom is from a noble caste, the groom must be accompanied by 24 men according to the tana' or 24 caste marks. They must bring 24 areca nuts and betel nuts tied in a single bond and wrapped by Ma'a cloth and gayang (Toraja kris). All of this must be brought by the groom's entourage. In the ma'parampo process, the kapa' agreement is agreed in front of the customary holders of both parties according to Tana' or caste. In Aluk To Dolo era, a man must stay at the bride's house. In the traditional wedding rituals and beliefs of the Aluk To Dolo, men and women have been declared legally as husband and wife if the customary process has been carried out. However, along with the entry of other religions, such as Christian and Islam, marriage has not been declared valid if it has not followed the marriage blessing or contract according to religion and is carried out based on formal law and recorded by the state.

c. Marriage Blessing based on religion

d. Civil registration by the state<sup>10</sup>

### 3.2.2 Toraja Customary Divorce Process

Ma'kapa is a kapa' obligation or agreement and sanctions that must be carried out in the typical divorce process of the Toraja indigenous community. Kapa' is a sanction for violations of customs committed by one of the Toraja traditional wedding agreement parties. This sanction must be by the level of Tana' or the caste between the two parties. Divorce in the traditional wedding of the Toraja indigenous people can occur because various things and conditions trigger it, therefore as a consequence of customary sanctions is the obligation to pay kapa'. If there is one party who wants to divorce or to leave the partner in the course of the household, then the customary sanction that must be carried out is to pay kapa' according to caste. If the one who wants a divorce is in the top caste of Tana' bulaan, it is the obligation of a man or woman who leaves her partner to pay 24 buffalo according to the customary agreement. The process of paying kapa' must be carried out in the presence of traditional leaders. If the obligation to pay sanctions has been carried out in the presence of traditional leaders, one of the parties is allowed to leave the partner. In the understanding of aluk to dolo, if one party does not pay its obligations or carry out sanctions, it will receive customary sanctions, namely dosa, or, in other words, become servants of the local village. This custom of Toraja indigenous peoples is very binding and must be carried out because, in the belief of the Toraja indigenous people, pemali is highly respected.<sup>11</sup>

As time goes by, and the development of increasingly modern society after the aluk to dolo era, to strengthen the position of the engagement or agreement in the traditional wedding of the Toraja indigenous people, the term "surat kongsi" or written agreement has been agreed since the colonial period. Since then, the agreement has been agreed in the customary court and then legally strengthened in written form, which is carried out by the lembang or village government with the stamp.

Based on the experience of Mrs. Themis Fitriani Rante Tonglo, who came from Lembang (village) Madandan when in the ma'parampo pore tananan dapo' (traditional bond) process, the Kapa' was agreed. There was evidence and a juridical/legal basis in the agreement by making an official agreement at the Madandan Lembang (village) government office. This agreement was signed on the stamp to strengthen the customary agreement that has been Ra'tai (agreed on) by both parties and attended by each of the customary stakeholders or other witnesses.

## 4. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Rampanan kapa' (traditional wedding) in the Toraja indigenous people must go through a long process based on applicable customary rules. In this process, each individual is obliged to involve traditional leaders from both sides. In the process of this traditional wedding, the agreement must be carried out, and those who violate the agreement must carry out the applicable customary sanctions. This is related to the high self-esteem of the Toraja indigenous people. In order to strengthen the position of the agreement in traditional weddings and the decisions of traditional institutions towards positive law and formal justice, there must be evidence of a written agreement as a formal legal so that the agreement is legally valid and binding.

In the wedding engagement process, the Toraja indigenous people must go through several stages, such as Ubawa kada involving family representatives, Ma'parampo or proposing by involving religious and traditional leaders, Blessing of marriage/marriage contract, and civil registration by the government. In addition, in the divorce process or Ma'Kapa, a customary sanction that must be carried out for individuals who have violated the agreement is to pay a fine in the form of a pig or buffalo according to their Tana' or caste. This acceptable obligation is given to those who have broken the agreement by leaving or divorce the spouse.

Because the Rampanan Kapa' traditional wedding process has many stages, this marriage process becomes an attraction for both local and foreign tourists. The familiar environment that has been formed in Tana Toraja should be preserved so that the community is genuinely obedient in carrying out the process of community life and strengthens the position of customary rules in a juridical manner so as not to cause polemics in the future.

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