

# The Tradition of the Original Tenganan People in Preserving Endogamy Marriage in Traditional Village Tenganan Pegringsingan, Bali

Ni Nyoman Putri Nursanti<sup>1</sup>, Wilodati<sup>2</sup>, Siti Komariah<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1,2,3</sup>Program Studi Magister Pendidikan Sosiologi, Sekolah Pascasarjana Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia  
[putrinursanti@upi.edu](mailto:putrinursanti@upi.edu)

## Abstract

*The purpose of this study is to reveal the reason the indigenous Tenganan people preserve endogamous marriage. This descriptive research was conducted in the traditional village of Tenganan Pegringsingan, with data acquisition through document studies, interviews and observations. The results of this study indicate that until now the traditional village community of Tenganan Pegringsingan still preserves and still implements the written rule, namely Awig-Awig . The Tenganan Asli preserve endogamous marriages with the aim of remaining able to become villagers who can control the village government while preserving the traditions of the original Tenganan people. With their uniqueness in using a government system based on the order of marital seniority, the native Tenganan people receive rewards according to their positions in the government system. The condition that is still sustainable until now is reinforced by Shill's theory that the connection of today's society with its past has never died at all. Furthermore, it is said that the link between the present and the past is the basis of tradition.*

## Keywords

Endogamy; government;  
tradition; Tenganan  
Pegringsingan



## I. Introduction

Each village in this archipelago has an organizational structure that is different from one another. Likewise, in the field of values and socio-cultural traditions they vary from one village to another. In general, villages have collective wealth that is used to meet the common needs of the village community (Marzali, 2014) . This independent characteristic makes villages develop as social units with a fairly democratic tradition (Zuhro, 2018) . This shows that the internal relationship between one village and another is equal. There is no central or centralized power that oversees the village.

This situation is also reflected in the internal structure of the village, which usually develops a distinctive organizational system (Handiman et al., 2022) . Shared ownership or collective control over community assets encourages the village community to develop a decision-making system based on consensus. The deliberation process for consensus is generally carried out directly. The decision was then binding and obeyed by all villagers. The deliberation system has become a democratic tradition that develops in villages (Joewono et al., 2018) .

One of the villages characterized by the above is an ancient village in Manggis District, Karang Asem Regency, Bali, which is known as the "Tenganan Pegringsingan traditional village". The location of the traditional village of Tenganan Pegringsingan is approximately 10 Km from the city of Amlapura (the capital of Karangasem Regency) and 65 Km from the city of Denpasar and is at an altitude from the seaside or roadside

majoring Denpasar - Karangasem, with an altitude of 70 Km above sea level, and an average temperature. average 28 degrees celsius in the dry season (Sukawati, 2020) . In addition, this village is also flanked by two hills, namely Kangin Hill and Kauh Hill.

The beauty of this village does not only occur naturally, but it is created based on the traditions inherited by the descendants of the Orang Tenganan Asli, so that the placement of rice fields or fields, cemeteries, residential areas, agricultural land, grave land, and forests in Bukit Kangin and the hills of Kauh, with territorial boundaries in the form of large trees, rivers, large stones, etc. which are detailed in Article 12 awig-awig (rules) village.

Based on the description above, the problem that will be discussed in this paper is "why do the Tenganan Asli still preserve endogamous marriage in the midst of social change?" The purpose of this short study is to prove that although this village is classified as an ancient village, the residents are still willing and able to maintain their ancestral tradition, namely to continue to perform endogamous marriages.

## II. Research Method

This study uses a qualitative approach with ethnographic methods. According to Creswell, the ethnographic method is used by researchers to describe and interpret the patterns of values, behaviors, beliefs, and languages that are shared and learned together in a cultural group (Cresswell, 2021) . While the data collection techniques through document study, observation and interviews. The results of both secondary and primary data are presented in a narrative manner which was previously analyzed interactively. The analysis was carried out using the Miles & Huberman (2009: 16) model which consists of three flow activities that occur simultaneously, namely: data reduction, data presentation, conclusion drawing/verification.

## III. Results and Discussion

### Traditional Tenganan People

#### 3.1 Awig-Awig Traditional Village

The awig-awig of the traditional village of Tenganan Pegringsingan, which is in written form until now, is obeyed and stored in Bale Agung, which is the source of the application of customary law, at first it was called *pengeling-eling* (meaning 'warning') which is a record of the memories of the native Tenganan people, after the rules or village charter that burned in 1763 caka (1841 AD). It also states that the rewriting of village awig-awig was carried out in 1764 caka by royal clerks named I Gede Gurit and I Made Gianyar, then perfected in 1847 (1925 AD). The writing was also stated after obtaining permission from the King of Karangasem named I Gusti Made Karangasem and King of Klungkung named I Dewa Agung Putra. Thus, the contents of the traditional village awig-awig are the traditions and wishes of their ancestors who were left for their descendants, which until now are still mostly obeyed by the next generation. This was explained by the village client, March 2022.

The explanation about the continued adherence to the contents of the village awig-awig is not too difficult to accept if from the point of view of Sztompka (2004: 67), "tradition includes the continuity of the past in the present, so in this case tradition means inheritance, what is really left, from the past." In this case, Shill (in Sztompka, 2004: 67) states that "tradition means everything that is channeled or inherited from the past to the present". It is in the customary village regulations (*awig-awig*) that what happened in the

past is written down through the memories of its predecessors, and it is indeed happening again in the present. Thus all the norms of past life are written down in the village awig-awig and implemented also in the present life. In this case, according to Stompka (2017: 64) it is clear that something that is remembered is less perfect than something that is recorded. For example, the provisions for the residents of the Tenganan Pegringsingan traditional village, the government system, the marriage system and others .

### 3.2 Residents

The villagers of Tenganan follow the Hindu religion of the Indra sect (King of the Gods, God of War, God of Prosperity, God of Rain) This was told by a village client, March 2022. The people of the Tenganan Pegringsingan traditional village can be divided into two groups, namely the indigenous Tenganan people and the Tenganan people. migrants (wong angendok) (Baskara et al., 2021) .

- 1) Krama Desa, is every married couple from Tenganan Asli who resides in Banjar Kauh and in Banjar Tengah, and fulfills the following conditions: a) the marriage is *endogamous*; b) a husband has only one wife; c) the marriage is not with a widow; d) before marriage, the husband had been a member of the *sekehe taruna* (village youth association), and the wife had been a member of the *sekehedaha* (village youth association; e) the husband or wife did not have physical or mental disabilities. Residents with this status have the right to occupy positions in the village government and are entitled to receive *tika* distribution (the distribution of customary land products).
- 2) Krama Gumi Pulangan, is any married couple from Tenganan natives, residing in Banjar Kauh and Banjar Tengah who have stopped being Krama Desa because their children have married, natives of Tenganan who are widowed/widowed due to the death of their wife/husband, or a young man who was abandoned by his father, and a young man married a woman from outside the village.
- 3) Krama Gumi is a native of Tenganan who lived in Banjar Kauh and Banjar Tengah when he was born with a disability/idiot.

Meanwhile, the group of immigrants are people from outside the village who are needed for certain jobs, including being farmers, and occupy Banjar Kangin, known as Banjar Pande. Banjar Pande is not only inhabited by immigrants, but also inhabited by village manners who have been punished for violating awig-awig (indra Wirawan, 2021) . According to the village awig-awig, although the residents of Banjar Pande do not participate in the management positions of the traditional village government, they still obey and carry out the contents of the village awig-awig.

### 3.3 Livelihood

The source of life for the traditional village community of Tenganan Pegringsingan is the result of agriculture (Karmini et al., 2019) . Indigenous village communities as owners of agricultural land use cultivators from outside Tenganan village, such as Gumung village, Kestala village, Banjar Bukit Kangin and Banjar Bukit Kauh. Agricultural land in this village can be divided into three, namely rice fields covering an area of 225, 845 ha, plantation land covering an area of 480, 89 ha and dry land covering an area of 165, 515 ha. (Suartha et al., 2018) . The rice fields are located to the east of the Kangin Hill stretching to the left and right of the Tukad Buhu. These paddy fields are mostly planted with local cicih rice, because they are relatively short in age and easy to store (Wirata, 2018: 76) This dry land in Tenganan Pegringsingan is located to the west of Tukad Pandek, covering an area of approximately 515,765 Ha (Wirata, 2018) .

### 3.4 Education

If you hear the name of this research location as an ancient village, it seems that the residents are left behind with the development of everything in this millennial era, including in the field of education. However, in reality, most of its citizens have received education, both formal education and informal education (Triyono, 2019) . Formal education starts from Kindergarten (TK), Elementary School (SD), Junior High School (SMP), Senior High School (SMA), even to universities (PT) both public and private (Akip & Kamsi, 2021) . According to Klian adat villages (customary heads), now some of the adat administrators have been able to complete their higher education at universities in Bali, as well as those outside Bali. The development of tourism that occurred in the village of Tenganan Pegringsingan turned out to have resulted in a change in the mindset of people's lives regarding the importance of education (Anindyati et al., 2019) .

### 3.5 Marriage System

If the marriage is classified in the Tenganan Pegringsingan traditional village based on the provisions of awig-awig, the village is divided into two, namely:

- 1) *Endogamous* Marriage , the implementation of marriages that are justified based on the provisions of village awig-awig, namely marriages carried out by young men and women between village manners only. Violation will be punished, based on the provisions of awig-awig and decided at a village meeting (*sangkepan desa*) in Bale Agung. This true marriage brings the husband and wife to the position of *blasphemy*, over time they get a higher position.
- 2) *Exogamous* marriage , a marriage that is prohibited based on village awig-awig, if it is carried out by youth from the indigenous group (*krama desa*) with women from immigrant groups, the marriage is called an *internal exogamous marriage*. Other violations, if the marriage of a youth from the indigenous Tenganan Pegringsingan (*krama desa*) group with a woman from outside the village, the sanction will be thrown into the banjar adat *kangin* (banjar pande), and lose the status of his village manners along with the right to share the results of the village land (*tika*), and This marriage is called an *external exogamous marriage*. This was explained by Klian Adat, June 2022.

### 3.6 Village Government System

In the traditional village of Tenganan Pegringsingan, the traditional village is the highest institution that regulates the life of its citizens in ceremonies, development and government. This traditional village government structure is not the same as the traditional Balinese village government in general, which is regulated or managed by a customary client called a "prajuru", which consists of a chairman (klian), secretary (scribe) and treasurer (Gunawan et al., 2020) . It is different in the traditional village of Tenganan Pegringsingan, where the traditional village government structure consists of several tiered positions. These positions are occupied by the traditional villagers of Tenganan Pegringsingan from the Tenganan Asli group and are referred to as *village manners* who are paired as husband and wife who are still intact, who live in the traditional banjars of Kauh and Tengah. Meanwhile, the residents of the Tenganan Pegringsingan traditional village from the immigrant group (wong angendok) who live in the Kangin customary Banjar (Banjar Pande) do not occupy these positions, but are also required to obey the village awig-awig, and are also given rights, although not the same.

### a. Positions

Hierarchy of positions in the governance structure of the Tenganan Pegringsingan traditional village

1. **Mangku** (1 person), the highest position and is considered a descendant of *Sanghyang*, is considered sacred and highly respected, including his descendants. To get this position, you have to go through the lowest level of office (*refutation*). The function of this position only exists if the previous position has difficulty carrying out its duties, and seeks advice from this position.
2. **Luanan** (6 people), the position is the same level as Mangku, and the six are based on the order of marriage age, the one who marries first will occupy a higher position. This position is seen as a traditional village community teacher. In addition to being highly respected, attendance and returning from village meetings (*sangkepan*) must be picked up and delivered. The function of this position is to organize ceremonies and provide advice inside and outside the meeting.
3. **Material Duluan** (6 people), also called *klian* (chairman) which is a level below Luanan, two of them as *tamping takon* (spokesperson), one more person as a *writer* (scribe). The task of this position is the most difficult, because it takes care of daily village work. At the time of this research, one of the tamping takons was named I Putu Suarjana, as well as a key informant.
4. **Material Tebenan** (6 people), a position at the level below the material first, whose job is to help the material position first in managing the village.
5. **Tambalapu Duluan** (6 people), position level below the material tebenan, his job is to carry out the orders of the village client as planned in the meeting (*sangkepan*).
6. **Tambalapu Tebenan** (6 people), a position at the level below the first tambalapu, is basically obliged to help tambalapu first, namely to lead and order village workers.
7. **Pengladuhan** (unlimited), an unlimited number of positions below the tebenan tambalapu, originating from members of the village krama either married, but not yet occupying a position or who are not yet married.

The positions mentioned above will be held indefinitely, because the shift (increase) only occurs when the position above it is vacant. because of death or subject to punishment, so told by the tamping takon of the traditional village of Tenganan Pegringsingan, March 2022.

### b. Requirements for Position

Before occupying the position there are several conditions that must be met based on the provisions of village awig-awig, among others (Parimatha, 1971):

- 1) Has followed the transitional requirements from birth to adulthood;
- 2) In good health, i.e. not physically or mentally disabled, such as blind, deaf, crippled, crazy and others. Such defects in this society are called *cuntaka*; This is mentioned in awig-awig in Article 29.
- 3) Has become a sekehe teruna-teruni (youth and youth association). This is regulated in Article 40 of village awig-awig:
- 4) The marriage must be with fellow Tenganan Asli (endogamous marriages).



### c. Rights and Obligations

#### 1) Indigenous Tenganan People

In accordance with the provisions of the village awig-awig, the ***rights of the native Tenganan people are determined*** as follows: a) to become members of the village manners of Tenganan Pegringsingan; b) get a share of income from village lands in accordance with their position; c) get housing in Banjar Kauh and Tengah. In the distribution of income according to his position for harvests in the fields, it is usually done in a way called *ngedum tika*. is a method of division with the right to vote first in the highest office which then continues in sequence down until it is finished. When this research was conducted it had been done by receiving a net in the form of money, which was given every month which was similar to a salary.

Meanwhile , the ***obligations*** of the population of the Tenganan Asli group are based on the provisions of awig-awig as follows:

- a) Obligation to recognize village authority (*village prabumian*) over land such as all housing reefs in settled pattern areas belong to the village, prohibition of selling or mortgaging land in Tenganan Pegringsingan area to people outside Tenganan Pegringsingan, right to take over inherited property from members who die and leave no heirs (camput);
- b) Obedient to uphold every written or unwritten village regulation, must be fully clothed at the time of sangkepan (Article 1 awig-awig village), obey the prohibition of having more than one husband/wife, prohibition of marrying a widowed woman from outside the village (Article 49 awig-awig village ) and others;
- c) Help maintain the cleanliness of the village including holy places, roads, waterways and others;
- d) Maintain/maintain/safety the village from all disturbances including performing traditional/religious ceremonies;
- e) Obligation to maintain and maintain traditional associations that are important to the village such as sekehe selunding, sekehe carik, sekehe gong and others.

### 3.7 The Consistency of the Original Tenganan People in Preserving Endogamous Marriages

By paying attention to the data above, it is true that from a long time ago the Orang Tenganan Asli had a privilege of life, not only were they blessed with abundant nature of fertility, the origin of the descendants of the god of war (Bethara Indra) even though in the form of methodology, but traces of history can be proven by the existence of settlements are fenced off like fortifications. The most invaluable heritage of tradition is the tradition or regulations of their ancestors known as "awig-awig desa" which contain completely (as described above) the rules of all life behavior which until now are respected and implemented (Tim & UNNES, 2014) . According to Shil (in Sztompka, 2017: 63) this fact is illustrated by the connection between today's society and its past that has never died at all. Furthermore, it is said that the link between the present and the past is the basis of tradition.

## IV. Conclusion

Based on the above opinion, the original Tenganan people preserve endogamous marriage is to continue to be able to continue their descendants as the Orang Asli Tenganan. On that basis, they can occupy village government positions, and with that they can control the government, including preserving the traditions of the original Tenganan people for the future.

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