

The Manak Salah Tradition in the Songan Traditional Village, Bangli Regency, Human Rights Perspective

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ABSTRACT

Manak Salah is as a tradition carried out by the indigenous people in Songan Village, Bangli. They think that the birth of tapered twins (male and female) is such a mistake that obliges parents and their tapered twins to isolate for three months temporarily. This was considered as inverse to humanity, thus the government issued Regional Regulation Number 10 in 1951 regarding the Elimination of *Manak Salah*. The problem under this study is the wrong tradition in Songan Village and the factors that make the implementation of the wrong tradition in Songan Village. The method used was empirical legal with sociology of law approach and case approach through looking at the actual legal events that happened in Songan Village, and the sources of legal materials used are primary and secondary legal materials with the techniques of collecting legal materials through interviews and recording which were then analyzed qualitatively. The result of this study was *Manak Salah* carried out by the beliefs of Songan people with the palm-leaf manuscript, *Dewa Tatwa* and *Brahma Sapa*, which were used as the basis for the implementation of this tradition since time immemorial. Even it has been abolished, *Manak Salah* tradition is still carried out due to the belief of the Songan indigenous people about the disasters will happen if this tradition is not held.

Keywords: *Manak salah Tradition, Buncing twins.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Tradition, also called a habit, is carried out for time to time and continues to be part of the life of community group, often carried out by the same country, culture, time, or even religion.

Tradition is usually defined as a provision that applies to a particular society and describes a whole way of life. In the Big Indonesian Dictionary, tradition has two meanings. First, hereditary customs are still carried out by the community. Second, the assessment or assumption that the existing methods are the best and proper way. Thus, tradition is a generic term to designate everything that comes with the present.

Traditions in society have a goal so that human life is rich in culture and historical values. In addition, tradition will also make life more harmonious. However, this will be realized when humans can respect each other, respect, and carry out a tradition correctly and adequately according to the rules.

The cause of the change in tradition is that many traditions clash with government regulations and are no longer by the current state of society. However, the

people still want to carry out the traditions inherited by their ancestors. Hence, there is a shift to a tradition, such as changes in the levels of traditions, ideas, symbols, and values. Some are added, and others are removed.

In this modern era, there are still many traditions that are still maintained from generation to generation. However, some traditions have shifted but are still carried out without reducing the meaning of implementing their traditions.

The same thing happened in Songan Village, Kintamani District, Bangli Regency, Bali Province. The tradition in question is the wrong Manak tradition. This tradition has shifted three times due to regulations from the government and the agreement of residents to change the traditions inherited from their ancestors because they are considered not by the current situation in the village. As we all know that tradition will still be carried out in its entirety if it is still accepted by the community and does not give the slightest pressure.

From this background, several problems will be discussed, namely:

1. How did the manak wrong tradition appear in the Songan community?

2. What are the kinds of procedures to implement *Manak Salah* tradition in the Songan community?

2. METHOD

The research method used is the empirical method. Conducting direct observation and interviews with community leaders in Songan Village related to the manak Salah tradition in Songan Village.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1. *The Background of the Emergence of the Wrong Manak Tradition in Songan Village*

Humans are born as social beings who cannot live alone, which causes humans not to live normally without the presence of other humans.[1] Early relationships in human life as social beings start from the family by carrying out marriage. Marriage can be carried out if there is relationship between a man and a woman with full of love and it has been legalized in the terms of religion and law.

Marriage is one of the main ways to maintain the continuity of the kinship system. In principle, humans cannot develop without marriage because marriage causes offspring. Therefore, marriage is a rope that continues human life and society.[2] According to Subekti, marriage has been legal relationship between the man and the woman for long time.[3] Article 1 of Law Number 16 in 2019 concerning Amendments to Law Number 1 in 1974 concerning Marriage states:

“Marriage is an inner and outer bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife to form a happy and eternal family (household) based on God Almighty.”

The purpose of forming household is to create a cooperative relationship between husband and wife and children in the container which is known as a joint family residence (father, mother, and children).[4]

From the view of customary law in general in Indonesia, marriage does mean not only a civil engagement but also the agreement of customary and the engagement of kinship and neighborhood from both parties, wife and husband. So, the occurrence of marriage bond does not result in civil relations, like the rights and obligations of husband and wife, joint property, children's position, rights and obligations of parents, but also focuses on the relations of inheritance customs, kinship, inheritance, and neighborhood, and also regarding the traditional and religious ceremonies[5]

According to Balinese customary law, marriage aims to reach prosperity and happiness forever and produce offspring to preserve, manage, and pass on the inheritance of parents and ancestors, both in the form of obligations and rights to family and society.[6]

The purpose of marriage in Law Number 16 in 2019 concerning Amendments to Law Number 1 in 1974

concerning marriage and Balinese customary law has the same goal: to produce offspring as the successor of family life with regard to the rights and obligations.

To have offspring, the possibility of getting pregnant twins or twins for a boy and a girl is also substantial. According to the view of the general public, this is a natural thing to happen. However, with one of the traditional villages in Bali who still considers that twins are a mistake, they are required to carry out a tradition called the Manak Salah tradition.

The Manak Salah tradition is a culture long ago believed and implemented by the people of Songan Village, Kintamani District, Bangli Regency. This tradition blames the birth of twins with twins, namely the birth of twins of different sexes. The traditional culture of twin buncing or Manak Salah that applies in Songan village is one of the local pearls of wisdom for the village. Apart from Songan Traditional Village, there are no other villages that apply this tradition, or in other words, it is forbidden to maintain this tradition.

The Manak Salah tradition is considered to be very contrary to Human Rights. Therefore, On July 12th, 1951, the Bali DPRD stipulated Regional Regulation Number 10 in 1951 with regard to the Elimination of *Manak Salah*. From some considerations, finally, the following decisions were made as follows:

- (1) If there are people who give birth to a son and a girl who, according to Balinese Hindu custom, used to be called "Manak Salah" or "buncing," then after the enactment of this regulation, the people concerned are not deemed guilty, and no punishment may be imposed.
- (2) With the enactment of this regulation, the custom called "manak salah" or "buncing" was abolished
- (3) This regulation may be called the regulation on the abolition of "manak salah" or "buncing" adat and shall come into force on the day it is announced.

After a long time, the regulations regarding the abolition of the wrong manak custom were enacted. The false manak tradition is still believed and implemented in the Songan traditional village.

The Manak Salah tradition in the Songan community is conducted for a long time, and there is no record of the number since what year this tradition began. It is known that this wrong manak tradition is based on the belief of the local village community that the twins are melik or born as incarnations of gods.

According to local stories and beliefs, twins in Songan are believed to be the incarnations of King Masula Masuli. In the past, people believed that King Masula Masuli, who was born with twins, was the gods' incarnation. In historical records, King Sri Masula Masuli was a child with twins or twins born and women.

The Songan Village community's belief in twins is the oldest, and it has existed since ancient times until now. At first, what has considered the incarnation of the god was that pointy twins, which was male twins, were born earlier than the female, but over time all types of twins were believed to be incarnations of gods, such as salit twins, which are female twins who were born first. Boys, same-sex twins are boys, and same-sex twins are girls. This happens based on the belief of the traditional village community in general, that all twins in Songan Village are melik and must be treated specially by making a pelinggih called the Twin Gods Stana, and worshiped by their relatives, because if a pelinggih is not made they believe that the circle the family of the twins will often get misfortune, and vice versa if they often worship at the Twin Gods Stana then the family circle will be blessed. When one community gives birth to twins, all religious ceremonial activities, such as Dewa Yadnya, Yadnya Man, Rsi Yadnya, and Pitra Yadnya, are not carried out because they are considered cuntaka. Cuntaka or dirty means that the universe is considered dirty because the twins born are considered to rival and equal the king of Masula-Masuli "if society can match the birth of a king, then the people who gave birth to twins are exiled in a place called coral exile and their home. Burned, after the expiration of the time of exile then a cleansing ceremony was made. Pelinggih or holy place in the yard. However, over time the Manak Tradition was wrong. There was a process of exile, and the burning of the house was stopped because it was not by the values of Pancasila and violated human rights.

3.2 The procedure for implementing the Manak tradition is wrong in Songan Village

Continuing something that is an ancestral heritage from generation to generation is not easy. Not a few outsiders think that this tradition cannot be continued for various reasons, including humanitarian reasons. However, the people of Songan Village are not fooled by this because they still believe what their ancestors have believed since time immemorial.

Based on Dewa Tatwa's ejection, the people of Songan Village believe that carrying out the manak salah tradition can create Niskala peace. However, if this tradition is not carried out, it is believed that undesirable things will happen, as stated in the Dewa Tatwa Lontar.

Lontar Dewa Tatwa explained that if twins were born and the manak tradition was not implemented, things would happen that were not desirable. This means that the dangers that will occur include: aridity in nature, many diseases, many people die, damage to the universe occurs, leaders and people often fight, stricken with dangerous diseases that can cause death, enemies become violent and create trouble, rice fields and the plantations were infertile, and the universe became barren.

Until now, no one has ever been able to prove the truth of the contents of the lontar. Even though this tradition has been abolished, the Songan people do not

dare to violate it, so they still believe and carry out everything written in the lontar.

Although it was abolished through a Regional Regulation in 1951, this tradition is still carried out because what is stated in the regulation is considered not by the reality that occurred. Regulation of Regional Number 10 in 1951 regarding the Elimination of *Manak Salah* which states:

Noting that having sex (male and female) has been commonly referred to in Balinese Hindu custom as "Breaking Wrong," which usually applies only to the sudrawangsa group, because according to ancient understanding, "Amanda - manda the queen" and governs the country.

Considering that the language of a newborn baby and his parents must be moved from his home to the graveyard or the graveyard for 42 days, this is against the feelings of humanity and health. Also, considering the language after the time arrived, the baby's parents had to make a prayascita ceremony for the village, which cost money.

Considering, the traditional language as mentioned above is no longer appropriate to the current situation.

Decided to stipulate that the Peswara for the abolition of the customary so-called "manak salah" or "buncing" was abolished.

- (1) If there are people who give birth to a boy-girl who, according to Balinese Hindu custom, used to be called "manak Salah" or "buncing," then after the enactment of this regulation, the people concerned are not considered guilty. They may not be subject to any punishment.
- (2) With the enactment of this regulation, the so-called "manac false" or "bancing" custom is abolished.
- (3) This regulation can be called the "manak salah" or "buncing" customary abolition regulation and comes into force on the day it is announced.

Implementing the Manak Salah tradition in Songan Village, Kintamani Bangli is divided into three (3) phases: the initial, middle, and final, which are still being carried out today. This happens because the changing times also indirectly change the social order in Songan Village. Moreover, there is a governor's regulation that prohibits the existence of this tradition. Therefore, there have been several shifts, but it does not reduce the meaning of implementing the wrong Manak tradition in Songan Village, which is inherited by the ancestors and does not violate the values of Pancasila and humanity.

In the initial phase of the Manak Salah tradition in Songan Village, the implementation procedure is that if a husband and wife who have twins with twins, namely male twins, are born first, the parents and twins will be exiled to coral exile, which is in the west of the village which is far from village community settlements, where

the village community built two makeshift houses with thatched roofs and woven bamboo walls (gedek). The first house is in the westernmost part of the village, and the second house is a little closer to the village area but is still outside the scope of the village residents' settlements. The difference in the location of this emergency house means that the longer a family is in exile, the closer their residence will be to the village. Until the exile process is complete, they return to the village and carry out their usual activities in the exile process, accompanied by a cleaning ceremony carried out step by step.

The initial stage, if someone gives birth to twins, three days after the baby is born, a nyebrahma ceremony is made which is a form of a cleansing ceremony for the baby, on the same day the house where the baby was born will be burned and they will carry out seclusion for forty two) days in exile, which will start from the baby being three (3) days old to twelve (12) days old, they will live in the first emergency house, after the baby is twelve (12) days old the village prajuru will make a mesakaran ceremony has the aim of cleaning the village area and the baby's family is moved to the second emergency house, the first emergency house will be burned again, they live in that house until the baby is forty- two (42) days old, when the baby is forty-two (42) the day the mesadi ceremony will be held, but before the mesadi ceremony, the Ida Batara Setiman ceremony will be held by h the Songan people will Tedun Kabeh (removed from their place), the next day there will be a mesadi ceremony, namely the cleansing ceremony of Ida Batara symbols, a release service ceremony which aims that the village is considered clean again and that religious processes such as Dewa Yadnya can no longer be carried out . After all the formal processes are over, the baby and his parents can return to the village area. The parents of the buncing twins bear all the costs of the ceremony at that time. Moreover, when the baby is three months old, a pelinggih will be made by the baby's relatives, from the baby's uncle, cousin, etcetera., the pelinggih is called the Pelinggih Stana Dewa Twins.

The second phase in implementing the false Manak tradition in Songan Village has a slightly different implementation procedure from the initial phase of the False Manak tradition in Songan Village. The difference lies in the burning of the house, which was initially the house of the parents of the buncing twins was burned, then they were exiled, slightly shifted into a symbolic one in the sense that their house was not burned and after they finished the exile they would get their house back in good condition. . The shift in the implementation of the burning of the house occurred because in 1979, there was a village (community) karma having cubs and they came from a poor family, when the traditional village soldiers came to his house, the father of the bunny twins cried and begged that his house not burned, with a conversation in Songan that reads "diolas jero, sampunang is burned by umah polee, pole early prostitutes men sing ngelah what men umah polee jani burns is sanga anggen pole ngae bin, kenggake nasi sing has baan pole" meaning, he doesn't

allow krama Banjar burned his house because he was a very poor family, they couldn't even afford food, let alone build another house because his house was burned. Since that incident, the care of the traditional village and village manners held a deliberation. They agreed to a shift in implementing the burning of the twins' houses to be symbolic only with the roof being taken and then burned. The other process, which is still the same, is carried out according to the implementation phase of the Manak Salah tradition in the initial phase.

The final phase in the implementation of *Manak Salah* in Songan Village, which is still valid today, underwent a significant shift, namely a change in the belief that every twin is melik or is called an incarnation of the god, not only twins, this is based on the relatives of twins who often get misfortune. Because it does not make a pelinggih for the twins. Therefore, each type of twin must be made a pelinggih and worshipped. Changes also occur, such as the absence of house burning and exile. This can happen because of the socialization of the PHDI around 1985 regarding the DPR/GR/TH.1951 regulation regarding the abolition of the tradition because no human being is born wrong. If the tradition is still carried out not by the values of Pancasila and violations of Human rights, therefore the community can accept it. However, the village area becomes cuntaka, and the twins are believed to be melik and are incarnations of the gods, so the implementation of making pelinggih called Stana Dewa Twins for twins in Songan Village is still valid today. . The village cleaning ceremony is still being implemented but is funded by the traditional village.

Moreover, people still believe that twins should be made pelinggih called Stana Dewa Kembar, a place of worship for the twins, making this pelinggih not required by the traditional village. However, the relatives of these twins still make pelinggih because they believe that worship of twin gods is the priority. If they do not make a shrine, the family who is still close to the twins will often get misfortune. Vice versa, if they often worship at the Stana Dewa Dalem, they will always be blessed. The twins will be treated specially as if they cannot be given harsh words, called Jero Kembar and diodali every day they are born in Bali (otonan), all people will worship at the Twin Gods Stana to ask for safety. This is a public trust that must be respected.

4. CONCLUSION

Manak Salah tradition is still being applied in Songan Village, but experiencing a shift in the implementation procedure, namely the absence of house burning and the exile of families who gave birth to twins because they are contradictory. With the values of Pancasila and not inhumane. However, the community's belief about the village area will become cuntaka when a family gives birth to twins. It must be ensured that the cleaning ceremony is still valid and paid for by the local traditional village. Moreover, the making of pelinggih called Stana Dewa Twins is still implemented, but there

is no element of coercion from the traditional village. It purely happens because the community believes in twins that they must be made *peleunggih* and worshiped. The twins are *melik* means extraordinary if not made *peleunggih* then the closest family will often be in trouble.

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