

# **The Influence Of History And Cultural Life Towards People's Mindset, In Relation To The Spatial Systems of Tenganan Pagringsingan, Karangasem - Bali**

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**ABSTRACT:** The aims of this research are to analyze the role of history and cultural life of Tenganan in establishing the village's spatial systems, and to describe the conceptual formula behind the village existence. From the qualitative (descriptive) analysis about the history and cultural life of the Tenganese people, the researcher drew several conclusions. People's history and cultural life influence their mindset, especially on natural harmony, in order to reach physical and spiritual prosperity, both in mortal life and afterlife. Essentially, history and cultural life are experiences and value systems that greatly influence the character development of every society. Their mindset directs their attitude towards life. Then, their attitude towards life is related to their behavior, which then creates the norms of life. Their attitude towards life determines their attitude towards space, their behavior determines their spatial behavior, and their norms determine the spatial norms. People's mindset is evident in the structure, functions, and meanings of Tenganan's spatial systems through 3 gradations of spatial scale: macro (the areas/living environment), meso (the blocks/neighborhood), and micro (the houses). Tenganan is an extensive, rich, and safe village. The centralized and linear village blocks (built up area) are well-organized, with open space and public space in the middle. The people's houses are relatively small and facing each other (*jaga satru*) with consistent structure and spatial values.

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## **I. BACKGROUND**

All human life on earth has temporality or historicity. In a continuous process, everything begins and ends through the dimension of time. Time is the most essential element in observing the history of a village. There are various classifications of historical sources, such as classification by origin, content, and purpose. Some historical sources include inscriptions, artifacts, currency, official sources written on stone, papyrus, parchments, palm-leaf manuscripts, and papers. It also includes personal notes, printed materials, old machines, maps, photographs (including aerial photographs), films, oral traditions, folksongs, architecture, novels, poems, paintings, and sculptures. The material object in historical studies is the analysis of what is thought, spoken, and done.

Aside of being an individual, human is a social being who lives in a collective unity. The life of collective unity is distinguished by its division of labor which is performed to carry on various functions of life, dependency among individuals, cooperation and communication among individuals, and also discrimination between individuals belong to collective society and the outsiders [1, 2]. Human collective life is based on intellect (acquired by learning) rather than instinct, which enables people to pick various alternatives to achieve effectiveness in their lives. Since the patterns of human action are formed by learning, these patterns are quick to change, especially compared to the transformation of the organism. The pace of the change can differ from one collective human to another. One may change faster than another and likewise, one may change in a slower pace. As a result of this difference, diversity in human culture is born.

There is a saying "*desa marwa cara*" in Bali, which means every village has its own ways that differ from other villages. As a result of this difference, various village cultures are born. Gorris [3] and other researchers state that villages in Bali are divided into two types: mountain villages (Bali Aga) and lowland villages (Bali Dataran). Mountain villages are typically older and fewer in number than lowland villages. However they have more physical variations compared to lowland villages. Most of the mountain villages are located in the mountains and exhibit various characteristics of pre-Hinduism. On the other hand, lowland

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villages are younger than its counterpart in the mountain and mostly located in the lowland of Southern Bali. They are also strongly influenced by Javanese Hinduism.

Tenganan is one of the mountain villages, whose pattern of life puts great emphasize on collectivity and tradition. In life, people of the village first and foremost act for the village's interest. As a small community, they believe in Indra, the supreme God. Tenganan has a very distinctive culture, especially when compared to other villages in Bali. As of late, Tenganan culture have been experiencing changes in line with developments in all aspects of life, which makes it interesting to be discussed further.

It is stated previously that community always change and develop. The change in culture is caused by two processes: internal process (endogenous) and external process (exogenous). In a community undergoing process of change, there are elements that facilitate and hinder the ongoing process. Regarding the influence of history and cultural life on people's mindset in discovering the spatial systems of Tenganan, the writer formulated three questions as follow:

1. In what aspect history and cultural life of the Tenganese people influence their mindset?
2. How it affect people's mindset?
3. In what aspect people's mindset can be seen in the spatial systems of Tenganan?

The aims of this research are to analyze the role of history and cultural life of Tenganan in establishing the village's spatial systems, and to describe the conceptual formula behind the village existence.

## II. METHODS

The object of this research is the spatial planning in Tenganan Pagringsingan in Karangasem Regency, Bali. This research has many relations to the value system, concept, perception, variety, uniqueness, local wisdom, and belief of the Tenganese about everything besides themselves. In addition to that, this research is also related to transcendental matters atau double reality that they experience and believe, yet unable to explain. Considering the characteristics of object of study (the research questions), the paradigm used in this research is phenomenology. The way qualitative method (phenomenology) works is explained as follows: The design is generic, flexible, and keeps developing as the research progressed. This research aims to achieve understanding of meanings, develop theories, and illustrate complex reality. The instruments in this research consist of human (the researcher), notebooks, and voice recorder. This research was conducted without any help from an assistant. The qualitative data were gained from participating observation, individual documents, and unstructured, in-depth interviews. Small sample were taken in purposive and inductive manner, by analyzing continuously and also by searching patterns, models, or thematic. Relationship with the respondents was close and equal for a long term. This research was conducted by emphasizing on qualitative technique, in which the researcher or the human factor had a significant role. The data were mainly taken from speech and actions, while the rest were taken from additional sources such as documents, photographs, and statistics. Qualitative research relied on interviews, observation, and participating observation in collecting the data. The nature of the interviews was open, in-depth, and unstructured. The accuracy or validity of the data was examined by triangulation, especially examining the data through other sources. Most of the materials of this research were primary data that was taken directly in the research location.

## III. RESULTS

**3.1. History and Cultural Life of Balinese Villages.** Villages have a long history of being a place to live for human, dates back to the prehistoric era. As agriculture began to flourish, people slowly settled in a small village. Then, they built *rumah panggung* or houses built on stilts together to protect themselves from flood and wild animals. In addition, their settlement in the village allowed them to increase the number of family members. In a small village where mutual cooperation or *gotong royong* was strong, its people needed a leader to maintain the order in the village. More often than not, the leader was an honest, authoritative elder and was respected by people in the village. Villages in Bali which exist today are assumed to be formed in the remains of villages back in agricultural era [4].

During the Ancient Balinese era (the era before the kings of Majapahit come to Bali), around the IX-XIV century, the Balinese already understood villages. They called the villages as *wanua* or *banua*, as mentioned in Trunyan inscription dated the X century [5]. As for the villagers, they used the term *kraman*. Villages in that era usually were groups of forerunners or descendants of the villages' founders who inhabit certain places since the beginning. At that time, villages were more independent as they set their own systems and leaders without the king's intervention. It is often stated that at that time Mpu Kuturan, who came from East Java, had great influence over villages' organization system and beliefs, instead of an oversight. Illustrations about villages are elaborated further by the Dutch researchers when the Dutch colonialism came to Bali.

After that, since the reign of Javanese Hinduism (the Majapahit kings) in the XIV century, villages are supervised by supra-village authority (the kingdom). This supervision started at the XVI century after the Balinese King of Majapahit descent established his position in Gelgel. This resulted in villages possessing double functions: as a religious group of forerunners and a socio-political group guided by external power (the King). But then, Gelgel's great influence was crumbled in the XVII century because of a rebellion in 1651 led

by I Gusti Agung Maruti. Afterwards, Bali was divided into seven small, independent kingdoms with Klungkung as the supreme kingdom. From then on, the kings had staff called *perbakal* (now it is called *perbekel*) who served as the kings' assistants. It was evident that the villages welcomed other elements coming from the outside, as a result of the relation between villages and the kings.

Majapahit's increasing influence caused the newcomers to diffuse with the Balinese, which resulted in merger of the villages' authority and the kings' authority (*manunggalang kawula gusti*). The relation between villages and the king also strengthened the bond between Balinese tradition and Javanese-Hindu tradition. When conflict arose in the villages, the elders always reconciled the warring parties with the help from *perbekel/punggawa*, who represented the supra-village authority. *Perbekel* may also receive *awig-awig* (local law) submitted by the villages. States that *perbekel/punggawa* was the kings' representatives. This shows that the change occurred at that time did not interfere with the villages' leadership system, which was based on the deliberation of its people.

In the older mountain villages, there was no indication that the kings changed the villages' territories (*payar*) previously set by the villages themselves. The leaders of mountain villages were usually chosen from the villages' founders. There were two methods of choosing the leaders: appointing local elders to be leaders after the deliberation among its members and determining the leaders from the membermarriage sequence. However, the kings' influence still lingered in the mountain villages. For instance, when Tenganan's *awig-awig* caught fire, the village leader asked the King of Karangasem and the King of Klungkung to help them rewrite the *awig-awig*. Then, two clerks were sent by the kings to rewrite Tenganan's *awig-awig*. From this example, it is evident that the arrival of Majapahit sees the increase of supervision on Balinese villages by placing figures appointed by the kings. Moreover, it is mentioned that the *Pasek* and *Bendesa* are placed in various villages in Bali to act as the kings' representatives. They are tasked to supervise the villagers in order to prevent rebellion against the kings.

When the Dutch came, they wanted to elaborate the illustration about villages further for the interest of colonial politics. Liefrinck's studies in Northern Bali (1886-1887) states that essentially, villages in Bali are small republics that had their own law. As for other areas in Indonesia, the colonial government attempt to study the condition in villages that already possess their own customary law. Since these studies are conducted, the term "custom" became more popular. Then this term is attached to word "villages" and thus, the term "customary villages" are born in Dutch East Indies territories. Liefrinck also states that customary villages are the manifest of harmonious and static villages, free from outside pressure and at the same time, are democratic and autonomous. Korn's research [6] on the Balinese customary law gives legitimacy to Liefrinck regarding customary villages in Bali. Balinese customary villages are distinguished by their places of worship that later are known as *Kahyangan Tiga* namely *Pura Puseh*, *Pura Desa/Bale Agung*, and *Pura Dalem*.

After defeating the kings, the Dutch attempted to take control of the people, including those living in the villages. The Dutch government viewed that the villages were facing the outside world, namely the Dutch itself. They established administrative body at the village level and defined the villages' borders more clearly. They also appointed a *perbekel* as their representative to supervise the villages. As the result of several changes made by the Dutch, the villages were divided into two categories: ancient villages (customary villages) and new villages (administrative villages). The Dutch government regarded these two categories of villages as two separate entities (dualism in villages). It was as if customary villages wanted to be independent with their own law and unwilling to be influenced by the colonial government.

As the result of interacting with the outside world, Bali was threatened by the possibility that destruction may occur. Fortunately, it could be prevented due to colonial politics that was supported by a policy which encouraged Balinese culture to advance and develop. Then, in 1920s there was a movement called *Balinisering*, a Balinese cultural development under the colonial rule. With this concept, various elements of Balinese arts, including architecture were developed further.

After Indonesia was declared independent in 1945, the administrative villages were still existed. The Indonesian government that based its power on democracy according to *Pancasila* and the 1945 Constitution also influenced the people's system of cultural value and caused their mindset to develop further. It shows that the implementation of democratic system by the government was increasingly pervasive in society. Afterwards, the Bali Regional Government issued the Regulation of *Perbekel/Bendesa/Kelian* Election which was valid since December 10, 1950. It regulated the leadership in administrative villages by giving more democratic weight in electing the leader (*perbekel*). In customary villages, on the other hand, this matter was less regarded. This shows that the dualistic sides of leadership in villages were still existed.

Act Number 5 Year 1979 that regulated the bodies in villages was perceived as a threat to traditional organizations that had been established by the customary villages. Formally, it caused traditional terms to be replaced with other more common terms, such as *banjar* became hamlet, and *perbekel* became the head of the village. This regulation made administrative villages seem like dominating customary villages. The Bali Regional Government realized it, and then issued Act Number 6 Year 1986 which regulated the concept/definition and the development of customary villages. After that, in order to develop traditional institutions, the central government through the Minister of Home Affairs issued Minister of Home Affairs

Regulation Number 3 Year 1997. It emphasized on the empowerment, preservation, and development of people's custom in the regions, which was conducted together with customary organizations. This indicates that cooperation between administrative villages and customary villages is needed.

**3.2. Religions and Beliefs (Sects).** Religion teaching is essentially based on the belief in God's power over all things. Hinduism is an old religion that exists since a thousand of years before the current era and teaches universal doctrine. The source of Hinduism teaching is the Vedas, the divine revelation or words received by 36 *Maharsis*. The Vedas are collected and codified by Maharsi Wyasa, the greatest Maharsi. The goal of Hinduism is to guide people to obtain material and spiritual well-being in order to reach *moksha* (salvation). To reach *moksha*, ones need to do *dharma* (righteous behaviours) in their life [7]. In Hinduism, there is *Panca Sradha*, literally means five beliefs, that refers to five things that the Hindus believed. The five *Panca Sradha* are the existence of Sang Hyang Widhi (God), *Atman* (souls), *Karmaphala* (a principle of cause-effect and action-reaction), *Samsara* (reincarnation), and *Moksha* (salvation). With the five beliefs as the key principals, ones can practice Hinduism teaching by two means: behaving according to ethics and devoting ones' selves to God.

Ethics mean rules about proper behaviors. These rules exist for two reasons: first, because human lives with other human beings, other creatures, and the universe, and the second is because people have urges to do bad deeds. These rules also have sanctions. People who break the rules will inflict harm to themselves, other people, and also other creatures.

Devotion to God, Deities, *Bhatara/Leluhur* (ancestors) is performed by practicing *Catur Marga* or *Catur Yoga* and *Panca Yadnya*. *Catur Marga* or four paths to reach *moksha* (salvation) consist of *Bhakti Marga*, *Karma Marga*, *Jnana Marga*, and *Yoga Marga*. These paths cannot be separated from each other. Most people usually practice only *Bhakti* and *Karma Marga* since they are more common and easier than *Jnana* and *Yoga Marga*, which are practiced by those with strong self-discipline. Besides *Catur Marga*, people also perform *Panca Yadnya* as a means to show their devotion to God. *Yadnya*, which means sacred rituals, are done based on human debts, also known as *Tri Rna*. *Tri Rna* involve *Dewa Rna* (the debt of life to God), *Rsi Rna* (the debt of sacred knowledge to the *Rsis*) and *Pitra Rna* (the debt of merit to the ancestors).

Mpu Kuturan, who came to Bali during Airlangga's reign in East Java, brought great changes to the religious order. Mpu Kuturan taught the people to build *meru* (towers with pagoda-like structure), *gedong* (a squat, cube-shaped shrines), and to make various kinds of *pedagingan* (metals to be buried in buildings). Additionally, the concept of *Tri Murti* was implemented in every village, and thus, Pura Kahyangan Tiga (Pura Puseh, Pura Desa/Bale Agung, and Pura Dalem) were established. Besides Kahyangan Jagat and Kahyangan Tiga, a small temple for family, called *Sanggah* or *Pamerajan*, was also built in every yard of the residences. For everything that Mpu Kuturan had done in Bali, a special building called *Manjangan* was made in honor of Mpu Kuturan.

There were nine sects in Hinduism: *Siwa Sidharta*, *Pasupata*, *Bhairawa*, *Wesnawa*, *Bodha* or *Sogata*, *Brahmana*, *Rsi*, *Sora* or *Surya*, and *Ganapatya* or *Ganesa* [8]. *Siwa Sidharta* was the largest out of nine sects. All priests in Bali, except Buddhist priests, were members of *Siwa Sidhanta* sect. *Sidhanta* priests today have three characteristics: the first is *Perama*, praying three times a day (*Tri Sandya*) in the family temples; the second is offering (with money intended for rituals) holy water for various religious ceremonies; the third is attending big ceremonies in temples and give blessing to holy water by chanting mantras and hand-stances.

In the Vedas, it was mentioned that there were 33 Deities. They were divided into three groups, each group had eleven Deities. The greatest and most popular Deity was Indra, also known as *Surapati* which means the King of Deities. Indra was also known as the God of War and the God of Rain. The allegory of Indra as the God of Rain was included in *Asta Brata*, a concept that referred to eight behaviors of a leader. In Ancient Javanese-Indonesian dictionary, Indra was also known as the God of Beauty. Indra's kingdom was called *Indrabhawana* or *Indraloka*. Indra's status as the greatest or the most popular Deity was strengthened with the existence of *Indra Saura* sect in India. As time passed, Indra's position slowly moved from top to east in *Dewa Lokapala*, and eventually caused the decline in Indra's status. Later, Indra's status as the ruler of the east was replaced by *Iswara*.

The common characteristic of a particular worship is determined by which deities they worship. From the name of the sect, ones could found out which Deities they worship. The characteristics of the worship of Indra could be seen in two aspects: the daily life and the poems in the scriptures. In daily life, when Mpu Kuturan was the head of the Supreme Advisory Council, there were six sects in Bali with their own characteristics. These six sects were: *Agama Sambu*, *Brahma*, *Indra*, *Wisnu*, *Bayu*, and *Kala*. Moreover, until now the Hindus in Bali still worship Indra, who takes form as *Indra Balaka*, as the guard of the residences. Indra is worshipped in a building called *Padma Andap*. Besides the Hinduism scriptures especially *Rig Veda*, *Sama Veda*, *Atharva Veda*, and *lontar* (palm-leaf manuscripts), there are many poems that describe the characteristics of the worship of Indra.

**3.3. Social Organizations.** Custom organized and regulates various social institutions in the areas where people live and interact with each other. The closest and most intimate social institution is the kinship institution, especially the nuclear family. In an industrial society, the impact of kinship is declining. At the same time, the custom that regulates kinship institution is weakening. The forms of nuclear family are based on

monogamy and polygamy. Meanwhile, the principles for calculating kinship are based on bilateral, patrilineal, matrilineal, bilineal, and ambilineal. Additionally, in village communities, the issues that get a lot of attention are division of labor, community's activities, and relationship/attitude between the leader and the followers (procedures to reaching mutual decision, change of leadership, and also rights and obligations).

Villages in Bali usually have several social organizations, such as customary villages, *banjar*, *subak*, *dadia*, *sekeha*, *tempek*, and *perbekelan*. Customary villages are the village government with obligation to hold religious ceremonies in Pura Kahyangan Tiga (Pura Puseh, Pura Desa/Bale Agung, and Pura Dalem). *Banjar* is a place for people to live together. *Subak* is an organization that regulates paddy fields ownership and irrigation. *Dadia* is a term for family ties based on the male lineage. *Sekeha* is membership in a voluntary organization. *Tempek* is an organization for workers or *pengaci*, who prepare the offerings for ceremonies. *Perbekelan* is the official government under *kelurahan* (a part of subdistricts).

**3.4. Mindset, Attitude, and Behavior.** Most of the time, paradigm or mindset comes from people living in a certain place where culture exists. It is an abstract manifestation of ideas of culture. Irrational mindset has roots in the emotional part (right brain) of human psyche. This type of mindset is broad and abstract, thus it can be regarded as the system of cultural values. On the other hand, rational mindset has roots in the intelligence part (left brain) of human psyche. It is concrete and thus, is known as the system of norms. Rational mindset or the system of norms is a cultural value associated with a particular role of human in society. Human has a lot of roles in life, thus, the amount of norms in culture surpass the amount of cultural values.

Attitude is a disposition or mental state in an individual's psyche and body to react to the environment (including society as well as natural and physical environment). Even though it belongs to an individual, human's attitude is influenced by cultural values and originates from the system of cultural values. Hence, attitude presents in many individuals in society. To achieve national development goals, paternalistic attitude should be avoided. Paternalistic attitude is a vertically oriented mental attitude toward the high-ranking figures, seniors, and elders. On the contrary, democratic attitude is driven by the spirit of *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation). This democratic attitude needs to be developed further.

Behavior is a manifestation of culture, an activity complex patterned by human in society. Behavior is concrete and always occurs in human life. It can be observed and documented. People can take pictures of it as well. Hence, behavior is attitude that can be observed. Human's attitude toward environment should be related to their behavior toward environment. Most of the time, behavior is called the social system since it consists of human's social activities that interact with each other following a certain pattern based on mores. Besides social behavior, human also has natural (biological) behavior because of the influence of organism (gene) as instinct.

#### IV. DISCUSSION

**4.1. The History of Tenganan.** It is difficult to analyze Tenganan through historical perspective. There are several reasons for this difficulty. The first is the historical sources about Tenganan are not easy to find, especially those about events before and throughout the establishment of Tenganan. Another reason is related to the objectivity of historical texts. Several factors, such as the reigning ruler or the political climate at the time the texts are written, may influence the objectivity of the texts. Political interests dominate the process of writing, thus a lot of historical texts do not correspond to the reality. Tenganan does not have anymore historical texts or inscriptions that tells the origin of Tenganan, since all documents were burned when the village caught fire in 1841 CE (*Caka* 1763). Now the question is how far the current signs can support the existence of Tenganan.

**4.2. The Origin of the Name Tenganan and the Tenganese People.** The translated version of *babad* (palm-leaf manuscripts) *Usana Bali Pulina* states that sometime after Mpu Kuturan became King Sri Udayana's advisor, he was told to build a dormitory in Padang bay [9]. There, Mpu Kuturan meditated (*masilayukti*) with his students. During his meditation, Mpu Kuturan was guarded by the Baliaga people in Tenganan, the origin of the Peneges people. Then, the Baliaga people moved to the deeper part of the Tengahan (=Tenganan) forest because they were attacked and defeated by ocean waves. Their boats were destroyed and many people died in the ocean. Afterwards, those villages became beaches.

Another part of the same *babad* mentions that during the reign of Sri Gaja Wahana or Sri Tapolung, the kingdoms in Bali were prosperous because they worshipped Batara in Agung Mountain, diligently performed *yadnya*, and maintained all *kahyangan*. During his reign, there were several ministers ruling the villages, namely Ki Tunjung Biru in Tenganan, Ki Tambyak in Jimbaran, Kriyan Girikmana in the north of the mountain, Kryan Kopang in Seraya, Ki Buan in Batur, Ki Tunjung Tuter in Toya Anyar, and Ki Walung Singkal in Taro. They obeyed the King and his orders. None of them dare to oppose and had evil intentions even to their fellowman. The ministers were led by Sri Pasung Grigis and Kebo Taruna, who served as *Patih Agung* (chief ministers). From the previous explanation, it can be concluded that the origin of the Tenganese people comes from Peneges village. Even until now, the Tenganese people still respect Ki Tunjung Biru.

**4.3. Myth of the Disappearance of the Bedahulu Kingdom's White Horse.** During the Bedahulu Kingdom era (1259-1264), there was a king called Mayadenawa. He was powerful, yet arrogant and petulant. He also did not believe in God. However, he was defeated in a war against Batara Indra. After that, in honor of the victory against Mayadenawa, Batara Indra ordered the Bedahulu people to continue performing religious ceremonies (*yadnya*).

One day, there was a large ceremony called Aswa Meda Yadnya, with a white horse called Oncesrawa as the offering. Before the ceremony started, the white horse disappeared all of a sudden. The people of Peneges village (Bedahulu) were ordered to search for the horse, and thus, they divided themselves into two groups. The first group under Ki Patih Tunjung Biru went to the northeast, while the second group under Ki Patih Tunjung Tatur to the northwest.

Eventually, the first group found the horse already dead in the hillside to the east of Tenganan current location. The area where the horse was found is now known as Batu Jaran. As a reward for finding the carcass of the horse, the area to the extent of places where the rotten smell of the carcass lingered was given by Batara Indra to Ki Patih Tunjung Biru as his territory. Then, the intelligent Ki Patih cut the carcass and took them around, so that he could get more land to be included in his territory. Now, Ki Patih Tunjung Biru is enshrined in Pura Pemaksan. The ceremony in this temple is held annually in Sasih Sada (the XI month) according to local calendar. This ceremony is attended by all members of pemaksan from the three *banjars*: Banjar Kauh, Banjar Tengah, and Banjar Kangin.

Until now, the Tengananese people still believe that since back then (the era of Bedahulu Kingdom), they were originated from Bedulu, the south of Pejeng current location. To be more specific, they lived in Banjar Peneges, an area between Bedulu and Wanayu. As for the people of Bedulu, they believe that the Tengananese people have loyal ties with Bale Agung Bedulu [10]. In addition, the Tengananese people still maintain good relation with the people of Bedulu by attending the ceremony in Pura Samuan Tiga (Pura Dalem Pengastulan). On the other hand, the people of Bedulu also attend the ceremony in Tenganan, precisely at Usaba Sambah [11].

**4.4. Sacred Places Related to the Death of the White Horse.** Local people believe that there are several sacred places or shrines related to the pieces of the white horse carcasses carried around by Ki Patih Tunjung Biru. Those places are:

- Batu Jaran: This shrine is located at the northern hill. People believe that the horse died in here.
- Kakidukun: This is a monolith-shaped shrine in upright position that resembles phallus or a horse's genitals. Kakidukun is located in a hill to the north of Tenganan. People believe that if a childless couple prayed here, they will be blessed with children not long after.
- Batu Takik or Batu Talikik: It is the largest monolith out of other monoliths in Tenganan, located in the northern hill. The locals believe that the horse's intestines or its feces were here. A ceremony asking for prosperity is usually held here.
- Rambut Pule: It is a rock-shaped shrine, also located in the northern hill. This shrine is believed to be the remains of the horse's head and mane.
- Penimbangan: It is a shrine located in the Papuhun hill, a hill to the west of Tenganan. Penimbangan also has the shape of a monolith, which is believed to be the remains of the horse's thighs. The ceremony held here is related to the Teruna Nyoman ceremony.

**4.5. Tenganan is Formerly Located near Candidasa Beach.** Years ago, it was told that in Candidasa, Manggis district, Karangasem regency, there was a village called Peneges. The people of Peneges were related to those of Tenganan (Bedahulu). However, later they had to move to the inland because of abrasion. This process of moving to the inland is called *ngatengahang* in Balinese. Then, after going through the process of assimilation, the term *ngatengahang* changes to Tenganan [12]. The name Tenganan had been used since ancient time. This claim is supported with the mention of the village's name in a Balinese inscription called the Tranganan inscription. The name Tranganan then became Tenganan, which is used until now by the Balinese. Thus, the name Tenganan is originated from the word *ngatengahang* and also Tranganan [13].

**4.6. The Ancestors of the Tenganan People Come From India.** There are many researchers claim that the first ones to inhabit Bali are the Bali Mula people. After that, immigrants from India, who came to Indonesia, came to Bali as well. Then, these Indian immigrants are called the Bali Aga people or Bali Pegunungan. This claim is supported by a Swiss researcher, who analyzed the Tengananese people. The research was conducted by taking the villagers' blood sample and examined them in America, Germany, Swiss, and Australia [14]. The result of this research proves that the ancestor of the Tengananese people come from West Bengal (India) with genetics called the Calcutta Genetics. Another similarity is the double *ikat* technique, a weaving technique. The cloth is called *Patola* in India and *Geringsing* in Tenganan. Furthermore, there are similarities in the way they dress for a ceremony.

As for the name Pegeringsingan, it is originated from the unique handicraft business, the *geringsing* weaving as customary clothes. All of the materials for the cloth and colorings come from natural sources. Moreover, the weaving process is very difficult and takes a long time to finish. The name *geringsing* is actually a combination of two words: *gering*, which means disease, and *sing*, which means no. Thus, *geringsing* means repelling disease. By wearing *geringsing*, people believe that they can avoid any diseases. The significance of *geringsing* makes people regard *geringsing* as a cloth that not only possesses aesthetic value, but also magical value.

The Bali inscription (Usana Bali) can be used to do an objective reconstruction of Tenganan history, however its content is very brief, and thus it has limited usefulness. The inscription only contains charters issued by the kingdom, such as decrees or to commemorate a village conferment as a *sima*. Being a *sima* means that a village gets the rights as a *perdikan* village because they have sacred places there [15, 16, 17].

Because of the lack of written sources, the only historical source left is folklore, such as myths and legends. Folklore has several characteristics. It is traditional and usually spreads orally. It also tends to have different versions. Furthermore, it has formula-like form and functions in the collective life where it existed. The last is, it is pre-logical but still has meanings or underlies history. These characteristics are not accountable, thus other folklore materials such as people's beliefs or architecture are needed as supporting materials.

Based on the previous explanation, the folklore that has been collected is examined, whether or not it has historical value or just contains folklore truths. Then it is compared to historical facts in inscriptions and *babad* from other villages. Inscriptions and *babad* from other villages are important because they sometimes contain information about Tenganan and the year they were issued, which help in arranging the chronology of Tenganan history. Folklore is important as well, since it can be used to strengthen and clarify certain events written in historical sources from Tenganan or other villages.

First impression after analyzing Tenganan's folklore is Tenganan an ancient village. It is evident in the inscription that had been analyzed by Gorris. If the age of the inscription is 1075 years, the village's age as a settlement is much older. If that year is used as the starting point of Tenganan history, sources other than written sources must be used to complete the history before and after that year. Even until now, written sources about that era cannot be found. For a while and possibly for the next, if there are no more written sources, the limited folklore materials will be used to arrange a small part of Tenganan history.

The first and second stories about "The Death of The Bedahulu Kingdom's White Horse" and "Tenganan is Formerly Located near Candidasa Beach" can be used to arrange Tenganan history before the village reached the pre-historic era, precisely the origin of the village establishment. Both stories cannot be used before any attempts to interpret them are done. Historical facts obtained after eliminating or interpreting the folklore elements are as follow:

The area where Tenganan was found by a group of people whose identities and origin were unknown (according to the myth, they came from the Peneges village-Bedahulu). These people came to Tenganan to find new settlement. Afterwards, they decided to settle and establish a village in Candidasa area. The first story tells about the first stage of their migration to Tenganan. On the other hand, the second story tells about the second stage of the migration.

The second stage of migration included the same identities and origin with the first. However, this time was more organized, as they had a leader (Ki Patih Tunjung Biru). Then both groups unite. Because of several reasons, such as the increase in their number, conflict within group, or attack from the enemies (in the story, it was because of abrasion), they decided to find another place that is larger, richer, and safer (in the story, it was to search for the white horse) in the north mountain or in the deeper part of the inland.

Then, Tenganan government was established under Ki Patih Tunjung Biru leadership. Since they lived in a quite isolated place, Tenganan was governed like a small republic [12]. They began to put people into groups based on their professions in ceremony. There were ten groups, which consisted of Sangyang, Ngijeng, Batuguling Maga, Batuguling, Prajurit, Embak Buluh, Pande Besi, Pande Mas, Pasek, and Bendesa. Among these groups, the only ones whose descendants are still existed until now are Sangyang, Ngijeng, Batuguling, Embak Buluh, Prajurit, and Bendesa. These ten groups were related to a sacred place called Pura Batan Cagi, where they had their own shrines in the form of piles of stones. Overall these shrines were divided into two rows (five on the right and the other five on the left) and in the middle is Sanggah Mulanda for Batara Indra worship.

Hindu propagators had visited Tenganan as well, in order to convert the locals' religion, from animism and ancestor worship to Hinduism. These propagators were the people of Pasek. After Majapahit managed to establish their reign in Bali, a lot of villages in Bali were visited by the people of Pasek that the Gelgel Kingdom sent. Besides spreading the religion, they were assigned to serve as officials of the colonies as well. Six generations of the Pasek people residing in Tenganan now are not the 'original' people of Tenganan and their origin are unknown. However they feel a kinship with the people of Ngis village for three generations. Thus, it is highly probable that the people of Pasek were originally messengers of the Gelgel Kingdom because until now, they are still included in Tenganan organization structure. They have important position and must attend every village meeting in Bale Agung.

If the contents and locations of the deities (*pelinggih-pelinggih*) are analyzed carefully, it is apparent that the attempt to convert the Tenganese people to Hinduism was not quite successful. The Hindu propagators could not convert the Tenganese people to be Hindus who worshipped Hindu deities from India only. They only managed to adapt Tenganese ancestral deities to Hindu deities in physical forms. This does not happen only in Tenganan, but also in Indonesia. Stutterheim claims that Hinduism in Indonesia is not a copy of the original that was spread by India to Indonesia, but it is actually a “new clothes” for the old national psyche. This conclusion was made after knowing that there is no place for the main Hindu deities, such as Brahma, Vishnu, and Sivha, found in the main sacred places in *awangan* Banjar Kauh. There are sacred places dedicated for deities in Indian Hindu or Javanese Hindu, such as Batara Indra, Batara Vishnu (Majapahit), Batara Sri, Batara Brahma (Pertiwi), Batara Guru (Sivha). However they are not located in the most prominent or sacred parts of the temple, but in the outside of *awangan* Banjar Kauh instead, namely in Pura Batan Cagi (Batara Indra), in Banjar Pande and in the southeast of Sanggah Kelod (Batara Vishnu/Majapahit), in the northwest of Sanggah Kelod (Batara Brahma/Pertiwi), and in Sanggah Kaja (Satari Saraswati, Sri Sedana).

The physique or the architecture of those shrines does not stand out or less monumental when compared to other *bale*. Even though the liturgy performed more or less resembles Balinese Hindu, it is not dedicated to the Indian deities, but to their ancestral deities (Batara Kawitan). The conclusion about the existence of Indra sect in Tenganan in ancient era can be seen in a shrine dedicated to Indra in Pura Batan Cagi. There are several ceremonies specially held to worship Indra as the supreme Deity, for instance *ngayunang lokan* (swinging lanterns), corpse burial, *maling-malingan* (stealing), and *sangkepan* with *kakin kilap* (meeting with lightning). There are also several dances performed to show devotion to Indra, such as *mekare* (pandan war), *abuang*, *mresi*, and *rejang*[18]. Each dance has its own purpose and meanings.

The Tenganese people believe that the monolith-shaped sacred places are related to the pieces of horse carcasses that Ki Patih Tunjung Biru carried around. To think logically, those stones are relics of megalithic people living in Tenganan. There is high probability that they are the ancestors of Tenganese people from the second stage of the migration. In archaeological studies, the existence of megalithic culture in Tenganan can be proven with its apparent characteristics, such as staircase-like roads covered in stones, buffalos as sacred animal, and shrines in the form of piles of stones or monolith.

In conclusion, hypothetically Tenganan was a small village near the beach. This village became larger because of migration, which made them sought for a newer, safer, and more spacious residential area. In their new and isolated settlement, they established a more organized government as a small republic. After that, Tenganan experienced an attempt to convert its people to Hinduism by Hindu propagators sent by the Gelgel Kingdom (Majapahit). They also tried to colonize Tenganan. However their attempt was not as successful as they expected. They managed to convert Tenganan original deities to Hindu deities and participate in the village government, but they could not convert the followers to Hinduism. It is interesting to note that those propagators ended up getting converted to the original religion of Tenganan, which was given a Hindu “clothes”.

The previous explanation is about the history of the Tenganan village before the arrival of the Europeans. The history of Tenganan during the colonial era and the independence era is not often discussed.

**4.7.Hinduism and Belief of Indra.** Personally, the Tenganese people worship God through their ancestor spirits. They hope for the “divine light” in order to understand their own condition and how they should act. At a higher spiritual level, some of them are active in a particular belief, such as *kebatinan*. Most of their thoughts and actions are based on supernatural powers. By that means, they want to find out the truth behind natural phenomena. Furthermore, honing their spirit will activate their parapsychic energy such as telepathy and magnetic power, which are very useful for healing. Thus, it is not surprising that some of the Tenganese people work as shamans.

Based on the data in 1998, the total population of Tenganan was calculated at 945 people or 231 households, consisted of 454 males and 491 females. 5 people of the total population were shamans and rain *pawang*s (shamans who specialize in controlling rain). Meanwhile, the 1973 data shows that in this relatively small community, there were at least 18 highly skilled shamans. Additionally, there were 20 more shamans whose skills had not reach the same level of those 18 shamans. Since there were many skilled shamans in Tenganan, the Tenganese people preferred to go to the shamans for health treatment rather than going to the polyclinic (now it is supporting public health center level II) in the Pesedahan village. They only went to the polyclinic when they suffered severe illness.

The common diseases in Tenganan were stomachache, influenza, fever, and skin diseases. As for wounds or childbirth, they usually came to the public health center. The doctors usually came to Pesedahan only twice in a month. Until now, Tenganan still does not have health facilities, such as public health center. The shamans and their healing skill, especially for healing non-medic illnesses, will make the Tenganese people feel safe living in the village.

Traditionally, the Tenganese people are Hindus just like those of other villages in Bali. However, the implementation, such as the types of ceremony, the ceremonial time, the dances, the burial systems, and the shapes of sacred places are different from those of other villages. These differences are caused by various sects



(beliefs) that influence the implementation of Hinduism in the Balinese villages. In Tenganan especially, the element that causes the differences are the sect (belief) of Indra that worship the Deity as the God of War, the God of Beauty/Dances, the God of Rain, and the Supreme God, the most popular Deity out of other Hindu deities.

As Hindus, the Tengananese people not only believe in God (Sang Hyang Widhi) and their manifestations, but also “small sparks” of God which create souls (*Atman*), a principle of cause-effect and action-reaction (*Karmaphala*), reincarnation (*Samsara*), and salvation (*Moksha*). The goal of religion is to reach physical and spiritual happiness in the mortal world and in the afterlife. This belief is apparent in their mindset, attitude, and behavior. In Tenganan, there is a ceremony called *Ngusaba*, which is held almost every month. The ceremony name usually follows the name of the month (*sasih*) when the ceremony is held. For instance, there is a ceremony called *Ngusaba Kasa*. It means that they ceremony is held in Sasih Kasa (the first month) based on the local calendar. The purposes of the ceremonies vary, such as to pray for the land prosperity, the elimination of pests, the abundance of crops, the circle of life, the house construction, blessing, confession and forgiveness, and animal sacrifices.

**4.8.Social Organizations in Tenganan.** The Tenganan community, just like any other community, is divided into several strata. Systems of hierarchy and class in Tenganan influence the mindset of its people. Then, their mindsets influence their behavior. Finally, their behavior is reflected in the environment and the activity outlets. An instance of the Tengananese people's behavior is their social behavior. It is a result of living together with other people, surrounded by the universe. Stemmed from their social behavior, several social organizations are established. The custom organizes them all as a steady system of organization. Tenganan has several main organizations, namely the customary village, *gumi pulangan*, *sekeha teruna*, *sekeha deha*, *banjar*, *subak*, *dadia*, *pemaksan*, and *sekeha*. All are voluntary organizations with certain purpose.

**4.8.1.Customary Village.** The life of the Tenganan people is organized in a social unity, and thus, they maintain the village sanctity together. Their pattern of life is collective, traditional, agrarian, homogeneous, and religious. In addition, the members of the community must dedicate themselves for the village's interests. Adds that the criterion of a person to become a member of the core village (*kerama desa suci*) is an ideal marriage according to the local custom. This means that both husband and wife are not physically and spiritually defective [19]. In addition to that, they must be of local village origin (endogamy) and not a polygamy marriage. They also must be members of *sekeha teruna-deha* in their youth. The marriage sequence determines one's position in the village membership. Overall, Tenganan organization structure is divided into several divisions according to their functions, such as Luanan (5 people), Bahan Roras (12 people), Tambalapu Roras (12 people), Pengeluduan (Tambalapu and below), Nandes (1 person).

Other than the ones mentioned previously, there are some more important positions/functions required for the government systems to run smoothly, for instance Pasek, Dukuh, and Pande. Members of the core village have some characteristics in the way they dress, both in daily life or in certain ceremonies. They always wear sarong (*kamben*) and *saput* that is split in half and sewn in the middle, tied with *saput tubuhan*. They also bring a *keris* that is slipped at their waist. Zigzagging member change occurs when there is a member who lose his/her membership. Member change occurs at certain times (Sasih III, V, IX according to the local calendar). Members may lose membership when their husband or their wife passed away, one of their children get married and commits an offence. They can also lose membership if they are too old to do their obligations as members of the core village.

In general, as members of the core village, they acquire a number of rights such as living in the house plot, changing names, being the village's leader, and making decisions regarding the life of the customary village. Differences in one's position in the village organization structure are followed by differences in rights. They have right to receive yields (*Tika*) after the harvest. Aside of rights, members of the core village have several obligations: initiating traditional ceremonies centered in Bale Agung, *gotong royong*, following to the rules (*awig-awig*) of the village, maintain the village's reputation, and keeping the Bale Agung secure (*magebagan*). They also must attend the meetings, provide a dormitory (*subak*) for Gumi Pulangan, raise the village's pigs, and pay, Rp. 50,- each (*pengingu*) and sometimes Rp. 50,- (*hingan siap*) in every *Patipanten* meeting (a monthly meeting).

**4.8.2.Gumi Pulangan.** A loss of membership means a loss of rights and obligations as members of the core village. But after that, the former members of the core village will become members of the secondary village, called Gumi Pulangan. As members of Gumi Pulangan, they have less rights and obligations than those of the core members. The total members of Gumi Pulangan are 54 people and are divided into 6 divisions. Their social activities are centered in a dormitory called Subak. Subak is usually located in the house of the Luanan, Bahan, or Tambalapu. Furthermore, it can move from the Luanan to Bahan or from the Bahan to Tambalapu. It all depends on mistakes made by a member of the customary village, which causes a sanction called *lad*. Gumi

Pulangan has 1 person as the head of *Subak* who doubles as secretary, 2 people as *pengalang*, 1 person as *jurustiar* (Saya Arah) and a number of members.

When there is an important issue, Gumi Pulangan is invited to the meetings in Bale Agung with Kelian Gumi as the representatives: I Siarna, I Surang, I Puger, I Rembat, I Wija, and I Tiu. Moreover, Gumi Pulangan and members of the core village still maintain good cooperation, especially in holding traditional ceremony at the village level in Sasih Desta (the XI month). As members of the secondary village, Gumi Pulangan still has several rights, such as to live in a house plot, to receive yields, to become *klian gumi* (the organization leader) and to vote in the village meeting through *klian gumi*. As for their obligations, they must hold ceremonies related to the village in Sasih Kelima (the V month) and in Sasih Desya (the XI month). Other obligations are to do *ngujangaji* (*gotong royong*) for the upcoming ceremony, to bury the buffalo carcass, to donate materials (candlenuts, bananas, and coconuts) every six months prior to Galungan. They also must donate 1 *tambang* of *tuak* (palm wine) for certain ceremonies.

**4.8.3. Sekeha Teruna (Organization for Young Men).** Prior to joining this organization, a young man is expected to have completed the circle of life ceremony, Meteruna Nyoman. Membership of the Teruna Nyoman organization is only temporary (1 year). There are several requirements of Meteruna Nyoman. First, they must be 10-15 years old. Next, they must complete a rite of passage called *Meajak-ajakan*. They also must be able to provide financial support for the ceremony, follow the rules, and are physically and spiritually healthy. The last is there must be at least 10 participants. In the opening of Meteruna Nyoman, the participants shave their head and perform a symbolic tooth filing. During the ceremony, they live together in a dormitory (a house/*subak*). They also must take lessons about custom and religion. Additionally, in this organization, they must adapt themselves to a new and broad social environment

It is only after completing Meteruna Nyoman they are recognized as members of the young men organization. Now, they are known as Teruna Pengawin. Next, when there is a new Teruna Nyoman, Teruna Pengawin are called as Teruna Bani. Then, Teruna Bani are called as Penegenan Base when there is another group of Teruna Nyoman. When they are acknowledged as members of the young men organization, they begin to occupy positions within the organization with its rights and obligations. As members and the leader of the organization, their rights are: to make decisions in meetings and to receive share of the collective land. Meanwhile, their obligations are: to participate in ceremonies within the organization, maintain the sacred *Selonding* gamelan, and also to construct and maintain the swings. They also must maintain the sacred baths (Kayehan Kaja), the organization's buildings such as Bale Patemu, barns, and a pavilion in Pura Banjar. The last is to participate in a ceremony hold by the girl organization in the dormitory (*gantih*) at certain times. Membership system of the men organization is divided into three smaller organizations based on the father lineage. These three organizations are: Petemu Kaja, Petemu Tengah, and Petemu Kelod. Each organization has its own membership structure.

**4.8.4. Sekeha Deha (Organization for Young Women).** Joining this organization is a must for young women. However, before becoming official members, they are required to go through a stage called Deha Cerik. In order to enter this stage, every girl who has reached 12 years old is proposed (*dipadik*) by the head of the organization for young women (Kelian Deha) to be a Deha Cerik. These girls usually have not begun their first period, since there are several sacred places forbidden for adult women.

After accepting the proposal, they start to enter a stage called Deha Cerik or Deha Miik (sacred girls). For a year, they get lessons on custom, religion, *geringsing* weaving, and how to adapt to a broader social life. After completing this stage, they rise to Deha Nyoman. This organization is also divided into three smaller organizations according to the mother lineage. These organizations are Gantih Wayan, Gantih Nengah, and Gantih Nyoman. If the mother comes from villages outside Tenganan, her daughter joins Gantih Wayan. The activities in this organization are similar to those in the organization for young men. The activities are centered in a dormitory called Subak Deha. Only a certain house that can be used as the dormitory, for instance, a house of someone from Gumi Pulangan whose daughter is an official member of the organization. Another requirement is that the house is not located near Bale Agung or at the south of the alley (*sedelod rurung*). In the house, there must be *bale bunga 3 sela* (3 rooms) and a *bale tengah*. Every young women organization has its own membership structure and tasks.

These youth organizations play a role not only in their own organizations, but also in the village, for example, in the *merejang* ceremony in Sasih Kasa (the first month). The main event in the ceremony, called *Abuang Lemah*, is a dance performed in pairs in traditional clothes, accompanied by *Selonding* gamelan. It takes place in front of Bale Agung. In Sasih Kelima or the Sambah ceremony, these youth organizations help each other in *mekare-kare* (pandan war)

The relation between the young men organization and the young women organization in ritual aspect is apparent in *meidihan* and *mesumbu* ceremonies. *Meidihan* is held by a young woman towards a young man, or in other words, a young woman 'proposes' a young man. On the other hand, *mesumbu* is held by a young man to propose a young woman. Sometimes, the participants end up getting married. They leave the organization when

they are already married, or have been members for 13 years and do not do their obligations properly. Members who lack intelligence may leave on their own [20].

**4.8.5. Banjar.** There are 3 *banjars* in Tenganan: Banjar Kauh, Banjar Tengah, Banjar Kangin (Banjar Pande). Banjar Kauh is located in the west, Banjar Tengah in the middle, and Banjar Kangin in the east. According to the 2000 data, there are 100 households in Banjar Kauh, 65 households in Banjar Tengah, and 68 households in Banjar Kangin. People of Banjar Pande are divided into 2: Pande Kaja (30 households) and Pande Kelod (38 households). The area of each *banjar* is about 2.500 ha.

*Banjars* in Tenganan differ from other *banjars* in South Bali that have relatively strong organizational rules and functions. The rules and functions in Banjar Kauh and Banjar Tengah are relatively weak. They even do not have an organizational structure. Banjar in Tenganan are territorial communities, but their functions are limited to cleaning the *awangan* and maintain the sewers (*boatan*). Members of the customary village (Kerama Desa Suci and Gumi Pulangan) are free to choose between Banjar Kauh and Banjar Tengah. They cannot choose Banjar Kangin because it is only for those who committed customary offence and migrants (*angendok*). Banjar Kangin has different organizational structure and custom from the other banjar. By applying the principle of cooperation, the division of labor in *banjar* is not very strict. Banjar Pande also has groups who practice the same tradition with the lowland people in Southern Bali.

**4.8.6. Subak.** Subak is a social organization that manages irrigation. Its members are based on the paddy fields that are located in the same river flow. There are 14 subak in the north and east of the hill, and they are watered by 2 large subak: Subak Naga Sungsang and Subak Sengkawan. Subak Naga Sungsang consists of Subak Umategal, Babbitunu, Telepas, Den Umah, Yeh Buah, Kiskis, and Naga Sungsang. Meanwhile, Subak Sangkawan consists of Subak Yeh Singa, Sangkangin, Nungnungan Kaja, Nungnungan Kelod, Pandusan, Makahang, and Sangkawang. The total area of Subak Naga Sungsang is 120,275 ha and it has 276 members. Subak Sengkawan covers 135,570 ha with a total of 127 members. Subak Naga Sungsang is managed by *subak* (the head) I Sugita, *penyarikan* (secretary) I Suparka, and *saya* (*jurur siar*) I Latri. On the other hand, Subak Sangkawan is managed by I Suwarni as the head, I Gunadnya as secretary, and I Kariada as *jurur siar*.

**4.8.7. Dadia.** Dadia is a social organization based on male lineage. In Tenganan, there are 6 dadia: Dadia Mas, Daging Bale Agung, Sakenan, Dajan Rurung, Batu Guling, and Dadia Bukit Buluh. Four dadia (Mas, Daging Bale Agung, Sakenan, and Dajan Rurung) do not have members anymore, thus ceremonies in their dadia temple are held by the village.

**4.8.8. Pemaksan.** Members of Pemaksan are all of kerama gumi who are already married, both males and females. The total members of Pemaksan are 233 households, and they are led by 6 *kelian* (the heads) and 1 *penyarikan* (secretary). This organization does not have specific rights and obligations, except holding an annual ceremony in Pura Pemaksan in Sasih Sada (the XII month) according to the local calendar.

**4.8.9. Sekeha.** *Sekeha* is a social organization that has certain activities with specific purposes. Besides Sekeha Teruna and Sekeha Deha, there are many other *sekeha*: *sekeha kidung*, *gong*, *gender*, *selonding*, *genggong*, *rantang*, *manyi*, *hansip* (local security officers), and *sekeha patus*. The union between Sekeha Teruna and Sekeha Deha are called Palak. Thus, there are 6 palak: Palak Petemu Kaja, Petemu Tengah, Petemu Kelod, Dane Wayah, Dane Nengah, and Palak Dane Nyoman.

**4.9. Mindset, Attitude, and Behavior of The Tenganan People.** It is explained previously that irrational mindset is abstract, broad, and hazy and can be regarded as cultural value systems. The following is an explanation about the mindset of the Tengananese people that is more concrete, rational, and commonly called as the norm systems. It is related to human's various roles in society.

One of the roles in Tenganan organizational structure is De Mangku/Mangku. Mangku is the highest position in Tenganan organizational structure. Thus, Mangku and their descendants are always regarded as sacred and treated with respect by the people. Their respect towards Mangku and their descendants also causes them to see a marriage between someone from other descent and a daughter of a Mangku as taboo, although it is not forbidden. Since the position of Mangku is based on descent, only those from the Sanghyang clan are allowed to fill this position. Additionally, they must be at least a Luanan [12]. Mangku plays a role as the symbolic head of the village government, since the village officials are the ones in charge of governing the village administration. When there problems occur, the officials ask for consideration to Mangku.

To fill the Mangku position, a descent of Sanghyang, just like other members of the village, must start from the lowest position, called Pengeludan. From here, the Sanghyang descent, as long as he is still a member of the core village, will rise in position until reaching the Mangku position. Until now, there is no Sanghyang descent who reach that level, thus its position in Bale Agung is left empty. However, he is still regarded as an

imaginary embodiment called Ungguan. In every meeting in Bale Agung, there is an innermost place provided for Ungguan Mangku. Mangku is usually called Kaki Mangku for male and Nini Mangku for his wife.

As someone with the highest and most sacred position, Mangku has social and spiritual duties. His social duties include giving guide and consideration to the village officials, while his spiritual duties include leading a ceremony. Mangku, the husband or the wife, is considered as someone who understands the custom and the village rules the best. Thus, people always follow and believe in Mangku's words.

Besides playing a role in the village membership structure, Mangku also plays a role in family. Just like any other family heads, Mangku has certain role related to the growth of his children, such as fulfilling the children's biological and psychological needs. Biological needs include food, drinks, clothes, and so on. Meanwhile, psychological needs include education, safety, peace, and so on. As a family head, he must follow certain norms related to his function as parents (husband and wife), as an example for his children or relatives.

Various existing positions suit the government structure in the village, which are related to the people's democratic attitude and their spirit of *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation). Among the groups of officials, there is a well-organized division of labor in a broad sense. It means that authority is not separated by independent bodies. Instead, it is carried out with family principle and makes decisions based on consensus through a deliberation. Even though Mangku and Nandes are appointed based on descent, it does not make democratic means disappear. The position of Mangku whose actions are regarded as sacred and honest is a strength in leading a religious community. This merit has great influence in leading the people towards truth, virtue, and justice that correspond to Pancasila.

The Tenganese people's democratic attitude is related to their behavior. Aside of biological behavior, they also have social behavior. Behavior is often called as social systems because it consists of social activities carried out by human, who interact with each other following a certain pattern. The following is an explanation about the Tenganese people's social behavior, specifically in the organization that manages irrigation: Subak.

Paddy fields in Tenganan are located far behind the hill in the north and east of the village. The total area of the paddy fields is 255,845 ha. Because of the extent of the paddy fields and the current social systems, the Tenganese people cannot cultivate the paddy fields on their own. Thus, the paddy fields are cultivated by other people (*penyakap*) who live near the paddy fields. In Tenganan, the yields are distributed with ratio 1:1, which means that after cutting down the cost of seed, 1 portion is given to the owner of the paddy fields, and another portion is given to the sharecroppers (*penyakap*). These paddy fields are organized by 2 large Subak: Subak Naga Sungsang and Sengkawan. Subak Naga Sungsang covers 120,275 ha with 276 members in total. Subak Naga Sungsang consists of Subak Naga Sungsang, Babi Tunu, Den Umah, Gumung, Kiskis (Uma Kaleran), and Yeh Buah. On the other hand, Subak Sengkawan covers 135,570 ha with 127 members. It consists of Subak Sengkawan, Nungnungan Kaja, Nungnungan Kelod, Pandusan, Uma Kahang, Uma Tegal, Telepas, and Yeh Singa. These fields are planted with paddy with the application of *Insus Paket D* technology, completed with *sapta usaha pertanian*, and is directed to maintain the capability to fulfill their need for rice on their own.

Every Subak has a coordinator for sharecroppers, called Baong Sanak or Keliang Subak who receive a guarantee land (*bukti*). Baong Sanak acts as an intermediary between the Tenganan village as owner and the Subak members as sharecroppers. Baong Sanak is in charge of reporting everything regarding the cultivated lands to the village, such as a change in sharecroppers, harvest time, problems regarding the plants, water distribution, and maintenance of sacred places (Pura Subak). There are several sacred places related to the water distribution, starting from the temple with the highest hierarchy: Pura Ulun Danu Songan, Pura Bangkak, Bedugul, and Sanggah.

**4.10. Spatial Systems of Tenganan.** Actually, spatial systems are related to spatial structure, spatial functions, and spatial meanings. Spatial meanings include pragmatic space, existential space, cognitive space, logical space, and perceptual space. The following is the analysis on Tenganan space through 3 gradations of spatial scale: macro scale (the areas/living environment), meso (the blocks/neighborhood), and micro (the houses).

**4.10.1. Macro Scale (the Areas/Living Environment).** The lands in Tenganan are extensive, especially in the east and north of the village. It is related to the history of the Tenganan Village origin. Attempts to register the lands had been initiated since long time ago. In managing and maintain the lands, 309,950 ha are collective/customary lands, and 528,930 ha are individuals' lands. These lands are to be cultivated by others (not the people of the customary village) who live near the lands. People who come from the outside of Tenganan are forbidden to purchase, pawn, or rent the lands. The land rights are allowed to be transferred only to the Tenganese people (the "original" ones). The transfer of land rights, whether it is for inheritance or trade, is done in Bale Agung and witnessed by the village officials. When dispute occurs, it is usually settled to the village level, taking place in Bale Agung. In addition, conservation of the environment, especially protected forests, have been done in a very strict manner since ancient times. If there are people who dare to cut down trees without following the rules or to steal woods, they will be punished. Only a tree that two-thirds of it already dead are allowed to be cut down, and people must obtain permission from the village beforehand.

With relatively strong rules and functions, the customary village is able to maintain the village's integrity and conserve the environment until now. Furthermore, the village people ask the deities to help them guarding the village borders. Thus, temples are built in the borders, such as Pura Batu Madeg in the south, Batu Jaran in the north, and Pura Penimbangan in the west. The village's organizations guarantee the welfare of each member in the form of yields distribution (*tika*). When there are people who lose their customary village membership because of committing an offence, they cannot make a living. Moreover, they must bear a socio-cultural burden as they cannot participate in customary activities.

On the other hand, starting from the circle of life ceremony held for Teruna Nyoman, children in Tenganan have been trained to know the area where they live. It is done through religious activities in the sacred places far from the settlement area, such as Pura Penimbangan, Batu Jaran, Batu Takik, and so on. The Teruna Nyoman are also obliged to accompany the *deha* (the girls) to do *mintar*. *Mintar* is an activity in which the girls climb the hills as a part of a certain ceremony. During *mintar*, they are not allowed to play around with both the *deha* and each other. If this rule is violated, the offenders are fined 100 *kepeng uang bolong*. This activity is very valuable for them in order to maintain the village's integrity and conserve the environment.

In addition, the existence of *subak* is an important element in environmental conservation, especially regarding water management. Through this organization, water is managed properly that every part of the paddy fields receives water as needed by the farmers. Moreover, ceremony for soil fertility is also held outside Tenganan, which is known as *maturan tanggung-tanggung*. In the first year, this ceremony is held at the peak of the Agung Mountain. In the following year, it is held in Pura Besakih. In the third year, it is held in Pura Ulun Yeh Telaga Tista. In the fourth and fifth year, it is held in Pura Dalem Pengastulan Bedulu and Pura Sri in Tenganan, respectively. This ceremony may be held in Pura Dalem Pengastulan (Pura Anyar) in Tenganan if Pura Dalem Pengastulan in Bedulu, Gianyar is not available. The last temple is still related to the origin of Tenganan.

There are more ceremonies held in several "water temples" to maintain the soil fertility. These "water temples", starting from the one with the highest hierarchy, are Pura Ulun Danu Songan, Pura Bangkak, Pura Subak, Bedugul, and Sanggah. In this case, the Tengananese people cooperate with the surrounding villages, such as Asak, Timbrah, Bugbug, Dauh Tukad, Ngis, Sibetan, Tanah Aron, and Bungaya.

**4.10.2.Meso Scale (the Blocks/Neighborhood).** As a small community with a pattern of life that is collective, agrarian, traditional, and religious, the organization members function primarily for the village's interests. Bale Agung and the surrounding space act as the center of daily activities, ceremonies, and meetings. One can find out the spatial scale required, in details, from the explanation about rights and obligations. Usually, *gotong-royong* and ceremonies take place in the *awangan* (open public space) and sacred places in the middle of the village. The distribution of the yields (*tika*) is done in the yard of Bale Agung and Ayung Desa. A space is required to accommodate the rights and obligations of the youth organizations, for example, Bale Petemu, Jineng/barns, and public baths (Kayehan Kaja). An open space is also needed as a place for ceremonies (in this case, dances) such as *Rejang*, *Abuang*, *Mekare-kare*, and also the construction and maintenance of the swings.

In Tenganan, there are 3 banjars: Banjar Kauh, Banjar Tengah, and Banjar Kangin (Banjar Pande). Banjar Kauh is located in the west spatial block, Banjar Tengah in the middle spatial block, and Banjar Kangin in the east spatial block. The spatial structure of the linear house plots in every *banjar* adapts the concept of *Jaga Satru*. This concept means that the houses are arranged face to face in order to make it easier for the residents to oversee if there is any visitors or enemies coming to the house. The neat spatial blocks of residence is related to the careful planning done throughout the history of Tenganan. The relatively weak rules and functions of the *banjars* are apparent in the space of *Bale Banjar* that is not quite prominent or large. Banjar Kauh has 2 Bale Banjar (10 pillars), each is 10,50 m x 3,50 m. Banjar Tengah has 2 Bale Banjar (10 pillars), each is 10,00 m x 3,50 m and another Bale Banjar (8 pillars) that is 11,50 m x 3,50 m. Banjar Kangin has 3 Bale Banjar, which are 11,00 m x 3,00 m (12 pillars), 7,00 m x 3,00 m (6 pillars), and 7,00 m x 3,00 m (8 pillars) each. Banjar Kauh as the center of social, cultural, and economical activities has the widest public space (*awangan*), which is 25 m. The width of the *awangan* of Banjar Tengah is 20 m, and Banjar Kangin has the narrowest *awangan*, which is only 12 m wide. The average of the length of these 3 open spaces is 490 m. The existence of the customary village organizations with mutual obligations towards Pura Kahyangan Tiga also affects the spatial blocks. At least, a separate space is needed for 3 main sacred places in Tenganan. For instance, Pura Puseh (20,00 m x 13,00 m) in the north end of the village, Pura Desa/Bale Agung with 28 pillars (45,50 m x 4,50 m) in the south end of Banjar Kauh's open public space, and Pura Dalem Kangin (15,00 m x 9,00 m) in the east end of the south area, and Pura Dalem Kauh or Dalem Jero (17,50 m x 7,50 m) in the west end of the village. Tenganan has 2 Pura Dalem because there are 2 graves, 1 in the west end and another in the east end of the village. The west end grave is intended for those of Sangyang and Prajurit clans, while the east end grave is for other clans.

Other social organizations that affect the spatial blocks are *Dadia*, *Sekeha*, and *Pemaksan*. Actually, *Dadia*, which is based on male lineage, is a small group that does not have any relations to the customary

village. Since some of the *dadia*, Dadia Mas, Bale Agung, Sakenan, and Dajan Rurung, do not have any descendants, the ceremonies in these *Dadia*'s temples are held by the village.

Social organizations with specific purposes, such as *sekeha kidung*, *gong*, *gender*, *selonding*, *hansip* (local security officers), and so on also affect the spatial blocks. For instance, they need space for a gathering place or secretariat, and also for a place to store all equipment. Gender is usually stored in the house of the organization head. *Selonding* is usually stored in Bale Petemu/Bale Agung. Gong is stored in Bale Wantilan (32 pillars), which is 478,00 m<sup>2</sup>. Hansip, or the local security officers, has a secretariat in the office of the Tenganan Head. The sports field in the north end of the open public space (*awangan*) in Banjar Kauh is used for marching practice. The spatial effects of Pemaksan are not much, except on a 12,00 m x 7,50 m sacred place called Pura Jero (Pemaksan) in the north *awangan* of Banjar Kauh.

**4.10.3. Micro Scale (The Houses).** To be a member of the core village, at least six months after the wedding, a new nuclear family must have their own house or living separately from their parents. They can choose a house block from the options provided by the village. However, they still have to consider several requirements in choosing their house. For instance, the house block does not *ngapes kahapes* (flank) the yard, does not *ngapes rurung* (flanking the alley), and does not *ngapes banjar* (flanking the spatial blocks). *Ngapes kahapes* is only allowed to flank the yards of maximum 2 families. *Ngapes rurung* only occurs when a family that is still related to the married couple lives in a house in the north and south of the alley. When that occurs, the family who come later must move. *Ngapes banjar* occurs when there are families who live in each end (the north end and the south end between the alley that become the *banjar* border), and they are still related. In such situation, the one who comes later must move. The structure and spatial value of the house are very consistent. It reflects the careful planning and unity of the village people, which match the history of the Tenganan village's origin.

During the 1-year Teruna Nyoman ceremony, the Teruna Nyoman live in a dormitory (*subak*), a house from their guru (Mangku Widia). There, they sleep with wooden pillows every night or guard their guru (*ngemit mekel*). Each of the Teruna Nyoman brings his own gear, such as *keris* (a double-edged dagger), blowgun (*tulupan*), *selimut gotia*, and *sabuk tubuhan*. Sekeha Deha's activities are also centered in a dormitory (*subak/gantih*), a house with certain requirements. For example, a house belongs to one of the Gumi Pulangan people, or a house that is not located near Bale Agung nor is *sedelod rurung* (in the south of the alley). In addition, in the yard, there must be *bale buga 3 sela* (3 rooms) and *bale tengah*. Usually, the owner of the house already has a daughter who becomes an official member of Sekeha Deha. At certain times, Sekeha Teruna also participates in ceremonies held in *gantih*.

Every *dadia* has a sacred place called Pura Dadia. In general, Pura Dadia is located in a house block, thus it does not look like a sacred place but a normal house when viewed from outside. This is supported by the shapes of the sacred place's pavilions that are not prominent, especially when compared to those in the lowland Bali areas. Equipment of other organizations, such as *gender*, *genggong*, and *rangtang* are usually stored in the houses that are used as secretariats, in which the residents (the family heads) are the organizations' heads. Banjar Pande also has Pura Dadia, just like in Southern Bali, which is based on the clan where they belong.

## V. CONCLUSIONS

From the qualitative (descriptive) analysis about the history and cultural life of the Tenganese people, the researcher drew several conclusions:

1. People's history and cultural life influence their mindset, especially on natural harmony, in order to reach physical and spiritual prosperity, both in mortal life and afterlife.
2. Essentially, history and cultural life are experiences and value systems that greatly influence the character development of every society. Their mindset directs their attitude towards life. Then, their attitude towards life is related to their behavior, which then creates the norms of life. Their attitude towards life determines their attitude towards space, their behavior determines their spatial behavior, and their norms determine the spatial norms.
3. People's mindset is evident in the structure, functions, and meanings of Tenganan's spatial systems through 3 gradations of spatial scale: macro (the areas/living environment), meso (the blocks/neighborhood), and micro (the houses). Tenganan is an extensive, rich, and safe village. The centralized and linear village blocks (built up area) are well-organized, with open space and public space in the middle. The people's houses are relatively small and facing each other (*jaga satru*) with consistent structure and spatial values.

## VI. COMPETING INTERESTS

The author or the researcher competing interests are about conservation of architecture, rural architecture, and spatial holy building arrangement especially for *pura* and *candi*.

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