

TRADITIONAL MARRIAGE IN THE TENGGER COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVE OF ACCULTURATION THEORY

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Abstract

This research aims to analyze the acculturation of traditional marriage practices within the Tengger community, specifically investigating whether there has been a shift in customary marriage procedures following the introduction of Hinduism. To address this research question, the researcher collected data on two key traditional marriage ceremonies: Walagara and Pewawihan. In Tengger custom, these ceremonies are essential for validating a marriage. Without them, the marriage is neither recognized nor legalized according to customary law. This raises a significant inquiry on whether Walagara and Pewawihan are purely traditional customs or have been acculturated with Hindu values. The findings indicate that while Walagara and Pewawihan remain part of Tengger's heritage, their implementation has changed. Specifically, the prayers recited during these ceremonies now incorporate Hindu elements. The researcher concludes that Walagara and Pewawihan consist of two distinct components: the ritual movements, which align with Tengger custom, and the prayers, which reflect Hindu influences.

Keywords: *Acculturation, Religion, Tengger, Marriage, Tradition*

INTRODUCTION

The study of tradition, particularly those focused on regional issues, has taken significant interest from researchers. It

is mainly because such studies aim to highlight the noble values of isolated communities (Hefner, 1985), making them accessible to a broader audience. Many anthropologists

consider the study of tradition to be one of the most important among other studies such as studies in education, economics, and politics, due to the essential nature of the values it uncovers. These values, often deeply rooted in cultural heritage, are seen as equally vital to societal development. Tradition-focused research has received considerable support from scholars, including Koentjaraningrat, who has written extensively on the subject. His work emphasizes tradition as a means of exploring the values of indigenous communities, which are intricately linked to religious, legal, moral, and decency norms. These isolated norms develop into the basis for the formation of noble orders and behaviors that are respected and mutually agreed upon (Koentjaraningrat, 2009).

According to Giro, tradition remains deeply embedded within communities, particularly in remote areas. It is expressed through rituals, norms, and rules embodying noble values (Giro, 2001). However, if these values are confined to a single tribe, they may not have a broader positive impact on society. Building on this perspective, the present study explores the noble values within the traditional marriage rituals of the Tenggerese people, specifically the *Pewawihan* and *Walagara* ceremonies. Additionally, Lucky Zamzami argues that local wisdom, encompassing customs, culture, and traditions, holds great potential for addressing societal challenges (Zamzami, 2016). One such challenge is the issue of divorce.

Both *Pewawihan* and *Walagara* are, in fact, products of acculturation, with *Pewawihan* symbolizing cultural values associated with silver and the term *ing anggit*, which expresses the desire for a long-lasting marriage (Observation, 2021). The Tengger people regard *arta* (silver), *ing anggit*, and *Walagara* as rituals that instill in every married couple the importance of maintaining household harmony (Interview, 2021).

These three wedding processions are part of an acculturation process that integrates Hindu traditions and teachings. For Tengger people who practice Islam, Catholicism, Buddhism, or other religions, the ceremonies are conducted according to the guidelines of

their religion. This research examines the *Walagara* and *Pewawihan* ceremonies, the signing of the marriage certificate, and how Hindu values are embedded within these practices. The researchers argue that custom (rituals, ceremonies, etc.) and religion are inseparable aspects of these traditions, particularly since the Tengger people are no longer purely adherents of indigenous beliefs (Hefner, 1985b).

According to data from the Central Statistics Agency, as of 2020, most Tengger people belong to one of the six major religions in Indonesia (BPS Kabupaten Probolinggo, 2020). David L. Sam defines acculturation as the fusion of new values with those long-established in society, resulting in changes in both cultural and physical practices (Sam, 2012). This concept is evident in the traditional marriages of the Tengger people, who initially used indigenous mantras but have since adopted the Hindu mantra "Om" to invoke the gods Shiva, Vishnu, and Brahma (Yusuf, 2020).

This research aims to describe the sequence of traditional marriage rituals within the Tengger Hindu community and to analyze the extent to which acculturation between Hindu traditions and local customs has crystallized. The study also examines the physical and value acculturation theory explained by John W. Berry, David L. Sam, and Cohen, and in what aspects the religious domain becomes a structure that is considered important by the Tengger people.

The importance of this research lies in its exploration of the noble values embedded in tradition, which can positively impact the regulation of social life. Documenting and publishing these findings is essential, as the values identified could be beneficially adopted by non-Tengger communities. Social contact between two cultures often results in the fusion of those cultures, creating new values that, although different in form, share similar cultural and religious substance. Acculturation theory serves as a framework for understanding these values within marriage rituals, helping readers discern which values stem from Tengger traditions and are influenced by Hindu teachings.

Literature Review

Numerous scholars have conducted research on traditional marriages among the Tengger people. Over the past few decades, several studies have explored variables similar to those in this study. The first study, by Putri Indah Kurniawati, examines the Tengger people's marriage system in the context of modernization. However, this research does not focus specifically on traditional marriage rituals but on modernization's impact (Indah et al., 2012). The second study, by M. Hasyim, investigates the Walagara traditional ceremony, exploring its relevance to Islamic values (Hasyim et al., 2020). The key difference between this and the current research lies in focusing on a single ritual. The third study, by I Ketut Sudiartha, offers a general description of the customs preserved by the Tengger people, including Walagara, Entas-entas, Unan-unan, Sasih, and Yajna Kasada (Sudiartha et al., 2017). This study is descriptive and covers a broad range of Tengger customs.

These studies primarily touch on the Walagara ceremony, which is just one of the rituals required in the marriage process. However, the traditional marriage process of the Tengger people involves more than just Walagara; it also includes the sri-wedding procession (approval consent) and the signing of the marriage certificate, regulated by the Population and Civil Registry Service (Observation, 2021). Therefore, the contribution of the current research is to provide a comprehensive description of the entire traditional marriage procession of the Tengger Hindu community in East Java, focusing on interpreting its traditional and religious aspects.

Conceptual Framework

Classical Concept of Acculturation

As proposed by Redfield, Linton, Herskovits, and Berry, the classic concept of acculturation refers to the blending, interaction, merging, and crystallization of two distinct cultures into a unified whole. While Berry views acculturation as a neutral process, in practice, it often results in dominating one of the stronger cultures (Berry, 1997). This dominance arises by the suitability and partiality of the community towards cultures

that have substantial resemblance and similarities with the culture of origin.

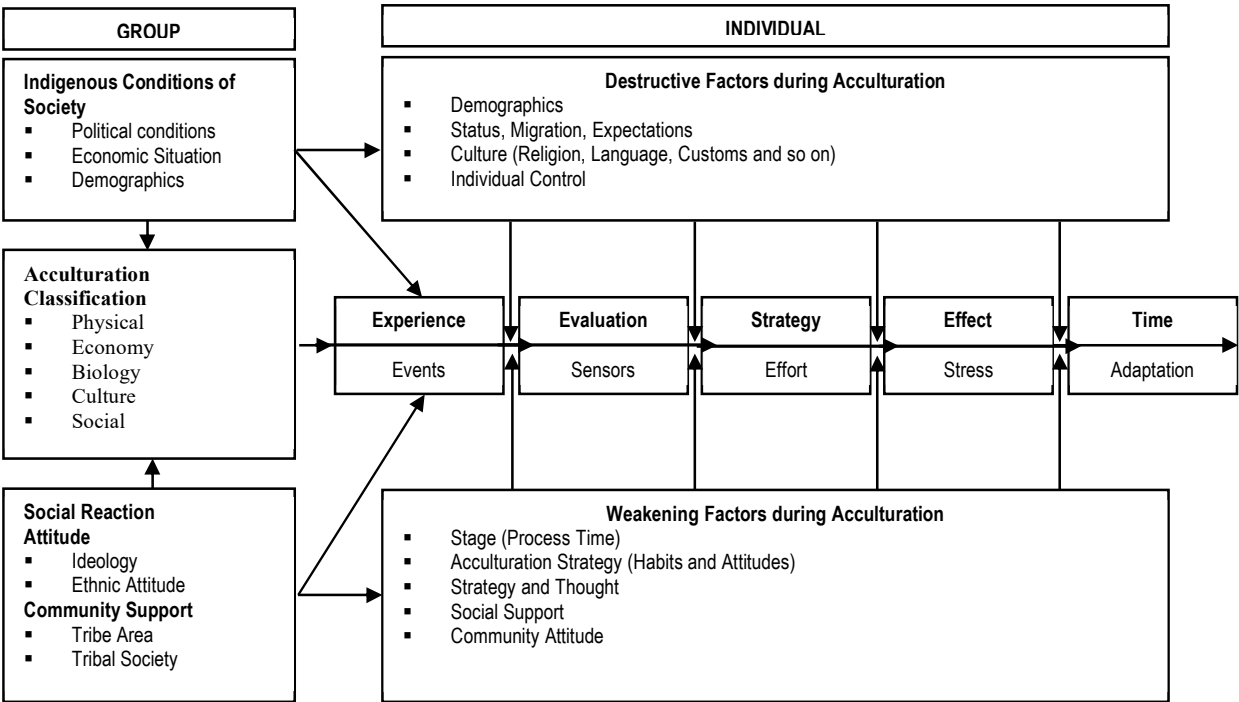
Graves expands the scope of acculturation to encompass both group culture and individual psychology. The group is a community unit that indirectly becomes the object of acculturation, then the individual is a small part that becomes the group's construction as a direct object. Group acculturation includes a community culture that is more creative with change, while individual acculturation leads to a person's character due to social contact with other cultures (Graves, 2016).

Berry outlines the sequential acculturation process, beginning with forming a local community. However, David L. Sam notes that before the emergence of plural societies, mass migrations often brought new cultures to a region (Sam, 2012). These new cultures gradually influence the psychology of individuals within the local group, leading to cultural learning and, ultimately, shifts in local traditions (Berry, 1997). Beiser adds that the key to successful acculturation lies in the adaptation process, how effectively local populations and newcomers understand and integrate the new culture. Cohon further argues that if the new culture is accepted and continues to reflect the local heritage, the result is acculturation. If, however, one culture is rejected or lost, the process falls into the category of assimilation (Cohon, 1980).

Once the necessary variables are established, there are at least five stages of acculturation within a society, including the Tengger people. First, social contact occurs between individuals from different cultural backgrounds. Second, the community evaluates the new culture according to its existing norms and values, which can lead to either rejection or acceptance of the new cultural elements. Third, as Berry and Cohon argue, there are two approaches to this process: habituation to the new culture (Cohon, 1980) and coercion through power (Buckingham & Angulo, 2021). Fourth, whether through habituation or coercion, individuals within the local community may experience stress and dilemmas, prompting them to seek a moderate middle way. Finally, local people begin to

adapt to the new culture, incorporating new habits and norms into their daily lives (Berry, 1997).

Table 1.Acculturation Framework Chart (John W, Berry)



Source: Data Analyst, 2024

The chart above illustrates the flow of acculturation according to John W. Berry. The subjects of acculturation include immigrants, asylum seekers, ethnocultural groups, migrants, and indigenous peoples. The objects and tools involved in this process encompass culture, religion, customs, behavior, language, and norms. Acculturation is driven by social mobility, which facilitates the formation of social contacts within society, as well as by coercive public policies implemented by the government. This process requires a relatively long duration, as local people often adhere strongly to their existing customs. Change can be classified as acculturation if it is accepted by the local community and if cultural fusion occurs, provided that no culture is completely erased (assimilation).(Hafid, 2016).

Tengger Society: From Homogeneous Society and Acculturation.

The Tengger Hindu community is characterized by its indigenous people, who

adhere to the customs of their ancestors. This group consists of tribal members and residents who share homogeneous characteristics, as they are descended from one ancestor. The term Tengger or wong Tengger refers to those who live communally (Observation, 2021) in the Tengger mountainous area of East Java (Boro, 2017). Administratively, they reside in Malang, Pasuruan, Probolinggo, and Lumajang (Suedjito et al, 1984). Historically, the communal nature of the Tengger people contributed to their status as a single ethnic group (homogeneous) before 1362 CE. However, a genetic study conducted in 1986 concluded that the Tengger area has since become ethnically heterogeneous, particularly in regions adjacent to Javanese and Madurese settlements, such as Sukapura and Wonokerto. Factors contributing to the current heterogeneity of Tenggerese society include mass mobility, the opening of new routes to the Tengger region, and intermarriage (Suedjito et.al, 1984).

Regarding belief and religion, the Tengger people were initially known for their adherence to animism and dynamism (Hulun Hyang) (Robert W. Hefner, 1985b).

A significant shift occurred in 1362 AD when Majapahit reached the village of Wonokirti in Pasuruan. According to Pigeaud, this period marked the beginning of social contact between animists and Hindus (Pigeaud, 1962). Following the introduction of Hinduism, efforts were made to Islamize the Tengger people, coinciding with mass mobilization and social contact with individuals from different religious backgrounds. Although the Tengger community was initially resistant to Islam, a humanistic and cultural approach eventually led to Islam becoming the majority religion in the region. Pigeaud noted that the rejection of Islam in the 1370s stemmed from the Tengger people's unfamiliarity with Arabic texts and their strong empathy for Hindu teachings, which they perceived as having substantive similarities with Tenggerese customs (Pigeaud, 1962).

In 2020, the BPS reported that most of the Tenggerese adhere to five major religions in Indonesia (Observation, 2021), with Islam and Hinduism being the most prevalent. Islam is dominant in the villages of Kadasih, Pakel, Ngepung, Sukapura, Sapikerep, and Wonokerto, while Hinduism is primarily followed in Ngadisari, Ngadirejo, Ngadas, Jetak, and Wonoroto (BPS Kabupaten Probolinggo, 2020).

The acculturation process among the Tengger people reflects their status as a local community (society of origin) characterized by distinctive customary practices, economic conditions, and demographics. The Walagara and Pewawihan rituals, central to this research, represent group acculturation within the cultural domain. Acculturation success in Walagara and Pewawihan is closely linked to community attitudes and support, developed over a relatively long period, allowing local people to adapt (Berry, 1997). The migrant communities, predominantly Javanese (from the Majapahit era) and Madurese are primary indicators of the acculturation process. Furthermore, this social contact indirectly

influences aspects of language, education, and religion.

The *Wong Tengger*, who still reside on the slopes of Mount Bromo (Observation, 2021), are considered indigenous people, meaning they were the first to inhabit the region. Their original belief system was rooted in animism and dynamism, known as *Hulun Hyang*, or "servants of the gods" (Boro, 2017). After the arrival of the Majapahit Kingdom in 1362 CE, Hinduism began to influence the region as the kingdom's religion. This marked the beginning of acculturation in various aspects including Tengger traditions (Interview, 2021).

According to Sutopo, the Tengger tradition, known initially as *Dresta*, was practiced solely based on customs passed down through generations. The introduction of Hinduism brought the concept of *Tatva*, manifested in Hindu chants and teachings (Interview, 2021). This influence led to changes in ritual expressions, such as replacing the traditional greeting "Rahayu" with "Om Swastyastu" and shifting incantation guidelines to align with Hindu practices (Observation, 2021).

Acculturation altered ritual practices and places of worship. The original worship site for *Hulun Hyang*, known as *Poten*, was interspersed with the name "Pure" until it became Pure Poten to reflect Hindu influence (Observation, 2021). However, this acculturation process did not eliminate the original customs, particularly traditional ceremonies such as the Walagara, Pewawihan, and Kasada rites. This preservation of ancestral traditions explains the rapid acceptance of Hindu teachings by the Tengger people (Interview, 2021).

Referring to David L. Sam's perspective, the acculturation process in Tengger was significantly influenced by the social contact between the indigenous people and those from Majapahit. The local community accepted the new culture, creating a melting pot. Additionally, there was a process of harmonizing characteristics to prevent rejection by the community (Cohon, 1980). Acculturation did not stop at cultural exchange alone; governmental public policies

further influenced and transformed various dimensions of Tengger culture, with effects that persist today. This process has introduced new elements into Tengger customs, blending traditional and religious aspects into an inseparable whole. This fusion is not only evident in traditional ceremonies but also in major cultural-religious ceremonies such as Kasada, Entas-Entas, and Galungan, which now embody a strong integration of custom and religion (Observation, 2021).

RESEARCH METHOD

To address the research objectives, the study employed an empirical, qualitative approach conducted in the settlements of the Tengger tribe in Probolinggo, East Java. It used a descriptive-analytical framework, with acculturation theory serving as the primary analytical lens.

Data collection involved three techniques: in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation. Interviews were conducted to gather insights into the Walagara and Pewawihan rituals, including the prayers recited and the role of Hindu prayers in validating customary marriages. The interviewees included traditional leaders, village heads, religious leaders, and married members of the Hindu community. Observations were conducted to examine the performance of the Walagara and Pewawihan ceremonies, allowing the researcher to monitor the participants involved in these traditional rituals closely. Documentation analysis focused on various sources, including *Manafa Dharmasastra*, the Tengger Javanese dialect, and other relevant texts. In addition to primary data, secondary sources such as official BPS reports and academic journals supplemented the analysis.

The data analysis followed a three-step process: data reduction, presentation, and conclusion drawing. The validity of the data was ensured through an extended research period, continuous observation, and triangulation. Data from multiple informants and techniques were cross-validated, and the findings were compared with documented records of previous customary rituals.

DISCUSSION

Walagara: Opening Ceremony of Traditional Marriage in the Tengger Hindu Community

The Tengger Hindu community continues to adhere to both Hindu traditions and religious practices in their daily lives and during significant rituals such as the Kosodo ceremony and traditional wedding ceremonies (Observation, 2021). In Sukapura District, one of the main residential areas of the Tengger people, numerous traditional ceremonies, and ancient places of worship from the Tengger tribe can still be found (Observation, 2021). Traditional wedding ceremonies reflect a deep integration of Hindu religious traditions and teachings, preserved, and practiced across generations. According to the head of the Paruman Shaman Pandhita, one of the essential requirements for a valid traditional marriage in the Tengger Hindu community is participation in the Walagara procession.

"The marriage process in Tengger or people carrying out arranged marriages means that if you want to get married, there are three processes that must be followed. The first is the meeting between the two bridesmaids or what is called Wologoro, the second is the consent granted, or what we call Pewawihan and the third we also recorded it at the Civil Registry Service (Interview, 2021)."

In general, there are three key stages that the bride and groom must complete for their marriage to be recognized as valid by custom, religion, and the state. The first stage is the traditional *Wologoro* ceremony, also known as *temu manten* (the couple's meeting). The second is *Pewawihan*, or the granting of consent, and the third is the marriage registration with the Civil Registry Service. The *Wologoro* ceremony marks the formal meeting of the groom, the two prospective brides, and their respective families. In Hindu Dharma teachings, *Wologoro* is considered a sacred testimony to Sahyang Widhi Wasa. It forms part of the *vivaha samskara*, a series of marriage rites that blend Hindu religious traditions with customary practices (Observation, 2021).

The traditional *Wologoro* ceremony begins with the recitation of an incantation by the shaman *Pandhita*, accompanied by the bride's parents. This incantation is recited before the groom arrives at the ritual site. Typically, both *Walagara* and *Pewawihan* ceremonies take place at the village hall, as the Tengger mountainous region is hilly, and most residents do not have large enough yards for such events. The bride's village determines the location of the traditional marriage ritual. This study's ceremony occurred in Ngadisari village, Sukapura, Probolinggo (Observation, 2021). According to Mr. Supoyo, the purpose of the incantation is to invoke the blessings of the three gods in the Hindu concept of divinity (Trimurti), namely Brahma, Visnu, and Siva to bless the course of a series of traditional marriage ceremonies.

"The incantation or prayer recited by the Pandhita shaman and the bride's family in Hinduism is directed to "Om," a sacred sound that represents the manifestation of Brahma, Shiva, and Vishnu. In the Walagara ceremony, the purpose of this prayer is to seek the blessings of these three gods for the marriage, ensuring that the couple is protected from any misfortune, not only during their wedding but throughout their lives until death (Interview, 2021)."

Marriage for the Tengger Hindu community is grounded in Hindu religious beliefs and customary provisions. The *Walagara* ceremony, a blend of tradition and religion, is held in the village where the couple will reside after marriage. Due to the hilly terrain of Tengger settlements and the limited space of individual yards, traditional weddings are typically held in the village auditorium (Observation, 2021).

Similar to Indonesian legal provisions, which require marriages to be based on a single religious ritual, in Tengger, if the couple practices different religions, the religion they will follow after marriage must be decided beforehand. This decision also influences the location of the wedding ceremony. During the researcher's observations, the marriage occurred in Ngadisari village, where the bride lived, while the groom was from Sukapura village.

Before the groom arrived at the ceremony, the *pandhita* shaman recited an incantation to begin the ritual (Observation, 2021). In addition to reciting incantations, the *Walagara* ceremony includes two other key events: *nundang besan* and *dedulitan*. *Nundang besan*, which means "inviting the parents of the prospective son-in-law," is carried out by the bride and groom's parents, accompanied by traditional leaders from each village.

The purpose of this event is for the parents to formally entrust their child to be accepted and regarded as part of the community in the village where the couple will reside.

The final part of *Walagara* is the *dedulitan*, which translates to "rubbing." This begins with the groom stamping on an egg, symbolizing fertility, and the bride then cleaning it with holy water. Following this, the bride walks around the wedding site, sprinkling holy water on food, guests, parents, and traditional leaders, a ritual signifying purification and cleansing. The *Walagara* ceremony concludes with a tribute to the ancestors, led by the head of the *pandhita* shaman, known as *anjali* or "respect" (Observation, 2021).

Referring to John Berry's acculturation framework, the Tengger is an ethnic group with early traditions of *Walagara* and *Sri* marriage. The Tengger community is characterized by its recognition of traditional leaders as political authorities, reliance on agriculture as an economic foundation, and its demographic isolation, which shielded it from outside cultural influences (Berry, 1997). This demographic isolation played a significant role in preserving Tengger culture until the arrival of the Majapahit kingdom in 1407 AD, marking the beginning of the acculturation process for *Walagara* and *Pewawihan* (Boro, 2017).

José Szapocznik emphasized that acculturation is not an instant process but one that unfolds over time and involves complex supporting elements. He argued that culture is deeply ingrained in people's mindsets, making them resistant to change (JSzapocznik, 1978). Similarly, Berry explained that acculturation

begins with social contact triggered by life events, such as the arrival of Majapahit and the introduction of the Walandit inscription and continues with efforts to influence local communities through power or persuasion. People may imitate aspects of the new culture (coping), but their acceptance depends on their attitude and strategy. If accepted, the community will adapt to the latest cultural elements (Berry, 1997).

Unlike Berry, who focuses on cultural acculturation, Szapocznik extends the concept to include changes in habits, language, norms, values, and even religion (Szapocznik, 1978). He categorized acculturation into two forms: value acculturation, which affects behavior, and physical acculturation, which influences customs, culture, and lifestyle. Szapocznik's views reflect the blending of Hindu teachings with Tengger traditions. Hefner, in his work, also noted that the Tengger people, originally followers of the belief known as *Huluhyang*, saw substantive and physical changes in traditions like *Walagara* and *Kosodo* after the arrival of Hinduism (Hefner, 1985b).

What Hafner said was also in line with the information obtained from the Tengger Customary chief. Mr. Sutomo said:

"We have been practicing Walagara and other customs for generations. These traditions have been lessons and guidance passed down from our ancestors and forefathers. No one has ever recorded the exact history of when these rituals and traditions began in Tengger. It was not only with the arrival of Majapahit or Hinduism that we started these ceremonies; we have been practicing them for a long time (Interview, 2021)."

As the head of the pamandita shaman, Mr. Sutomo claims that the Tengger tradition has no connection to the entry of Majapahit or Hindu teachings. The Tengger tradition (*dresta*) is a legacy from the ancestors of the Tengger people themselves. This information clarifies that there has been an acculturation process between *Walagara* and Hindu teachings. It is important to note that *Walagara* is an original Tengger tradition that existed before the arrival of Hinduism; however, it currently incorporates the Hindu *Om* incantation (Observation, 2021).

Widjayaprakoso explained that before 1973, the people of Tengger did not practice worship based on the guidance of the six major religions in Indonesia (Widjayaprakoso, 1994). Pigeaud, in his book *Java in the 14th Century*, states that historical evidence has been found in the form of a Walandit inscription made of silver, dating back to 1327 Saka, or 1407 AD. This inscription was a gift from the Majapahit king Bhatara Hyang Weka in Sukha (Hayam Wuruk) to *Hulu Hyang*, or servant gods (Pigeaud, 1963).

From these two sources, the researcher concludes that *Walagara* is actually the original tradition of the *Hulu Hyang*, which was then integrated with Hindu incantations. Acculturation began in 1407 AD, but merging with Hindu teachings took a long process.

Referring to David L. Sam's opinion, *Hulun Hiyang* is native to Tengger. Subsequently, contact occurred with the migrant community, namely Majapahit (Sam, 2012). The *Hulun Hiyang* eventually accepted the new culture because the culture brought by Majapahit was not significantly different from their original culture, specifically the *Tatva* aspect of worshiping gods. Additionally, there was acculturation between the early culture and the new culture, resulting in the formation of the traditional *Walagara* ceremony as it exists today. This ceremony contains elements of *dresta* (original tradition and culture) and the *Tatva* concept of Hindu divinity, reflected in the *Om* incantations (Yusuf, 2020).

Pewawihan: The Core of the Traditional Marriage Series of the Tengger Hindu Community

The essence of several stages of traditional marriage for the Tengger Hindu community is *Pewawihan* (Sudarsana, 2001), which involves the handover carried out by the religious leader, representing the bride's guardian to her future husband (Observation, 2021). *Pewawihan* comes from the word *vivaha*, which means marriage conducted according to Hindu religious methods and customary provisions in Bali and Tengger (Yusuf, 2020). *Pewawihan*, or consent granted, begins with the reading of an incantation by the *Pandhita* shaman, followed

by the groom and the prospective bride's father holding each other's index fingers. The *Pandhita dukun* then demands the reading of the *Pewawihan* contract as outlined below:

"Puniko penganten lanan, penganten wadon wis teko. Ing sedyo, amitutur rabi, tulus sak panjang umure. Suryo wulan, kathah ingkang putro. Dek'e bapakiro joko biyungie prawan siro arep ono ngendi, ono sak luhute slamet. Tan kontan, percoyo wong agung kang pinongkowali. Ingsun ngawinaken, kang lanang aran Manda Agus Triwijayanto kang wadon Devinta Indriani, anak wadone bapak Supriono, Sri Kawine kalih ringgit arto perak utang. Trimu kawulo, trimu kawulo, trimu kawulo" (Redaction of *Pewawihan*, 2021).

The above sentence is the handover or contract statement that the groom must read and follow. This statement means that the *Pandhita* shaman becomes the guardian of the prospective bride's parents (Mr. Supriono) and is responsible for marrying Manda Agus Triwijayanto and Devinta Indriani. A unique aspect of this contract is that the *Pewawihan* includes a mandatory gift from the man in the form of *artha*, which encompasses both material and spiritual dowry. The two *Pewawihan* can only be fulfilled through debt or credit; that is, they must be paid in installments and cannot be considered fully paid off unless one of the bride or grooms has died (as explained by Mr. Suyono, 2021).

According to the adat leader, *Sri Kawin* is not merely a narrative of consent granted; it holds a profound meaning, particularly in maintaining the harmony of the bride and groom's household relationships. The head of the *Pandhita* shaman echoes this perspective.:

"Pewawihan is the goodness of marriage, kalih means two meaning the prospective bride and groom, ringgit stands for ing nggit, namely goodness from within, artha silver is good from outside in the form of material and other wealth. The term debt indicates that both ing nggit and artha silver are to be provided to the bride and groom on an ongoing basis, continuously, and should not be taken for granted (Interview, 2021)."

There are two essential elements that must be exchanged between husband and wife in a traditional Tengger marriage. Unlike the Balinese Hindu society, which is deeply rooted

in a patriarchal culture, in Tengger, the position of women is equal to that of men. The first element, *ringgit* or *ing nggit*, represents goodness that comes from within, manifested as love, affection, and attention. The second element, *artha silver*, pertains to the property part of the *tri warga*. *Artha* refers to wealth or objects with material value, such as gold, houses, etc. Both *ringgit* and *artha silver* must be given as a debt, meaning that they will not be considered paid off until one of the two, the bride or groom, dies (Yusuf, 2020). Providing *artha silver* and *ing nggit* is not solely the husband's obligation; the wife also has the same responsibility to offer spiritual and physical support to her husband.

The essence of the *Pewawihan* value is that it promotes the idea that the bride and groom should not divorce. Therefore, in *Pewawihan*, it is emphasized as a debt that cannot be paid. Upon closer examination, the purpose of *Pewawihan* is substantially similar to the narration in the *Manava Dharmasastra*, which reads:

"Tahta nityam yateyam stripumsau tu kritakriyau, jatha nabhi caretam tau wiyuktawitaretaram"

Meaning: Man and woman who are bound in a marriage bond should work tirelessly so that they do not get divorced and should not violate each other's loyalty (Pudja et al, 2003).

As articulated in the *Manava Dharmasastra*, the style of Hindu teachings substantially prohibits divorce, requiring the bride and groom to make concerted efforts to maintain their marriage. This commitment involves collaborating to fulfill their family relationships' inner and outer needs. The overarching recommendation from this narrative is to uphold mutual loyalty to avoid divorce.

Acculturation is also evident in the type of language used, namely Javanese with the Tengger dialect. The introduction of Hinduism did not completely alter the language structure, nor is it necessary to speak Sanskrit when delivering incantations. For instance, Hindu incantations typically begin with "Om." The marriage procedures involve both parties,

traditional leaders, and the surrounding community, reflecting an ancient tradition. This signifies that the *dresta* dimension is inherent in conducting these rituals. In the *Pewawihan*, several offerings, including incense and other items, can be traced back to ancient Javanese customs. Additionally, the influence of Hindu teachings is reflected in the incantations spoken by the Shaman Pandhita.

According to Ayatullah Humaeni, offerings are not a new tradition in Indonesia, particularly in Java. The offerings used in *wawihan* or other traditions in Indonesia are ancient practices that align with the age of human civilization. These offerings are traditional cultural heritage initially used to worship gods, spirits, and guardians of places (such as mountains, trees, and caves) believed to bring good fortune (Ayatullah, 2021).

Tengger traditional marriages also incorporate offerings, which include agricultural products such as bananas, coconuts, livestock, and fruit. These offerings are artfully arranged and accompanied by burnt incense (Observation, 2021). After being prayed over, the offerings are thrown into the Bromo crater or placed in various locations near rivers and roads; some are also given to orphans. Incense and frankincense are essential components that must be present in every offering during all Tenggerese traditional rituals (Hefner, 1985b). *Walagara* and *Sri Kawin* represent local wisdom (Nasir et al., 2024). These practices are unique to the Tengger community. However, *Walagara* and *Sri Kawin* do not purely represent Tengger culture; they have been acculturated with Hindu religious values. This blending is evident in the mantras uttered by the *pandhita* shamans.

Marriage Registration from private law in Indonesia (Burgerlijk Wetboek)

Marriage registration is not part of the traditional wedding ceremony for the Tengger Hindu community. However, the existence of Article 2, paragraph 2 of Law Number 1 of 1974, which was replaced by Law Number 16 of 2019 concerning Marriage, necessitates the registration of marriages for the Tengger Hindu community. These regulations represent

a form of acculturation. Sarah L. Buckingham argues that public policies, such as implementing laws and regulations, can directly and indirectly influence the acculturation process. The legislation serves as a form of coercion by the government, but in a progressive sense, it aims to ensure legal certainty through administrative records (Angulo, 2021).

Like other communities outside of Islam, marriage registration is conducted by marriage registrars from the population and civil registration services. The registration also indicates that the marriage was conducted according to customary and religious provisions and officiated by a religious leader in the relevant village (Observation, 2021). The purpose of this documentation is to be included in government information systems, ensuring that if any legal disputes arise involving the bride and groom, they can use the documentation as evidence in court. Marriage registration also provides the legal basis for claims regarding lineage, child custody, joint property, and other marriage-related matters (Zamroni, 2018).

CLOSING

The process of acculturation was initiated by the mobility of Majapahit Hindu adherents to Tengger in 1362 AD, as evidenced by the discovery of the Walandit inscription, which was a tribute from King Hayam Wuruk to the servants of the Gods in the Wonokirti area of Pasuruan. This inscription is evidence of social contact and the fusion of customs between the Hulun Hyang and Hindu adherents. Today, the pattern of acculturation is an integral dimension of several traditional ceremonies. For example, in the rituals of *Walagara* and *Sri Kawin*, the procedural aspects are inherited from Tengger's ancestors, while the accompanying incantations are Hindu in origin.

The acculturation process in Tengger began with the arrival of the Majapahit, who introduced Hindu teachings and sought to influence local communities. This was followed by imitating new cultures, adapting, and developing a sense of loyalty to tradition,

ensuring that the new culture could not completely erase the traditional customs.

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