# *Nyeburin* Marriage Ceremony in Accordance with Balinese Customary Law in Mas Traditional Village

I Gusti Agung Istri Agung\*, Ni Ketut Kantriani, Ni Made Ramiati Universitas Hindu Negeri I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa Denpasar, Indonesia \*agungistriagung@gmail.com

### Abstract

The position of sons is critical in customary law societies in Bali. This is related to the belief in the community that if there is no son, there will be no one to carry out customary and religious obligations in a Hindu family. Facing this situation, Balinese customary law combined with Hindu law offers a solution by elevating the status of girls to purusa status, allowing them to have the same rights and responsibilities as boys. The purpose of this study is to describe the Nyeburin marriage ceremony according to Balinese customary law in Mas traditional village. This type of research is qualitative with a phenomenological approach. This research was conducted in Desa Adat Mas. This research uses qualitative data sourced from primary and secondary data. Determination of informants was determined by purposive sampling. The data collection techniques used were observation, interview, literature, and document study. This research used data analysis techniques: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. The findings of this study are that Nyeburin marriage has a change in status; namely, the wife has purusa status (male status), so it has consequences for the procedures for implementing marriage, the position of the husband, and the offspring obtained. In Nyeburin marriage, the implementation is also carried out at the purusa residence, which, in this case, is the bride's house. Furthermore, the husband will follow or enter the wife's family environment and legally break away from the bonds of family origin.

# Keywords: Ceremony; Marriage; Nyeburin; Customary Law

## Introduction

Based on the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, establish a family and having chldren in a marriage is part of human rights (Erwinsyahbana, 2012). As a state of law, Indonesia certainly has clear rules regarding marriage as stated in Law Number 1 Year 1974. Based on Law No.1 of 1974, marriage is defined as a physical and mental bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife with the aim of forming a happy and eternal family (household) based on the Almighty God. A marriage is declared valid if it is carried out based on the laws of religion and belief (Waluyo, 2020).

Whereas in Hinduism as contained in the Manusmerti book, marriage according to Hinduism in Balinese society is associated with the need for a person to have children and atone for the sins of his parents by producing a son called *suputra* (Pudja, 1983). In the Hindu law sacred book (*Smrti*), the term *wiwaha* is used to describe marriage, also known as "*wiwaha Samskara*." Marriage, also known as *wiwaha Samskara*, is a ritual that establishes the legal status of marriage according to Hindu law (Gata, et al., 2024). Balinese Hindus understand marriage as not only a civil and religious bond, but also a customary and family bond (Gelgel & Hadriani, 2020). The customary bond means that every married couple becomes a member of the customary society (Winarno, 2012).

Marriage has a special meaning for Balinese Hindus and has a special place in their lives. According to Hindu beliefs, marriage is an eternal bond between husband and wife. The regulations governing marriage serve as the basis and outline for the development of Hindu marriage law. Marriages in Bali, especially Hindu ones, are

governed by the same religious law, but there are some differences based on customs and culture in each place or region. According to Windia (2019), Balinese traditional marriage procedures in general are marriage by *ngerorod*, *mepadik*, *jejangkepan*, *nyangkring*, *ngodelin*, *tetagon*, *ngungahin*, *mlegandang*, *nyeburin*.

Marriages in Balinese Hindu customs, especially in Desa Adat Mas, are usually performed through a religious ceremony known as mekala-kalaan, led by a pinandita. Lokacara and desa dresta have also influenced the legalisation of marriage for Hindus. The Decision and Decree of the PHDI of Gianyar Regency, 1986 states that the validity of a marriage is based on the existence of a panyangaskara with bhuta witnesses and god witnesses as well as witnesses from the prajuru adat (customary head). In marriage ceremonies, this is often referred to as tri upasaksi (samskara wiwaha) (Adnyani, 2017). In the community of *Desa Adat Mas*, the two types of marriage (ordinary and unusual) greatly affect the position of the couple and their children. An ordinary marriage, also referred to as nganten biasa, is when the woman leaves her family and becomes a member of her husband's family. The man's family, or purusa, is responsible for all marital activities. Marriages by way of nyeburin/nyentana and gelahang are two types of unusual marriages (Windia, 2019). According to Hindu custom and religion, nyeburin marriage is a marriage in which the woman has the status of *purusa* and the man has the status of pradana. The determination of a woman's status as a man (purusa) or sentana rajeg is done when the woman is still a girl or has not married keceburin. The status of sentana rajeg must be reported to the customary village officials and authorised. By allowing this status, the married person is willing to live in the woman's family. In a patrilineal family system, sons are favoured over daughters. In general, the role of sons is very important in Balinese customary law society. As a result, if a family does not give birth to a son in marriage, it can cause problems or issues for the family. One of the problems is the growing belief in the community that if there are no sons, then no one will perform the worldly and religious duties that should be performed by sons, such as performing yadnya ceremonies and delivering the spirits of ancestors to reach the realm of the Gods. To address this situation, Balinese customary law, driven by Hindu law, allows girls to become *purusa*, who have the same rights and obligations as boys.

Based on functional structural theory, the *nyeburin/nyentana* marriage system, which is related to the matriarchal type of marriage, actually leads to a system of inheritance of headship. Based on the structure of the role functions played by each member of the Balinese family, both Balinese boys and girls, there are basic eternal values that continue to be maintained, such as: (1) Family traditions that must be obeyed, such as respect for parents, obedience, dutiful, *suputra*, loyal, and so on; (2) Family position. For example, parents, especially father, cannot be separated from their daughters; wives always support their husbands in all good things, and daughters have the status of mothers when they have sons, very dependent on their sons; and (3) Responsibilities to mothers, wife, and sibling must be fulfilled by daughters.

Sociocultural studies on community perspectives need to be changed regarding the type of matriarchal marriage in terms of its process compared to the type of marriage nyeburin or nyentana, which is basically different in terms of its essence, which tends to purusa (men) and not as the general understanding of the community who believe that nyeburin marriage tends to predana (women). Adnyani (2017) states that the development step is that there is a change in the Balinese perspective on gender in law that Balinese women are given the right to inherit by organising a form of nyentana marriage which in the process is in line with the matriarchal form of marriage and in substance the sentana rajeg is confirmed, namely daughters who in a family are appointed as successors and heirs in this case have the status of purusa (patriarchy).

Based on the above background, the problem of this research is how the *nyeburin* marriage ceremony according to Balinese customary law in *Desa Adat Mas*. The purpose of this research is to describe the *nyeburin* marriage ceremony according to Balinese customary law in Desa Adat Mas. Theoretically, the findings of this research are expected to add new insights, expand current knowledge, and can be used as a reference or source of reference for academics and society in general.

#### Method

This research uses a qualitative approach. Primary data came from observations and interviews, while secondary data was obtained from relevant literature. This type of research is qualitative with a phenomenalogical approach. This research was conducted in *Desa Adat Mas*. This research uses qualitative data sourced from primary data and secondary data. The determination of informants was determined by purposive sampling, where the respondents consisted of several groups of respondents, namely: (1) couples who perform *nyeburin* marriage, (2) parents and families of couples who perform *nyeburin* marriage, (3) religious leaders and weda interpreters (Hindu religious scriptures), (4) traditional leaders (elders in Desa Adat Mas), (5) community members, (6) PHDI (the highest organisation of Hinduism) of Bali province. The data collection techniques used were observation, interview, literature study, and document study. The data analysis techniques used in this research are data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing.

## **Result and Discussion**

# 1. Definition of the Nyeburin Marriage

For the Balinese Hindu community, marriage has an enormous meaning. In addition to the birth ceremony (*Lekad*), adolescence (*Menek Kelih*), teeth-filling or *pangur* (*Metatah*), and death (*Ngaben*), the marriage ceremony (*Pawiwahan*) is one of the significant ceremonies in the life of Balinese Hindu society. Ceremony comes from the Sanskrit words *Upa* and *Cara*, *Upa* means surrounding or pointing everything and *Cara* means movement or activity so that the ceremony can be interpreted as an effort to connect with God, *Ida Sanghyang Widi Wasa* (Sukrawati, 2020).

The marriage period is one of the teachings of *Catur Asrama* according to Hinduism, in addition to being part of the ceremony. *Catur Asrama* is the four phases of Hindu life, consisting of *Brahmacari* (seeking knowledge or education), *Grhasta* (marriage), *Wanaprasta* (seclusion from worldly ties), and *Bhiksuka* (Sudirga, 2014). The *Grhasta* period is a time when people get married and seek provisions to continue their lives after renouncing worldliness. Therefore, for Balinese Hindus, marriage has a relationship with both *Sekala* (worldly) and *Niskala* (heavenly) aspects. The married couple is also given the right and obligation to bind themselves to the Balinese *Banjar* (village) custom, which results in a very deep meaning for the community about marriage.

*Nyeburin* marriage is a marriage that is highly prioritised and privileged which is carried out with the process of proposing where this marriage is carried out because the woman does not have any brothers and there is an agreement from both parties. The implementation or procession of the *nyeburin/nyentana* marriage in Desa Adat Mas is carried out as follows:

#### a. Mesedek

*Mesedek* is an initial event where the bride's parents come to the bridegroom's house to introduce themselves and confirm that they will be made *sentana/nyeburin*, this is done so that the groom's parents get to know the seriousness of the bride who will make *sentana/nyeburin*, the man will see the seriousness of the woman and at the *mesedek* stage

will appear the seriousness and sincerity of his heart to make a companion, determining a good or adult day so that later the bride and groom get a harmonious household and get suputra offspring is usually determined by the female party based on the instructions of *Pedanda* / person who understands about *wariga* or *pedewasan* (good dates and messages to carry out marriage ceremonies).

## b. Memadik

Memadik is a proposal procession where the female party comes to the bridegroom's house and is invited to the bride's house and this man has the status of *sentana/nyeburin*.

# c. Byakaon

The *mabyakaon* ceremony is a ceremony that welcomes the bride and groom from the place where they were hiding, and as a cleansing ceremony for the bride and groom from the dirt during their stay at the bride's house. In the Balinese dictionary, the marriage of Nyeburin is interpreted as a morphological term (kruna tiron). Another case can be interpreted with the word *cebur* by getting additional meaning (anusuara) and accompaniment in from the word kruna lingga to Nyeburin which can be drawn meaning to perform work actions called *cebur* another term for targeting, heading / plunging into something (Sujana, 2017). Diving into the waves (nyeburin ombak) and diving into the abyss are some examples. According to Balinese Hindu customs and religion, a nyeburin marriage is a type of marriage in which the woman acts as sentana raja and the man acts as predana. The man leaves his family of origin and enters his wife's family, this is called nyeburin. The term pinned on the woman in the Nyeburian marriage is called sentana rajeg which is interpreted as a woman who is given the position of sentana rajeg holding the function and status as purusa or can be said to be the successor. Other terms of sentana rajeg in Hinduism are mentioned as heir / rajeg kukukuh, sentana / descendant and confirmed upheld / tegak kerajegang. In the Book of Manawa Dharmasastra, sentana rajeg is referred to as putrika whose position is the same as a son, namely as a continuation of descent and heir to his parents' property (Sudantra, 2007).

*Nyeburin* marriage implemented in the *Mas* Village community is a solution used to solve a family problem that only has female offspring. In its development, *Nyeburin* marriage became an alternative for families who only have female offspring. There are two forms of marriage according to customary law in Bali:

- a. Ordinary marriage, the woman enters the man's family.
- b. *Nyeburin* marriage, in which the man enters the woman's family and is married to both the man and Nyeburin.

Basically, Nyeburin marriage is an unusual form of marriage in Mas Village. This marriage is performed because the female party does not have a brother as explained in the awig-awig of the Mas Traditional Village as mentioned in Pawos 70, Yening wenten sinalih tunggil karma village jagi ngangkat sentana patut ngemargyang asta brata peperasan saha kesaksiang sekala niskala lan polih pemutus sakeng guru wisesa. Nyeburin marriage has rules that are a little unique and special to the usual marriage in most societies. In an ordinary marriage, a man will propose to a girl to be his wife. The Nyeburin marriage process has a process that can be said to be reversed from the usual marriage process when viewed from the point of view of the status of the bride and groom, that in the Nyeburin marriage, the man is proposed by the woman with a position as a pradana so that he can be invited to go home to the woman's house. His offspring belong to the woman's family and continue the family lineage of his wife.

In contrast to ordinary marriages conducted in Bali, in *Nyeburin* marriages, the husband will follow or enter into the wife's family environment. This is because, in this marriage, the wife has the position of *purusa* by being knighted as *sentana* by her parents.

Because of the transfer of status to *nyeburin*, this form of marriage is also called the term *nyeburi/sentana rajeg* marriage, namely the appointment of a woman's child legally as a man's child (*sentana*), the form of *Nyeburin* marriage is to respect Balinese women by being appointed as sentana rajeg, women who marry become heirs of their parent's property. Balinese customary law has provided institutions to anticipate extinction in the form of *sentana rajeg* institutions to avoid extinction. In its development, this institution is not only used by families who do not have male children, in families that already have male children some use this *sentana rajeg* institution so that the *sentana rajeg* woman will have the same position as her male siblings.

In *Nyeburin* marriages, there is a change in status; namely, the wife has the status of purusa, which has consequences for the procedures for the implementation of marriage and the position of the husband and the offspring obtained. In the marriage custom in Desa Adat Mas, the marriage ceremony is held at the bride's house (pradana). Likewise, in Nyeburin marriages, the ceremony is also held at the residence of the purusa party, in this case, at the bridegroom's house. Furthermore, the husband will follow or enter into his wife's family environment and legally break away from his original family ties. The husband has relinquished his purusa status, so he can no longer inherit from his family of origin.

Conversely, the wife given the status of *purusa* will automatically become *sentana* and has the right to inherit within her family. Similarly, the offspring obtained by the Nyeburin marriage couple, by the patrilineal system adopted in the community system, their offspring follow the purusa party, namely following the mother's family who has been honoured as *sentana*. In Nyeburin marriages, men's roles, such as rights, obligations, and responsibilities in the family, are opposite to women's roles, which are called predana, so their position and status are reversed. Suppose there is a breakup of the marriage. In that case, the position of the man who acts as predana is the same as that of a woman. Generally, it has the same consequences but still follows several conditions specifically regulated in customary law or local *awig-awig*.

- a. When a *Nyeburin* marriage breaks down because the wife dies, the husband becomes a widower and can stay at his wife's house or return to his original family.
- b. When a *Nyeburin* marriage breaks up due to divorce, the male party who has the status of *predana* no longer has the right to settle and live in his ex-wife's house and is required to return to his parent's house. The consequence of *Nyeburin* marriage, when divorce occurs, is that the male party is disadvantaged. In *Nyeburin*, marriages related to the problem of marriage breakdown due to divorce or the wife's death in Marriage Law No.1 of 1974 have not been regulated, are still customary, and apply in areas that recognise customary law as a rule.

In Manawa Dharma Sastra 132 states that women who are elevated to *purusa* status have the full right to the inheritance of their parents, who in this case do not have sons; thus, the obligation carried out by her is to continue to do *tarpana* for both parents and datuk is intended for her mother The position of a woman's child who has been elevated to purusa status has the full right to become an heir for her child. According to Astiti (2001), *Nyeburin* marriage is a special form of marriage.

- a. *Nyeburin marriage* results from negotiations or approaches from the woman's parents (who have *sentana rajeg* status) with the man's family. The desired expectation of the woman's parents is to get an agreement for the boy to occupy the status of pradana; thus, the marriage process will be able to take place with an agreement that has been made before.
- b. The procession of the yadnya ceremony is carried out the same as the usual marriage process; the difference is that it is carried out in the house of the woman who holds the

- status of *purusa*, not in the man's house, considering that the man holding the status as predana leaves his house to live in the woman's house.
- c. The woman is the head of the family; all children born are descendants of the mother's people or are a continuation of the descendants of the father or grandfather on the mother's side

A marriage to be considered a Nyeburin marriage must follow the following rules according to Balinese Customary Law (Astiti, 1998):

- a. Regarding status position, *Nyeburin* marriage has a different position in general. Women are given the position of *purusa* or can be said as sentana rajeg or as the successor of descendants, and women as sentana who have a status position is not strong can be strengthened by doing *Nyeburin* marriage with the position as pengrajegnya with purusa status. By customary law, the status position will be conveyed in a customary meeting forum by the customary prajuru.
- b. Negotiations for a *Nyeburin* marriage must begin between the parents of the prospective wife (who will be purusa) and the prospective husband's family. Of course, the main approach is to the prospective husband. When the results have been obtained through a mutual agreement, the legal and customary *Nyeburin* marriage process can be carried out.
- c. The legality of a *Nyeburin* marriage can be considered legal under customary law if it has gone through the process of a pabyakawonan ceremony or conducting a pesakapan ceremony in the house of the *purusa* woman.
- d. By customary law, the *Nyeburin* man will follow the woman and live with her in her house as a member of the wife's family. This differs from a typical marriage where the man leaves his family of origin to follow the woman. Daily, the man/husband performs ancestor worship activities in the woman's house or his wife's *sanggah*.
- e. The husband has the position of *sentana nyeburin*, which has the right to status as predana, and this is indicated by the wife delivering *pemelepehan (jauman)* offerings to the male family's house as a ceremony to untie the husband from his original family as *purusa*.

No sloka or article in Hinduism prohibits *nyeburin* marriages, as the male family would be considered irresponsible. As a source of positive law applicable to Hindus, the *Manawa Dharmasastra* explicitly mentions the status of daughters as successors, called Putrika (women whose status is changed into men). *Sloka 127* of the book explicitly states, "He who has no son can make his daughter into one (male status) according to the ceremony of appointing a female child by telling her husband the son born of her will perform the funeral ceremony". *Nyeburin* marriages are allowed, as the description of the sloka indicates. *Santana* wants to go to Montana. As it has no clear legal basis, the argument that nyeburin marriages are prohibited must be considered unwarranted.

This is the case with the division of inheritance in nyeburin marriages. Sloka 132 of the Manawa Dharmasastra states, "The son of a woman who is elevated to the status of a man will also receive the inheritance of his own father who has no sons (grandfather). He will organise Tarpana for both his parents, as well as his mother's grandfather". Sloka 145 further states, "The child born to a woman whose status is upgraded will be an heir like her own legitimate child. Because the proceeds are for the owner of the land according to the law".

## 2. Stages on Nyeburin Marriage

When *nyeburin* marriages are conducted by way of proposing, the marriage is characterised by the presence of the proposing party and the proposed party (Artatik, 2018). In this way, marriage is considered ideal by Balinese people because there is a sign

of harmony (good relations) between both parties. However, if there are certain considerations and reasons why marriage cannot be proposed, then it can be pursued by way of *ngerorod* or *ngerangkat*. This method is done by running together so that there is no sense of running away and being run away because both are active actors (Astiti, 1998).

According to Sedayatana (interview, 6 November 2023), there are several processions that must be carried out in a nyeburin marriage as follows:

- a. Engagement stage. At this stage, an agreement is reached to conduct a *Nyeburin* marriage that has been discussed and received approval from both parties: the woman who will have the status of *purusa* and the male party who will have the status of *predana*.
- b. The stage of making an engagement (*mesuaka*) is from the woman who becomes *purusa* to propose to the male party who is *predana*.
- c. At this stage, the speakers of both parties are equipped with symbolic *Canang Pengaos* and *Pejati* (meaningful offerings for means of witnessing to God) brought by the woman as the *purusa* party.
- d. The stage of giving honesty (*peweweh*) is giving a pair of clothes and informing when the good day to pick up the bridegroom who will later have the status of *predana*.
- e. The pick-up stage (*mepamit*) is where the woman picks up the bridegroom because the marriage will soon be ratified. At this stage, customary law can be done by looking for a good day / *padewasa ayu*, where the *mepamit* ceremony procession can be carried out on *Sakala* and *Niskala*.

Marriage validation according to Wignyodipuro (1990), states that marriage validation must go through three stages, namely:

- a. *Rites de Separation*, namely the ceremony of separation from the original status, where this ceremony is carried out at the bride's house, either by paying honestly or the ceremony of releasing the legal status of the family.
- b. *Rites de Marge* is the process of switching to a new status by performing the mejauman ritual ceremony with the ceremonial means in the form of tipat bantal.
- c. *Rites de Aggregation* can be said to be a form of status acceptance ceremony between the two parties, purusa and pradana, carried out at the man's house with the legal witnessing of unus tri upasaksi through the pabyekawonan and widhi widhana ceremonies

## 3. Wedding Validation Procedure

Juridically, Article 2 Paragraph 1 Law No. 1 Tahun 1974 states that marriage is considered lawful by religious law and individual people's trustworthiness. Therefore, the relationship between faith and ethics is quite serious, as faith must be practised in accordance with religious law and individual accountability. Marriage in Law No. 1 of 1974 saw changes. Hinduism has grown and begun to move toward a harmonious pecking order. The initial steps of this process could be clearer, but later on, they become more common. The evolution of newborn marriages in the Bali community, influenced by the system of distances inclined to the purusa, closely correlates with its growth. The fact that a husband usually lives in a wife's family home is not the only proof that this kind of marriage is ferocious. This is more clearly seen from the fact that the ceremony of marriage confirmation (talk) is carried out in the family home of the bride and the family of the groom. According to Arthayasa & Sujaelanto (2000), the requirements of Hindu law for legal marriage are as follows:

a. A marriage made under Hindu law is declared valid if the provisions of Hindu laws according to Hindu legislation

b. The marriage must be certified by a priest or a *pinandita*.

In Hinduism, a marriage is valid according to Hindu law if the ceremonies and rituals have been carried out and witnessed by the Three Witnesses, namely:

- a. The Witness God offers offerings at Sanggah Kemulan and Natab Banten Pawiwahan
- b. The traditional Prejuru and the bride and groom's families witness the Human Witness
- c. Bhuta Witness is the mbyakaonan and mepenimpung ceremony.

# 4. Nyeburin Marriage Challenges

The patrilineal marriage system is usually applied in Bali, but this does not apply to all communities. As mentioned previously, families who do not have sons can choose a nyeburin marriage. Choosing to carry out a marriage that is different from society's general habits is clearly a difficult task. The following are some problems that may arise when carrying out a nyeburin marriage (Pratama, 2021):

# a. Couple of different Kaste (Wangsa)

Because Balinese people recognize social classifications, in ancient times, marriage between couples of different social strata (Incest Rank Social) was prohibited (Rato & Hartanto, 2011). In this case, social strata are based on a caste or dynasty system. Castes in Bali are divided into 4 (four) categories, namely:

- 1) The Brahmin caste is the highest, consisting of nobles and priests;
- The Kshatriya caste consists of servants of the state, royalty and descendants of kings;
- 3) The Vaisya caste consists of traders and business people, And
- 4) The Sudra caste is the lowest, consisting of workers (Wasono, 2011).

There is a prohibition on marriage between different caste (*wangsa*) because the aim is to purify the caste, and mixing caste is considered polluting (Budawati, 2016). This difference in dynasty hinders the family's blessing in a *nyeburin* marriage, not just couples who marry normally. With the issuance of Paswara DPRD Bali Number 11 of 1952, marriage between different castes was prohibited because it was considered to cause discrimination against a certain dynasty group. This is by the mandate of Article 18B paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which recognizes and respects the unity and rights of customary law communities. Philosophically, customary law can be applied as long as it does not violate it. Especially in the fulfilment of human rights by avoiding discrimination against certain groups.

Some families, especially parents, still adhere to the principle of caste purification, which means that their children's partners must be from the same caste. However, interracial marriages are no longer prohibited. Because the woman has a lower caste than the man, it will be difficult for the man's family, who still adhere to the principle of dynasty purification, to agree to a *nyeburin* marriage.

## b. Rights and Obligations of Both Parties in Nyeburin Marriage

Nyeburin marriages where the woman or wife has the status of purusa or the status of a man, allowing the wife to act as head of the family. Not as stated in Article 31 of the UUP, paragraph (3), which places the husband as head of the family. In Balinese tradition, the wife's position is more important than the husband's. The wife functions as the successor of the offspring, taking full responsibility for her biological parents and ancestors and as the heir to all her inheritance (Budawati, 2016). For the benefit of his descendants, the wife has the right to inheritance, both inheritance and wealth. What is meant by inheritance is in the form of assets or assets (Adnyani, 2016). By the provisions of Article 35 paragraph (2) of the UUP, assets obtained as inheritance are owned by each party as long as the parties do not determine other means.

Marriages carried out by Balinese traditional people give rise to responsibilities such as *Krama Banjar*, in addition to responsibilities within the scope of this family. Even though in a *nyeburin* marriage, the wife is called *purusa* and the husband is called *pradana*, responsibilities in *banjar* remain following their original gender (Atmaja, 2008). The husband is responsible for his good manners, and the wife is responsible for his wife's good manners. Men who want to carry out *nyeburin* marriages must face sociological and social challenges to adapt to the new *Banjar* environment. The *Banjar* people's views on nyeburin marriage must also be confronted.

# c. Male Inherit Rights

The right to inherit is lost for men who do nyeburin marriage because of their status as pradana. After MUDP Decree Number 01/KEP/PSM-3/MDP Bali/X/2010 was issued, this provision no longer applies in its entirety. Men who do Nyeburin Marriage are considered *Ninggal Kedation Terbatas*. As a result, assets are based on the principle of *Ategen Asuwun*, which means two to one. This means that people who have *pradana* status are entitled to part of the assets of the *purusa*. If there has been an agreement regarding how much assets will be divided, this provision can be removed. Windia & Wijaya (Azizah, 2022) said that the MUDP Decree was a change to the old regulation in Bali, Peswara 13 October 1900, because it was considered irrelevant to current conditions.

Apart from that, *Pradana* can obtain his rights as an heir while simultaneously carrying out his obligations as carried out by *purusa* (Cahyania, et al., 2019). This inheritance law is the same as the provisions found in the Civil Code, where the division is absolute (*Legitime Portie*), with no distinction between the positions of men and women. Based on this provision, parents, as heirs, often divide inheritance assets in equal amounts without considering the status of children as heirs. In cases where a male party of *nyeburin* marriage has a sibling with Purusa status, this distribution of inheritance often causes problems. Heirs with Purusa status sometimes do not agree with this distribution because it is considered to reduce the share they should get. This is a situation that will cause conflict. In contrast to the problems faced by nyeburin men, the fact that he is the only child in the family. Compared to parental approval which is difficult to obtain, inheritance conflicts may not be the problem he faces, because he only has one son and as the only Purusa who has the right to continue his lineage. Until now, nyeburin marriages are still difficult to recognize because of the potential challenges they face.

#### Conclusion

According to Balinese Hindu tradition and religion, *nyeburin* marriage is the name or form of marriage in which the woman plays the role of *sentana rajeg*, and the man plays the role of *predana*, leaving his family of origin and entering his wife's family environment. *Nyeburin* marriages involve a change in status, namely that the wife has *purusa* status, which has consequences for the procedure for carrying out the marriage, the position of the husband and the offspring he obtains. In a nyeburin wedding, the implementation is also carried out at the residence of the *purusa* party, in this case, at the bride's house. Next, the husband will follow or enter his wife's family environment and legally free himself from his original family ties. Hindu wedding ceremonies can be carried out if the bride and groom are Hindu. The marriage could not be carried out because, both administratively and according to Hindu religious law, the bride and groom must be Hindus before getting married. For a marriage to be considered valid, the ceremony must be witnessed by the *tri upasaksi* (god, human, and *bhuta* witness). A *nyeburin awiwaha samskara* marriage is carried out at the house of the woman with the role as purusa.

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