

Case Study of Manak Salah Pregnancy in Bali

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ABSTRACT

Background: Pregnancy and giving birth to twins of different sexes is a joy for parents because once pregnant they have two children at once with different genders. This will not be the case for certain cultural groups. Twin pregnancies of different sexes or “bunny twins” in certain cultural groups are often referred to as “wrong people”. Problems arise in groups who consider pregnancy and the birth of twins of different sexes as conditions that can pollute the village, so they are required to carry out a tradition called the Manak Salah tradition.

Objective: To understand the cultural values or traditions of Manak salah and their impact on a parent couple or family by conceiving or giving birth to twins of the opposite sex. **Methods:** A case report of one family who had given birth to twins of the opposite sex and was required to carry out the Manak ritual tradition was wrong.

Results and Discussion: It was reported that a 50-year-old mother was pregnant and gave birth to twins of the opposite sex. As a result of this, their families carry out the Manak Salah tradition required by their village Awig-awig (customary law in Bali) in their yards and several public temples and have to prepare a black pig as a ritual tool. At first, there was a feeling of shock because it was the first time, I heard about such a ritual, and had to prepare a lot of budgets for it. However, the feeling of discomfort soon disappeared due to having two children at once of different sexes. At that time, in Bali, the birth of twins with twins was considered a mistake because it was considered to pollute the village, so they were required to carry out a tradition called the Manak Salah tradition.

Conclusion: Pregnancy with twins in several villages in Bali is still considered a mistake so it requires certain treatment and rituals. The act of isolation and the Prayascita ritual can affect the health of the mother and or her baby. Both physically, mentally, socially, and even financially. A new approach that is rational, adaptive, and promotive is needed to deal with pregnant twins.

Keywords: bunny twins, manak salah, prayascita ritual, pregnancy.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Most twin pregnancies are pregnancies with two fetuses, although triplets, quadruplets, or more can occur. Physiologically, every month a woman releases an egg alternately from the right and left ovaries. So most if there is a pregnancy, will be a singleton pregnancy. But sometimes both ovaries of a woman each release an egg, and two sperm separately fertilize each egg to form a twin pregnancy. Twins like this are two different figures because they come from two different eggs and two sperm. Such twins are called fraternal twins, dizygotic twins (two zygotes), or non-identical twins. The sexes of fraternal twins can be the same or different. Because dizygotic twins are two different individuals, they have two amnions (di-amnios) and two placentas (di-chorionic).

Twin pregnancies can also come from one egg that has been fertilized, but in its development divides into two or

more zygotes. Such twins are often referred to as monozygotic twins (mono ovular-identical twins). If division occurs before the formation of the inner cell mass (morula), within 3 days (first 72 hours) of fertilization, which occurs in 1/3 of monozygotic twins then each fetus will have its amniotic sac and placenta (diamniotic dichorionic twins) approx. 96%. If embryo division occurs after 3 days of fertilization (between 4-8 days), where the morula has formed, communication between the placental circulation will occur, resulting in monochorionic di-amniotic twins of about 4%. The division of the ovum on days 8-13 after fertilization, where the amnion layer has formed will become monochorionic, monoamniotic twins. Ovum division > 13 days after fertilization, where segmentation is inhibited and after the primitive streak is formed, conjoined twins will occur.

Back in twin pregnancies, the fetuses can be the same or different sexes. Twin pregnancies with different sexes (boys

and girls) or better known as twins are medically called fraternal twins.

From the perspective of Balinese traditional buncing twins is a natural thing, but some traditional villages in Bali still think that this is a mistake, so they are required to carry out a tradition called the Manak Salah tradition. This tradition requires parents and their twins to perform temporary seclusion with the term *tapa brata* which aims to purify in other words, the birth of these twins is considered a dirty mistake. If not implemented this tradition will happen things that are not desirable. The exile means that a newborn baby with his parents must be moved from his house to the graveyard or seal for 42 days and after arriving at the time the baby's parents must perform a *prayascita* (purification) ceremony. This will certainly affect the health of parents and babies both physically and mentally.

II. CASE STUDY

This case study was made through a deep-interview psychiatric interview. Female, NNA, 50 years old, married, lives in Batungsel Village, Tabanan District, Tabanan Regency. He gave birth to twins, a boy and a girl in 1993. At that time, he said that he did not know that they were pregnant with twins of different sexes, because at that time an ultrasound examination had never been done. It was said that at that time the process of early labor in Pujungan was then referred to the Tabanan hospital and then referred to Prof. Hospital. Dr. IGNG Ngorah. Both babies are said to be born normally, the firstborn is a boy. I was surprised because when the child was born, it was said that there was one more baby, and when the next baby was born, it was a girl. At that time, he was said to have known about the *awig-awig* in the village about the birth of twin buncing babies.

It is said that the feelings at that time were mixed but rather happy because they had a son. In response to the implementation of *awig-awig* in the village, *Jumpana* (cleaning) has been carried out with Banten *Penyupat* in the yard and refining and also offering *celeng badeng* (black pigs) in five temples at a cost that was not small at that time around Rp. 40,000,000. It was said that the village at that time asked if it needed help to finance the cleaning ceremony, but the mother said that the baby would be fully borne by the family, even though it had to be in debt but whatever would be done because it was happy to have a son and both children are now 29 years old. With the presence of two babies of different genders at the same time, the mother admitted that she had no feelings of sadness, and also no feelings of despair despite having to spend a lot of money on the cleaning ceremony.

III. DISCUSSION

Indonesia is a country that has a variety of customs, cultures, and traditions that surround the life of its people. The traditions, cultures, and traditions that are passed down from generation to generation bind all components of society in a thick primordial bond, and their existence is still found today.

For example, in Bali there is a product of customary law called *Awig-awig*. *Awig-awig* is a rule made by the

customary village courts and or Banjar Adat Krama which serves as a guide in the implementation of Tri Hita Karana, namely maintaining harmonious relations between humans and God Almighty, harmonious relationships between humans and humans and harmonious relationships between humans and the environment. natural.

Although it does not apply in all of Bali, one form of the implementation of *Awig-awig* according to the tradition that still exists and applies to this day in Bali is the Manak Salah tradition. Manak Salah is a birth where there is a family that gives birth to twins of different sexes (a boy and a girl) who are often referred to as buncing twins. Certain villagers still think that the birth of twins has violated religious rules and polluted the family. To avoid bad things, the family who has the manak salah birth must perform the manak salah ritual. The purpose of carrying out this ritual is to clean physically and spiritually both the buncing twins, their families, and the communities in the village [1], [2]. Some places that still carried out the rite of Manak salah were after 1993, such as the Padang Bulia Traditional Village, Sukasada, Buleleng. *Awig-awig* is a rule of law (custom) that functions to regulate the life of the Traditional Village community to create order, peace, and tranquility, as well as a sense of justice in the Traditional Village community [3].

In the Hindu chronicle *Gobleg*, the Sima Gama Hindu papyrus, it is stated that there is one village community that gives birth to twin boys and girls (buncing twins) or what is often referred to as *Kama Salit*. This condition is considered to be able to make the village "hot" or uneasy, for the twins must be celebrated first before being invited to live in the village community. If it is a boy who is born first and then a girl, then it is said to be Great Salah because it is considered that the baby boy is marrying his sister. However, it is different if the female child who was born first is considered to be Salah Kikit (not considered to be marrying his brother) this is because the female is born first so that she is older because generally, the married couple is older [4].

Pregnancy and childbirth are not only biological phenomena but also social, cultural, and even spiritual phenomena. As something social, cultural, and even spiritual, pregnant women cannot be separated from the people around them, their environment, and even their God.

Ernst Cassirer, an expert on cultural philosophy for a long time said that "the initial steps towards the intellectual and cultural life of humans can be described as actions that involve a little mental adjustment to the immediate environment". What a person perceives about himself, and his environment cannot be separated from the environment's perception of him. This reciprocal communication creates interactions that influence each other [5]. Thus, pregnant women have a perception of themselves and their environment and vice versa. What's more, she was pregnant with twins, especially twins with twins. The environment has a certain perception of pregnant twins. The implementation of the wrong Manak ritual in several villages in Bali can be considered a form of dialogue between families who have twins with twins and the community. This dialogical adaptive behavior resulted in the Manak culture being wrong about being pregnant with bulging twins. Especially if at the time of birth, the firstborn is a girl. In the papyrus of Dewa Tatwa, and Brahma Tattwa it is stated that if it swells then the whole

Parahyangan or village temple will be polluted because Ida Bhatara who resides in that place is said to be "murky" or gone, then cuntaka (dirty) is the village of Pekraman for three tilem (dead moon) in the village environment. The custom is prohibited from holding a yadnya ceremony, but the exception is for death events [4].

Although it was abolished through a Regional Regulation in 1951, the Manak salah tradition is still carried out in several areas. The term Manak Salah in Julah Village has existed since the 12th century when Bali was ruled by King Masula-Masuli. Manak salah is a term for people who give birth to twins, a boy, and a girl. Manak wrong is a birth that is called unnatural, this is because there are no humans who give birth to two direct children, plus they are of a different gender. The opinion of society at that time was that only animals that could give birth to more than one baby was considered like animals. Births like this are assumed to cause dirt and disastrous for the family or the village where they live.

The buncing twins born in the royal environment are believed to bring blessings and prosperity, but the bunny twins are said to be wrong if they are born from the Jabawangsa community whose existence is believed to bring disaster. To purify the village, the family and the buncing twins perform penances or temporary exile in the campuhan area for three months of telung tilem. During this period of exile, the parents and their baby twins were not allowed to return home. After three months, at the time of tilem, the three parents and the buncing twin babies will perform a series of purification ceremonies which will be carried out in several places, starting at the Tapa Berata place which is then continued at the Desa Temple after at the Desa Temple, it will be continued at the Segara (beach) after. After finishing at the beach, the parents and the bunny twins will be escorted back home [3].

The Manak Salah tradition has also been applied during the time of the Kaba-kaba Kingdom in Tabanan until it applies during this pre-modern period. Panglingsir Puri Gede Saren Mayasan Kaba-Kaba, Anak Agung Ngurah Gede Surya Buana explained that the Manak Salah tradition existed before the Dutch era came to colonize. At the beginning of the founding of the Kaba-Kaba Kingdom, if people gave birth to twins, a boy and a girl (buncing twins), the parents and their children had to go outside the kingdom. At that time the territory of the Kaba-Kaba Kingdom reached Pengeragoan Village, Pekutatan District, Jembrana, South Seseh, Tukad Yeh Sungai in the east, and North Tabanan City. The fourth king of Puri Kaba-Kaba changed this tradition by holding the Caru Labuh Gentuh ceremony. With this caru, the disaster that is considered to be coming to the village will not happen. The Caru lebu Gentuh event is held when the boy and girl are passed (removed from the rest of the umbilical cord). His ceremony, the parents, and the twins will follow the ceremony near the intersection of the Kaba-Kaba Village Temple. The implementation near the Village Temple is because, in the belief in the Kaba-Kaba Village, every ceremony related to humans must be carried out at the Village Temple to notify the resident that all processes have been carried out. Raja Kaba-Kaba Tabanan gives wisdom to its citizens, if they come from a poor family, then the village will bear the cost of the banten pecaruan.

Medically, multiple pregnancies often occur, where a twin pregnancy is a pregnancy with two or more fetuses. Dizygotic twins have two amnions (diamniotic) and two placentas (dichorionic). Monozygotic twins can form one placenta (monochorionic), one amnion (monoamniotic), or even one fetal organ (conjoined twins) [6].

Twin pregnancies are very susceptible to various complications, both maternal and fetal, and can increase morbidity and mortality. Complications for the mother and fetus in twin pregnancies are greater than in singleton pregnancies. The perinatal mortality rate in twin pregnancies is quite high, with monozygotic twins 2.5 times the mortality rate for dizygotic twins [7]. It is necessary to carry out good antenatal care and even attend classes for pregnant women to get information from the beginning and get a good intake of professional care, including preparation for childbirth [8].

Anemia is often found in twin pregnancies because of the high nutritional requirements and the increase in plasma volume that is not proportional to the increase in red blood cells resulting in a decrease in hemoglobin levels, this situation is associated with the pulmonary incidence of tocolytic administration which is higher than in twin pregnancies [9].

The frequency of occurrence of hypertension aggravated by pregnancy, preeclampsia, and eclampsia increases in twin pregnancies. Bleeding in early pregnancy and antepartum bleeding due to placental solution are caused by the poor surface of the placenta in twin pregnancies so that the placenta is easily separated. Twin pregnancies are also prone to postpartum hemorrhage with varying degrees and sequelae. The death of one fetus in twin pregnancies can occur, a common cause of death is the entanglement of the umbilical cord [7].

One of the things that can reduce complications and maternal mortality in pregnancy is to increase education about pregnancy, use of antenatal care and assistance from the psychiatry department if deemed necessary because anxiety or stress often occurs during pregnancy related to hormonal instability in pregnant women [9].

IV. CONCLUSION

The Manak Salah culture or ritual in Bali is a cultural heritage since the royal era and is still carried out in several villages until now. It is necessary to study and reinterpret Manak culture as a cultural product so that it does not conflict with the legal values above it, such as human rights and the 1945 Constitution. It is important to reassess how far the culture has benefited the supporting community, instead of causing trouble and complexity. Support from the surrounding environment, including the village, is very important so that the implementation of the Manak ritual does not burden the families who are undergoing it, physically, socially, and mentally, so that in its implementation, families who undergo this tradition can live with a sense of security, comfort, and calm.

Pregnancy is a clinical condition full of risks, especially twin pregnancies have a higher risk. It is important to carry out good prenatal care or antenatal care (ANC) for pregnant women, so that pregnant women can prepare for the birth process, as well as post-delivery, especially if the pregnancy

is a twin pregnancy. Family and environmental support are very important to ease the burden on couples with the birth of twins. Starting from pregnancy, childbirth, postpartum, and even when caring for their children.

Psychiatric assistance is needed such as psychotherapy for mothers with twin pregnancies or twins, especially in Bali who still apply the wrong Manak ritual which has influenced the mentality of parents and children related to the traditions carried out. Mentoring needs to be done to anticipate the occurrence of anxiety or depression caused.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

Authors declare that they do not have any conflict of interest.

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