

## IDENTITY AND ETHNICITY OF BUGIS COMMUNITY IN BALI: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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### ABSTRACT

This study aims to reveal the phenomenon of identity change of the Bugis people in Bali. Bugis community in a long period of time has experienced a variety of hegemony and marginalization, both in politics and economy. This study aims to find out how the construction of identity and the struggle to face these challenges. The method used in this research was historical method combined with cultural studies. The data were collected through literature materials combined with in-depth interviews. The results show that the change and identity politics carried out were a reaction to the hegemony and marginalization that they have experienced over the years, mainly due to external factors. The external factors include political factors (government policy) and economic factor, especially tourism.

Keywords: Politics of Identity, contestation, Hegemony, Construction.

### ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkapkan fenomena perubahan Identitas Masyarakat Bugis di Bali. Masyarakat Bugis dalam periode yang panjang mengalami berbagai hegemoni dan keterpinggiran, baik dalam bidang politik maupun ekonomi. Kajian ini ingin mengetahui bagaimana konstruksi identitas dan perjuangan menghadapi tantangan tersebut. Metode yang dipergunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode sejarah dan dikombinasikan dengan kajian budaya (culture studies). Data dikumpulkan lewat bahan-bahan kepustakaan dan dikombinasikan dengan wawancara mendalam. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa perubahan dan politik identitas yang dilakukan merupakan reaksi dari hegemoni dan marginalisasi yang mereka alami selama ini, terutama karena faktor eksternal. Faktor eksternal seperti faktor politik (kebijakan pemerintah) dan faktor ekonomi, terutama pariwisata.

Kata Kunci : Politik Identitas, Kontestasi, Hegemoni, Konstruksi.

## INTRODUCTION

When the author conducted field research in 1990 in several villages of Bugis in Bali, it was hard to find those who claimed to be Bugis. Yet where they live is administratively named Bugis village, even their cemetery (tomb) are also named Bugis cemetery. Likewise, foreign writers, especially Dutch who were quite a lot called them Buginese or Makassar (Lekkerkerker, 1920). The writings were published in magazines or publications between 18-19 centuries such as TBG, TNI, TNAG, *Kolonial Verslag* and others.

Why is it difficult to find those who claim to be Bugis? Because they hide their identity. This led the Netherlands writers in the 20th century such as V.E. Korn (1932), (1960) C.J. Grader (1960), F.A. Lieftrinck (1915) and others called them Islamic Balinese. Furthermore, they live together, and mingle with the Balinese community in the indigenous villages, hamlets, as well as other traditional social organizations such as Subak. The Islamic Balinese are found in Jembrana (West Bali), Buleleng (North Bali), Klungkung (East Bali), and Badung (Denpasar), South Bali.

## WHO ARE THE BUGIS?

In the writings of Bali around 19-20 centuries, foreigners from outside Bali were categorized as *Sunantara*, *Duradesa*, *Jabakuta* meaning strangers from outside Bali who dwelt in Bali from 17-18th centuries. The foreigners are Chinese, Arabic, and Bugis. The communities of Java, Madura, Sasak found in Bali since the 20<sup>th</sup> century because of economic reasons were not included in the category of foreigners (*duradesa* or *sunantara*).

Bugis people in Bali were from South Sulawesi who have migrated to Bali since the end of the 17th century, right after the Makassar war in 1667-1669 most indirectly to Bali, but through Lombok and Sumbawa and Sumatra (often called Malay Bugis). They landed in several places in Bali including near Lingga beach of North Bali (Van der Tuuk, 1901). In Badung they landed near Serangan island

(Suwitha, 1983, 2013), and in Jembrana in Port Loloan (Reken, 1974). They spread onwards throughout Bali and built Bugis villages or *kampung Islam*. Among them there are still pure Bugis in the sense born by both Bugis parents (biologically Bugis) or one parent is Bugis, which can be categorized as Bugis (Pelras 2006; Abdullah, 1985).

Bugis is one of the ethnic names originating from South Sulawesi. South Sulawesi is inhabited by four main ethnics including Bugis as the majority ethnic, Makassar, Mandar and Toraja. The Makassar ethnic was famous earlier due to the role of Makassar kingdom that had emerged since the 16<sup>th</sup> century and held the hegemony in the eastern part of the archipelago until the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Makassar ethnic is located in the area of marine waters that allow them to relate to the outside world.

Another marine ethnic is Mandar, which coincided with the ethnic of Makassar. On Bali Strait, Mandar village has existed since the 17<sup>th</sup> century near Blambangan (East end of East Java). Mandar-Balanipa kingdom frequently entered into a relationship with the kingdom in Bali. When VOC invaded Blambangan in 1776, many Mandar people moved to Bali (Arifin, 1980). At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (1808), Captain Mandar-Pattimi became the harbormaster in Loloan (Lauts, 1848) Anachoda Bega was also a Mandar who became a harbormaster in Tuban (Badung) (Suwitha, 1983).

The Bugis ethnic later emerged as a counter power of Makassar since the 17th century. Bugis kingdoms also had access to the sea as the kingdoms of Bone, Soppeng, Luwu, and several other small kingdoms. Luwu kingdom is the oldest Bugis kingdom in South Sulawesi, contemporaneous with the Majapahit kingdom. Furthermore, the colonial writings always called the Bugis-Makassar, Mandar, and Toraja. The four tribes or ethnic groups have already integrated for a long time, so that the culture is almost the same. Outside of South Sulawesi, they were called Bugis or Makassar Bugis.

Bugis ethnic group in Bali includes the two other ethnics, Mandar and Makassar. Toraja ethnic in South Sulawesi hinterland who did not have access to the sea, was not found in Bali before the independence, and thus is not included in this article.

When the kingdom of Makassar was still in power, it entered into a relationship with the kingdom of Gelgel (Bali). Even the rivalry between the two kingdoms bore agreement in 1624 (National Archives/Bundels 4), regarding the division of eastward power. Makassar kingdom next ruled Sumbawa, while the Balinese kingdom (Gelgel) controlled Lombok. The soldiers escaping from Makassar were present in Bali and Lombok. Local sources cited by Adrian Vickers (1999), called them as the Daeng (term for soldiers of Makassar) who often held a battle with the kingdom of Bali.

#### **CHANGE OF IDENTITY**

Change of identity, politics of identity and identity preservation become strategy to maintain their existence in Bali through adjustments, adaptation to socio-cultural environment of the surrounding community. Searching for identity is something that never ends.

Identity in the perspective of cultural studies is something that is not fixed, always changing, liquid, deliberately formed as required. Identity is also plural, not singular or often called multiple identities and each culture is multicultural (Kleden, 2006). Identity is not a legacy or "given" from birth. Identity is fluid, dynamic and varied (Bourdieu, 2010). The same thing was said by Madan Sarup (2003) that the identity is never fixed, always changing, not whole, not one, deliberately formed, fabricated or constructed, continually drafted by the historical process in accordance with the needs. Likewise, Frederick Barth (1988) argues that ethnicity and identity are not ascriptive, but rather a political struggle by using the fight of ethnic identity as an instrument in the fight over economic and political resources and became known as the politics

of ethnic identity.

In the perspective of post-modernism, culture is no longer considered to be just naturally present, or as an inheritance (ascriptive). But it is self-established (constructed) by the bearers of the culture through a typical social construction. Culture is not present by chance, but it is the embodiment of purpose and particular interests defended by certain interest groups within a society. Even it is not the people who are influencing culture, but on the contrary (Kleden, 2006).

During a long history, for living in Bali for more than 400 years, the Bugis made efforts to adjust their credentials as required. Hegemony and counter-hegemony occurred one after another as stated by Gramsci (Gramsci, 2000). At first, they were proud of their designation as the Bugis or Makassar for it was thick with the courage to fight. Warring was an attempt to preserve their identity, so they were often used by the kings of Bali for the sake of war (*Gaguritan Yuda Mengwi*).

After Dutch came to Bali in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Dutch also noticed the courage to fight of the Bugis in Bali and elsewhere. Dutch had been familiar with the identity of Bugis – Makassar earlier for their bravery in Makassar war and other wars in other places in the country that involved Bugis. Dutch even branded Bugis traders as pirates or pirates of the sea (Lapian, 1987). In this period after the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Bugis people have started to hide their Bugis identity. Thus, the writings of foreigners about Bali called the Bugis group as *Bali Islam*, or *Bali Melayu* (Korn, 1932, Grader, 1960)

Since the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they preferred to be called Islamic Balinese or Balinese with Moslem religion than as immigrants. Incidentally, since the 20<sup>th</sup> century Bali also has known Christian Balinese, that is, people who are Christians living in Bali, both of Bali origin and newcomers called *Bali Kristen* or *Kristen Bali*. When people of *Bali Islam* were asked of their relationship with the Balinese Hindu, they averagely claimed to have families or rela-

tives with the Hindus. Even among Bugis residents in Pegayaman (Buleleng), in Kusamba (Klungkung) they give greeting names such as Wayan, Made and so on (Barth, 1993). Indeed, kinship relationships have been around a long time, when the first generation of Bugis came to Bali and firstly married Balinese women. Thus, is common for the Balinese to call them *Nyame Bugis* (Bugis family) or *Nyame Selam* (Islamic family), a title of respect as a brother or a Balinese local genius called *menyame braya* (brotherhood)

Bugis culture in Bali was formed by its bearers, in this regard the Bugis community. Therefore, the Bugis culture is not an ontological or cannot change over time. Bugis culture is historical, depending on other interests, not an immutable, depending on whim and what is done by the Bugis until today. Bugis in some places, such as Kepaon, Pegayaman refuse to be called Bugis and partially hidall of their Bugis identity. Some community leaders were confused with their history, or their origins. They were not satisfied only associated with the history of Pemecutan Castle (Traditional Ruler) who had allowed them to build villages they occupied now. They are called the Balinese, who are Muslims or Malay Balinese. Indeed, according to history, their ancestors were from Palembang who married Balinese women. This ancestor descended the generation now in Kepaon. Their ancestors

from Palembang were Malay Bugis.

Adopting Zenden opinion (in Kumbara, 2004), construction is the interpretation or meaning given directly around the problem. In the beginning, the construction of Bugis is an ethnic that comes from South Sulawesi. However, this construction turned into a historical process. Now in daily communication with the outside world they do not highlight all their Bugis identity. They call their homeland is Bali, such as from Kepaon, from Kusamba, or Serangan and so on. In the past construction and colonial construction, they were clearly called Bugis. Even now in the context of government and indigenous village they are called *Kampung Bugis* who had cemetery, also called Bugis cemetery.

In the current village administration in Bali they are united, but only different names and terms. The Bugis have their own organization called *Kampung* the same level with the village, or the level of *banjar*, i.e a government under the village called *Kampung Bugis*. For more details can be seen in the figure 1.

In daily interaction with the outside world right now, they do not highlight all their Bugis identity. When asked where they come from, they just call their homeland is Bali such as the village of Serangan. In addition, in the colonial construction they are called Bugis such as Bugis Serangan, Bugis Kusamba. A current finding in the context of the village

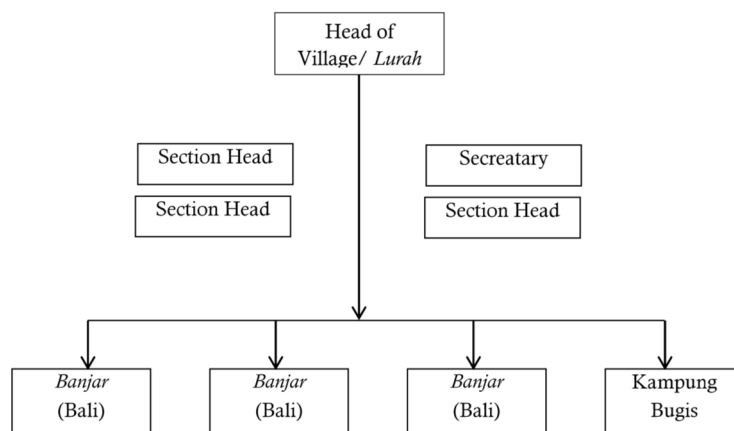


Figure 1. The government under *Kampung Bugis*

administration and the traditional village in Bali show that it is clearly mentioned as Kampung Bugis (see picture above).

In daily life, they are difficult to distinguish from the Balinese, except for religion of Islam and mosques in every village. The typical Bugis stage house is now no longer found. Even some of the leaders of current generation do not call themselves Bugis or even hide the Bugis identity. In addition there are also some who do not know or pretend not to know unless they are dealing with other people who know that they are actually Bugis.

In a conversation with a figure of Bugis in Kepaon Village, he showed his doubts as a Bugis. He responded approximately as the following.

My father was said to have come from Palembang who is a Muslim. My mother is Balinese, and my religion is Islam. Many of my relatives are Balinese who are Hindu. I was also brought up by my grandparents who were Hindu. In my daily interactions I use Balinese. So I am a Balinese Muslim... Am I right?"

The data above is my conversation with a prominent 60-year-old Bugis. The son of a Bugis derived from Palembang. The Bugis people were also known to have opened agricultural forest in South Sumatra. Bugis people coming from Sumatra are often called Malay Bugis.

In Bali, it is currently difficult to distinguish the Bugis or not, mixed or not. Only religion is still strong, namely Islam as a standard identity. The form of their homes is the same as most of the houses. Bugis people in Kepaon and Tanjung Benoa more identify themselves as the Bali Moslems. On the day of Eid there are no Bugis people who go home to their homeland. On the contrary, the Bugis people of Bali had migrated to the outside Bali and returned home to Bali

Speaking of identity, especially in a postmodern perspective, is something that can change, identity is not heritage, and it is not something given, but it is deliberately formed. How to play identity, when to be the Bugis and when as citizens of Bali

or Indonesia. The identity of Bugis in Bali is imprinted in collaboration with Hindu culture, and the collaboration with art and culture. There is a tendency to include a new identity as the Balinese who are Muslims or Malays. The structure of houses adopts the Balinese way, there are *angkul-angkul*, typical Balinese concepts, such as behave *menyame braya* (brotherhood), *majenukan*, *medelokan*, *ngejot* (mutual visits) and so on.

Bugis culture can exist in Bali until today even though it is forgotten in some places. The tendency of marriage with non Bugis, especially with Javanese ethnic led to increase erosion of Bugis culture. Indeed, there are questions like, "Who are the Bugis?", "Those who were born in South Sulawesi, and even though both parents are Bugis, but their Bugis identity has begun to fade". They often do not admit themselves as the Bugis, though biologically they are Bugis. Moreover, referring to Pelras (2006) only one parent is a Bugis, he is just biologically Bugis, not culturally Bugis. Daily life does not fully reflect the Bugis, for example, the use of language. There is no cultural institution as an affirmation of the Bugis identity. There are no Bugis names or traditionally Bugis names, and no naming policy. There is no value of commitment inherited, whereas so many noble values such *siri* that is still relevant in the current social context.

The culture of Bugis community in Bali is already filling the public space. After the New Order, many New Order's concepts such as unity, hegemony, *ajeg Bali*, and others are questioned, so that the plurality regains normative strength. The impact that arises is the aspiration of regional culture or local culture. Cultural elements such as dance is not just a "given" or given characteristic of identity, but the rights of group that must be fought. Bugis cultural elements appeared on the map of Balinese culture. In other words, the normative force that is present in the plurality of cultures, identities are formed because of the differences and the notion that the difference is the right of

group that must be fought because it reveals the multicultural culture in Bali.

The emergence of *rodat* art, especially in Kepaon and Tanjung Benoa indicates that the Bugis art or dance exists in Bali. This art is not really a pure art, but a political construction that contains the values (philosophical values) and political functions, namely war or unity

Where did this *rodat* art come from, cannot be known with certainty. The *rodat* art spread in Sumatra, Borneo, Java, Bali, Lombok, and Malaysia. In Bali the *rodat* art (now) still exists in Kampung Bugis Loloan, Kepaon, and Tanjung Benoa. Based on the obtained information and data, this art originated from the Middle-east and was brought by the traders to Southeast Asia. Most likely Bugis traders who spread to Southeast Asia brought this art to Bali, especially in the remaining Bugis villages today.

*Rodat* Art, tambourine, and Burdah become the Bugis ethnic characteristics. To strengthen the ethnic affiliation between them, then over time they get together and form a community that has its own characteristics, which shows the cultural identity. In the perspective of post-modernism every social community will create a social identity to simplify their external relations.

*Rodat* art has spread in a very wide area covering almost all of Southeast Asia and likely originated from a single point of distribution. This is consistent with the theory of cultural diffusion that regards that the elements of culture spread from one place to another as a result of the relationship and communication between the bearers of several cultures (Koentjaraningrat, 1979).

In the dissemination of *rodat* art there was a process of diffusion from a point of origin, likely in the Middle-east and spread to Southeast Asia and brought by the Bugis merchants who since the 17th century had already traded to Southeast Asia and further brought to Bali. Bugis traders sailed with big boats. At night the crew of the boat got together while singing and dancing accompanied by the music

until late at night so the game or *rodat*-dance then spread (Suhendra, 2009: 83)

Art is also a dominant factor in constructing the ethnic identity, as well as other cultural elements. Islamic Bugis group in Bali has *rodat* arts and tambourine in all Kampung Bugis. This artistic expression shows the influence of Islam. This performing artist performed by eight to ten dancers. Generally, the dance is staged in *Mauludan* celebration with the intention to introduce the genealogy of the Prophets of Islam in the past. *Rodat* art shows a dance that serves as a war dance. This is the symbol that indicates the function of war dance such as uniforms, epaulettes, swords and movements of dance such as *silat* (Suhendra, 2009: 120-129).

In the development, the distinctive art of Islamic Bugis is still being developed and maintained in accordance with the development of other ethnic arts in Islamic Bugis regions of Bali. What become the ethnic cultural traditions seem to be maintained and integrated in the culture of Bali in the context of a multicultural society formation of Bali (Geriya, 2000). The contestation of this art appears in the public space, so it needs to be displayed at a contestation arena of Balinese culture. Identity is created with regard to the human need for self-esteem transferred into its own group.

Relations between identity with language is very strong. Language is a means of identifying the most widespread characteristics. In fact, according to Kramsch (2000) in Suastra, (2010) language as a system of signs reveals, shapes, and symbolizes the cultural reality.

Today, the language as an identity of the Bugis community in Bali is operationalized in the form of spreading power in order to receive recognition from the wider community. As a symbol of identity, the Bugis language is used as an everyday language, which can be used to express all kinds of ideas of the Bugis community in all aspects of life.

In everyday life, Bugis language is still used as a means of communication by the speakers. The use of Bugis language in

various domains is still well-maintained. According to Suastra (2010), the domain is the constellation between speech participants, the topics discussed, and the situations including where and when the conversation takes place. He also assumes that more and more domains that can be created by the speakers, the more loopholes and opportunities for speakers to use the language (Suastra, 2010).

The Bugis language is currently still used by the majority of the Bugis in communication in the family, neighbors, tradition, religion, education, and even the media. Besides language, specific Bugis culinary is still maintained. Other cultural elements such as Bugis wedding style or Bugis tradition are still maintained until now.

The importance of language as an identity cannot be separated from the human recognition toward the users of the language in everyday community life. To carry out humanitarian tasks, humans only have one thing, that is the language. With language people can reveal what is in their minds. Only with the language, humans can make something feel real and reveal, but they often forget the mystery and power of language. They have more confidence in their knowledge and experience, though it is still raw and unreal and not expressed in the language (Suastra, 2010). According to some studies on the use of the Bugis language, 95% of the speakers still choose the Bugis language in the family domain when they communicate among members of the family (Suteja, 2006). The use of Bugis language in the realm of neighborhood seems obvious because for them the use of the Bugis language is one of the togetherness identity for them. In the realm of traditional (village meetings, etc.), speakers are still very consistent to use Bugis language as a means to convey an idea.

The Bugis community in Bali do something called politics of identity. They formed a diaspora identity in a relationship with the group as well as practice all cultural elements that are considered as a representation of Bugis identity. In the

fight over economic and political resources, they use elements of culture as justification, depending on the system in Bugis diaspora issues in Bali, of course they fight for identity and attachment to the origin. Formerly, the diaspora community was considered to have no relationship with their origin, but now they have close ties with their place of origin.

The use of markers of identity has a tendency to change, seen from the origins of their area in Bali. However, now there is a tendency to choose religion as a marker, not a tribe. Lately, they further highlight the Islamic identity among others through the symbols of clothing and other attributes. In the economic field, the Bugis diaspora also features in the areas of business, skills, capital through kinship networks. Thus, it is understandable that they play identity in order to play the role by entering the Bugis identity into a larger group, ie, as the Balinese, Muslims, and as Malay. As expressed by Andaya and Andaya (Ardhana, 2010: 3), they are defined as Malay Muslims.

The strengthening of the Bugis identity in Bali is accelerated with religious education and schools. Many experts relate education as religious ideology that led to the change and to strengthen the identity permanently. Religious education among Bugis young people and children takes the form of formal and informal education. In the informal form, there are Al-Qur'ans study groups that are given regularly in mosques and prayer rooms, in addition to homes individually. Furthermore, formal education is given in religious schools that already exist in Tuban and Kapaon. Religious schools are established at Tuban including primary and secondary education while in Kapaon there is *Madrasah* starting from elementary up to high school levels. Then, the sons and daughters of Bugis are sent to several boarding schools, *pesantren* in Java. The Islamic identity of these religious schools' alumni would be more viscous. Religiously the schools in Tuban and Kapaon are more affiliated to Islam Muhammadiyah. The education system is based on religion

(Islam). This is apparent, for example, in the educational curriculum in which Pancasila and Civic education are replaced by religious ideology. There is no longer the role of the state or state hegemony in the education system, but it is an ideological battle (contestation). Within the framework of conflict theory there is already a conflict of ideology. In this regard, there must be a democratic engineering or management to organize within the framework of hegemony.

Further, the way of strengthening identity is through a system of marriage. The Dutch authors, such as Korn, Graders, and Liefrinck have long mentioned the coastal villages in Bali by the name of Bali Islam. The Muslims who have long been living in Bali are very difficult to distinguish from the Balinese Hindus, like in Kepaon and Pegayaman so that they are often called Bali Islam, who are actually the Bugis people and have already undergone intermarriage. Bugis people since the beginning of their adventure had married the natives and the process of mixed marriage lasted until now. Apparently the so-called Bali Islam by Dutch writers are real Bugis people or descendants of Bugis. In Tanjung Bena, the latest data recorded that out of 68 Bugis families, eleven families are male Bugis couple with Balinese. So more than 10% of them married Balinese women (Population Data of Tanjung Bena Village, 2010). So is the case of marriage that occurs in other Kampung Bugis.

At the beginning of their arrival, they would of course marry native women. Therefore, those who wandered were usually male. In addition, due to an intense interaction with the people of Bali, then there was a marriage with the Balinese and other ethnics. In this regard, there was a positive thing since the marriage of the Bugis with the Balinese would give birth to offspring that were brothers. They are then known as *nyamabraya* having blood relation because of the intermarriage process. The process of intermarriage gave birth a mutual kinship called *saling seluk* and *pada galahang*. The inter-

marriage process has taken place for a long time and has never been questioned. But, due to the development of education and religion that leads to orthodoxy, then intermarriage began to shift (deconstructed), that Balinese women should follow the Bugis (Islam). They just want to marry with females of Bali and join with Bugis men (Islam). In this case, it is not found any Bugis woman who married a Balinese man and joined Hindu religion. In terms of marriage the Balinese are under the hegemony of the Bugis. In the concept/theory of conflict, a symbolic violence has taken place according to Pierre Bourdieu (Atmadja, 2010). The Balinese have to be drawn into Islam. This marriage system according to Bawa Atmadja, just wants to get, but never to give.

The form of this mixed marriage is an example of cross culture, the marriage bond in the history of Islam to Indonesia, and the marriage with the natives to be one of the thesis put forward by historians of Islam. In the cross cultural context, marriages that occurred between the Bugis with Balinese women with different ethnic backgrounds and different religions indeed have an impact on cultural integration. Another cause, in addition to religion, is the influence of the adventurous tradition of the Bugis.

In their adventure across the archipelago, Bugis people were not provided with materials or precious objects. They relied only on the courage with three weapons symbolically, including *ujung lidah* 'the tip of the tongue', namely the ability to negotiate and to have diplomacy. If it does not succeed with diplomacy, it has to be done by force (*ujung badik* 'the tip of the dagger'). Should the second one failed, they married locals (*ujung cinta* 'the end of love'). Converted to other religion through marriage has already long taken place in Bali that gave birth to the Balinese of Bugis descendance of Muslim (Islamic Balinese).

The next generation of Bugis in Bali is trying to consolidate their own marriages between or among their co-religionists. After the Bugis have grown rapidly they



usually do intra-Bugis marriage. Because of the smooth communication, they often hang out, so there are a lot Bugis take a wife from other Kampong Bugis, even married with the Bugis from South Sulawesi. In addition to expanding the network of kinship, it even strengthens their identity

### **MALAY IDENTITY FACTOR**

It is worth knowing that when we speak of cultural history of Indonesia is nowt he actual geographical restrictions, not cultural boundaries. According to Edy Sedyawati (2007: 327), we need to develop cultural history of Indonesia because we are now a united nation in which there are various ethnic groups united because we are bound by the unity of the State. One that binds or unites Indonesia geographically is trade. Various ethnic groups since the beginning were bound by a trade. In the field of culture Indonesians are bound by language, in this case the Malay language as the lingua franca (Alfian, 2011: 3).

Malay language or Malay identity is attached to the Bugis community in Bali. They brought the Malay language, especially in trade relations, especially with the Balinese nobles. It was also due to the fact that they did not understand the language of Bali. Malay identity includes language and religion. Bali Malay or what is called by Adrian Vickers the coastal Malay within the framework of the Malay civilization actually binds Southeast Asia, not only Indonesia (Vickers, 2009: 1-220).

Malay as a cultural identity is characterized by language, and Malay as a political identity is associated with religion, in this case Islam as an identity of the Bugis in Bali. As a lingua franca, the Malay language covers the broad culture, almost covering all coastal and inland areas of Indonesia. Malay language even got into the local literary works such as Javanese, Sundanese, and Balinese literatures (Saleh Saidi, 2007). Malay language can also be a seed for the identity of an ethnic group, such as Bugis ethnic group in Bali (Setyawati, 2007: 339). Malay language

did not just grow across the country, but also to Madagascar, which was considered to be brought by Bugis sailors. In shipping and trade, even in South Africa Bugis traders left many historical evidences.

Kings of Badung, Tabanan, Klungkung used Bugis people as interpreters to relate to the outside world, for the mastery of the Malay the common language written in Pegon Arabic script (Lewis, 1995: 165). Malay is abinding language, which is also used to broadcast the Islamic religion and matters relating to religious culture. It is often called the inside language (the language of the Palace) upper class or high language, the language of the nobility (the official), the language of the ranking, in addition to the language of market.

Balinese kings always used Malay translators, and the language interpreter of Badung kingdom was a Bugis from Serangan. In the National Archives of Jakarta, texts or agreements between the Netherlands and the kings of Bali were found written in 2 (two) languages, namely Dutch with Latin letters and Malay with Jawi script.

Why Malay came to be spoken in Bali was due to the fact that Malay language was used by the inter-island traders in shipping and commerce in Indonesia. Malay has been used since the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the letters of the kings of Maluku to the king of Portugal as well as in pepper trade agreement written in Malay (Saidi, 2003:17).

Malay originated from Sumatra, but was often called Jawi language. The expansion of this language was mainly by shipping and commerce and also by the development of the Malay language. From Malaka, Malay began to rise and was famous for the soul of seamen and the spirit of merchant.

Malay can also be interpreted as a rushing river, or heavy water flow. It could also be interpreted as an agile and dynamic merchant population. Malay can also be interpreted as traders meaning foreigners. Thus, the Malay language became so famiar because the people were dili-

gent, swift and quick (Saleh Saidi, 2003: 22).

Malay also entered into literature as *geguritan* Bali. *Geguritan* literary works are in general written in Malay, apparently acculturation occurred in Balinese - Malay (Islam) literature in this kind (genre) Balinese literature which contains elements of Malay language and literature is divided into 2 (two) groups.

Firstly, Balinese literature (*geguritan*) was written in Balinese script, in the Malay language. Until now, there are two titles with some manuscripts, namely: *Geguritan Nengah Jimbaran* and *Geguritan Siti Badriah*. Both of these texts are really unique.

Secondly, Balinese literature was *geguritan* written in Balinese script in Balinese, but taking elements of the Malay including: *geguritan Amsyah*, *geguritan Juarsa*, *geguritan Ahmad Muhammad Raden Saputra*, *geguritan Ahmad*, *geguritan Nur Muhammad*, and *geguritan Yusuf* (Saleh Saidi 2007: 147).

*Geguritan Nengah Jimbaran* was issued by the king of Pemecutan because of the association with the Bugis in South Badung (Serangan and vicinity). *Geguritan* is one literary genre of poem that becomes a favorite of Balinese people in everyday relationship. The topic was talked about the Malay language as the lingua franca reached a large area in the archipelago, including Bali. Malay is not only confined to verbal communication, but also the written language. The theme of the story is unique, not as usual on the life of the palace of the kings, knights, princes, glittering elegance princesses of the palace, but the life of a small farmer in his love life.

Another specialty is that this *geguritan* is written with Balinese letters/ characters, and the use of the Malay language. This implies that the Malay language as the lingua franca in Bali has become a "pride". A phenomenon of a willingness to unite as a free nation, independent state and having one language, as the language of unity has begun. What are the factors that motivated Cokorda Mantuk Ring Ra-

na (king of Badung) to write in Malay? When the king held a meeting with the Chinese community in Sanur, and the Muslim community the king used the Malay language. In addition to the lack of processing of the Malay vocabulary, with a sense of freedom the use of Balinese in Malay ways was often done. Indeed, from the mastery of Malay vocabulary, it can be said to be still poor and minimal, but the spirit as well as a sense of pride already started to rise at the time. Likewise, when one of the sons of Bali. A. A. Panji Tisna started writing some novels (Roman) around the twenties, the mastery of Malay language was still limited (Saleh Saidi, 2007).

In the field of other literature, there is *Geguritan Amat*, which contains the story of Nabi Muhammad SAW which was sung with a special song called: *Tembang Amat*. There was also *geguritan Tamtam*, telling about "Tam-tam dived to the palace of Egypt". Tamtam with the daughter of the King of Egypt held a philosophical discussion about *puyung* (or empty). Words demons, genie, and others are Islam's influence in various literary works in Bali. The oldest literary work that describes various aspects of Islamic teachings by using literary mysticism is: *Ithi Kerama Selam*. It was considered to last in 1683 AD, and was written by Sang Guru Kuturlikup in Swecapura (Gelgel), the village of Bakung (Lewis, 1995: 172).

Any contact with outsiders of the Palace/foreigners, the king always used Malay language, because at that time the Malay language was already a decent language used in the archipelago. It influenced the Bugis of Serangan. Serangan village at that time became a special maritime territory. Every end of the year coincided with the Bugis people, the king of Badung always used the Malay language to communicate (Saleh Saidi: 2007, 101).

As mentioned before, the Bugis people in Jembrana (West Bali) have existed since the 17th century. Incidentally Loloan port was booming. Great number of Bugis people came to Loloan from Wajo (South Sulawesi), led by Haji and Haji

Jasin Shihabudhin. Moreover, Tuan Lebay of Malay and Datuk Guru Syehof Arab descent came also to trade. Even in 1848 the Malay Bugis of Trenggana donated a plot of land to build a mosque in Loloan (Heritage Board).

The migrant delegation grew rapidly to build community in Jembrana. Some of them were successful in the field of economics then rented and bought land and rice fields. Even the newcomers have become Subak members even to functionaries of Subak (Bhawanegara, 1914).

Until research I Gusti Ngurah Bagus (1978) and Sumarsono (1993), the migrants from 17-18 century were often called *orang kampong* 'the village people'. They came from South Sulawesi, West Kalimantan, Arabic, Tanah Melayu (Malay Bugis). They inhabited Loloan village along the Jogading riverside and surrounding, now becomes East Loloan village

The influence of these migrants (the village people) in the socio-cultural field, especially in daily life that is more egalitarian is often called "typical Loloan" which is similar to Malay language (Bagus, 1978; Sumarsono, 1978). This language is used as the "Lingua franca" among intra-ethnic migrants who inhabit coastal areas in Jembrana. This group by Dutch researchers like V.E. Korn, c.j. Grader, F.A. Liefrinck and the other was called *Bali Islam* because they are all followers of Islam and became "Balinese". It was found that the Loloan Malay language contains many elements of Bugis Makassar language besides Malay.

In a later development, the Malay language speakers do not want to be called Bali Islam. A practical reason for the designation according to them is inconvenience, they more likely to be called "village people", which means the villager. In a later development situation at the time of the New Order, it apparently affected the attitude of the local community life, which considered the "village people" to be remote or alienated villagers. One might think that the name is not in accordance with the times, besides that there is a

presumption that the villager means the underdeveloped (retardation). In general, they are not happy again to be referred to as the villager, since it started to be popular by the name Malay Balinese until now.

## CONCLUSION

Political identity and identity preservation of Bugis in Bali are caused by several factors, both external and internal. External factor includes modernization, especially in the New Order that is often called the politics of developmentalism much more to the current hegemony of the global tourism that also hits Bugis villages along with the emerging technologies in the field of information and telecommunications. As stated by Naisbit, internal factor indicates that the globalization caused the strong ideology of ethnicity, sentiment of locality, all of ours, and all of theirs. There was also orthodoxy, namely the ideology of those who religiously literate coming from *pesantren* 'Islamic boarding schools' in Java. After the reforms, the ideology of "*ajeg Bali*" among the people of Bali triggered the Bugis community to uphold their identity.

Historically, the politics of identity has actually been dynamics and proceeding through several channels. There are three channels that are used as a medium in an effort to maintain or solidify the identity. The main channel is an institution of family, social institutions especially for religious organizations. The third channel is the schools based on religion as *pesantren* and *madrasah*.

Retention of identity politics has never caused open conflict. This is due to the hegemony of the Bugis community occurs positively, feeling of mutual needs (cultural exchange). Hegemony occurs smoothly and symbolically; the Bugis had always felt as Balinese. Even if there is a little conflict (latent), not open conflict, there will be meetings between community leaders. The criminal case will be handed over to the law enforcement agencies (state).

Bugis people of Bali prefer to call themselves as the Balinese who are Mus-

lim, compared with migrant ethnic. The elite of Kampung Bugis when they were asked of their relationships with Balinese claimed to have kinship with the people of Bali in the places where they reside. Even daily address as Balinese such as Wayan, Made, Nengah, Ketut and others are familiar.

Bugis identity was very prominent until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century when the Dutch had not come to Bali, parallel with the socio-political situation. When the Dutch had gone into Bali in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the Bugis identity metamorphosed into an Islamic identity. After the independence, the Indonesian identity seemed very prominent; some Bugis joined the revolution, and all the Bugis and Islam identity shifted back. During the reform era the change of identity occurred again with the strength to Islamic identity. Islam to be the primary, and Bugis to be secondary.

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