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Sailing to the Island of the Gods': Bugis Migration in Bali Island

Navegando a la Isla de los Dioses": La migración Bugis en la isla de Bali

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RESUMEN

La migración de Bugis en el archipiélago indonesio, e incluso fuera del país, tiene una larga historia. Al referirse a numerosas fuentes, se puede estimar que la gente Bugis ha estado presente en Bali desde mediados del siglo XVII. Las problemáticas políticas y económicas son dos factores importantes para hacer la migración. Como grupo étnico con fuerte fe y tradición, han sido capaces de mantener sus tradiciones. Sin embargo, cuando viven con balineses que también se adhieren a su religión y costumbres, deben adaptarse. Aunque la comunidad de migración de Bugis en Bali ha mantenido algunos aspectos de su identidad.

Palabras clave: Adaptación, Bali, Bugis, Indonesia, Migración.

ABSTRACT

The Bugis migration in the Indonesian archipelago, and even outside of the country, has a lengthy history. By referring to numerous sources, it can be estimated that the Bugis people have been present in Bali since the mid-17th Century. Political and economic issues are two important factors for migrating. As an ethnic group with strong faith and tradition, they have been capable of maintaining their traditions. However, when they live with Balinese who also adhere to their religion and custom, they must adapt. Though the Bugis migration community in Bali has maintained some aspects of its identity.

Keywords: Adaptation, Bali, Bugis, Indonesia, Migration.

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INTRODUCTION

The Bugis of South Sulawesi, Indonesia, are modern heirs to an ancient maritime tradition that for millennia supported the spread of the Austronesian-sepaking peoples throughout virtually all of the island Southeast Asia, Oceania, and even as far as Madagascar (Ammarell: 2002, pp. 51-67).

Ammarell further explains how the Bugis and their community still rely on the transport and trade of goods for their livelihoods and identity. The development of traditional navigation systems, without any modern equipment, has been very important for their success, as it has allowed them to travel, trade, and establish settlements throughout the archipelago (Ammarell: 2002, pp. 51-67).

The Bugis migration to various regions, both within and without Indonesia, is a tradition with a lengthy history. As early as the 15th Century, the Bugis had already spread to the eastern coast of Sumbawa Island and taken important roles in various fields, including trade, religion, administration, and-most importantly-in overseas travels. These same roles were taken by the ethnic Bugis in such areas as Bali, Madura, Kalimantan, the northern coast of Java, Aceh, Singapore, Perak, Johor, Riau, Papua, Alor, and Timor Leste (Wekke et al.: 2019; Ammarell: 2002, pp. 51-67; Hakim: 2018, pp. 48-287).

As stated above, one area to which the Bugis have migrated is Bali. By the mid-17th Century, there was already contact between the Bugis and Balinese. Presently, in almost all regencies in Bali, there are Bugis settlements. These include Suwung on Serangan Island, Kepaon in Denpasar, Tuban, Tanjung Bena, Angantiga, and Petang in Badung, and various other areas. These villages are not only home to ethnic Bugis and Balinese, but also persons of various ethnic backgrounds (Putra: 2011). Consequently, there have been meetings of different ethnic groups' various cultures, traditions, and habits; such intercultural and inter-ethnic interactions are unavoidable. Through this intercultural contact, the Bugis people have adapted to allow themselves to live side-by-side with the Balinese people while still maintaining their identity and customs.

Drawing from the above, this article discusses the Bugis migration in Bali, as well as their adaptation strategies and the elements of culture they have maintained, abandoned, or adapted. In other words, this article answers the question "How has the migration process been undertaken by the Bugis people in Bali, and how have they adapted in their new area". More specifically, this article answers the following questions: how and when did the Bugis migration reach Bali?; why did these Bugis migrants leave their ancestral lands?; what cultural practices or traditions have been maintained, abandoned, or adapted among the Bugis in Bali?; what adaptation strategies have been used by the Bugis, particularly in their contact with cultures and habits that differ from those in their areas of origin

The Bugis and their Wanderlust

The Bugis, an Austronesian ethnic group with a population of more than four million (Ilyas: 2019, pp. 78-89), is the largest of the four major ethnic groups that live in the southwestern area of Sulawesi Island. They can be found mostly several regencies in the northern part of South Sulawesi province, namely Bulukumba, Sinjai, Bone, Soppeng, Wajo, Sidenreng-Rappang, Pinrang, Polewali-Mamasa (now part of West Sulawesi Province), Enrekang, Luwu, Pare-Pare, Barru, Pangekejene Kepulauan, and Maros. These final two regencies are transitional areas where residents use two languages, namely Bugis and Makassar. (Waterson: 2009; Martini: 2017, pp. 811-824; Villalobos et al.: 2019, pp. 984-1018).

As noted above in the introduction, the Bugis have centuries of experience with migration and traveling. This cannot be separated from the expertise in sailing that they possess, especially in coastal areas. The Bugis sail not only in nearby seas but also across countries and continents. With their sailing experience and abilities, the Bugis have had a little difficulty when they have had to leave their hometowns. The destinations of these Bugis migrants are varied, spanning from the peninsula of South Sulawesi to eastern and western Indonesia and even neighboring countries such as Malaysia and Australia. Aside from migration owing to personal desire (Sompe'), migration also occurred when the Bugis were exiled (Ripali') by the Dutch. This

happened, for example, to the charismatic figure Syekh Yusuf Al-Makassari, who was exiled to South Africa. This action was caused by the Dutch government's fear of his influence and the potential to trigger resistance.

The Bugis in Bali Island

At least three types of sources can be consulted to trace the arrival and early developments of the Bugis people in Bali, namely (1) local sources; (2) archeological sources; and (3) colonial sources. Local sources include folk tales and bad, or traditional histories. In 1992, James Danandjaja (Danandjaja: 2000) collected ten folk tales from Bali. One of these was titled "Legenda Asal-Usul Nama Buleleng dan Singaraja" ("The Legend of the Origin of the Names Buleleng and Singaraja"), which indicates a link between the Bugis and the first King of Buleleng, I Gusti Gede Pasekan. It is told that I Gusti Gede Pasekan was able to use his magical powers to free a Bugis ship that was stranded on Panimbangan Beach (Danandjaja: 2000). Serangan Island in Singaraja, meanwhile, is said in folk tales and oral tradition to have been the place where some Bugis fugitives hid while fleeing the pursuit of the Dutch East India Company.

Besides that, the arrival of the Bugis in Bali can be estimated based on the graves found in various Bugis cemeteries. The archeologist Moh. Ali Fadillah, in his study of Bali's Islamic heritage, found that the oldest gravestone on Serangan Island dates to 1269 H [1852 CE]; the oldest in Suwung Kangin cemetery dates to 1183 H [1769 CE]; the oldest in Tuban cemetery dates to 1268 H [1851 CE]; and the oldest in Keping cemetery dates to 1225 H [1810 CE].

Aside from local and archeological sources, Dutch colonial and Western academic sources are also indicative of the Bugis people's earliest arrival in Bali. A.K. Nielsen, quoted in Fadillah, writes that slaves were one of the greatest commodities being traded in the 17th and 18th Centuries. The Bugis people had a prominent role in this slave trade. (Ilyas (Ilyas: 2019, pp. 78-89) quoting Reid, identifies traders from South Sulawesi as the Dutch East India Company's main source of slaves, who were then employed in the harbors and shipyards, in officials' homes, or as low-ranking soldiers. During the 18th Century, these ventures, which received the full support of local rulers, grew into immensely profitable enterprises. Every year, more than 3,000 slaves were trafficked from Makassar, with slave traders receiving approximately 100 guildens per slave (Ilyas: 2019, pp. 78-89).

METHODS

Migration Motives and Patterns

From Local Wars to the Treaty of Bongaja: Political Motives

According to the experts, political chaos in South Sulawesi was a contributing factor to the Bugis migration throughout the Indonesian archipelago as well as several regions in Asia and Africa. The senior historian Khusyair (Khusyair: 2016, pp. 121-134) Paeni, for instance, said that extensive political turmoil in South Sulawesi lasted from the 16th to the 18th Century. Following three centuries of war between local kingdoms, the people of South Sulawesi began fighting against the Dutch colonial forces, a fight that lasted into the 20th Century. This, in turn, was followed by efforts to maintain Indonesia's independence and quash the DI/TII rebellion in the 1950s. The contribution of these factors to the frequent migration of the Bugis cannot be ignored (Khusyair: 2016, pp. 121-134).

The Treaty of Bongaja (Cappaya Bungaya) is another factor that contributed to the Bugis exodus from South Sulawesi. According to Handoko (Handoko: 2017, pp. 95-108), the period following the fall of Makassar coincided with the fragmentation of Gelgel and the rise of new Balinese kingdoms. Members of the nobility who were unsatisfied with the Treaty of Bongaja began to wander the archipelago. Many of them began to work with the Balinese while attempting to establish a power base for supporting their return to Sulawesi. Handoko (Handoko: 2017, pp. 95-108) adds that Karaeng Galesong and I Maninrori (the sons of Sultan

Hasanuddin) lived in Bali circa 1673 and, together with other ethnic Bugis, acted as "pirates" in the waters of Madura and East Java. Their uncle, Daeng Tulolo, worked together with Karang Jarannika to support the people of Sumbawa in their efforts to prevent the Balinese from seizing control of Lombok. Circa 1700, Karang Jarannika was reported to have been killed while fighting Karangasem in Lombok. Several Balinese narratives mention conflict with one "I Kraheng", who is sometimes said to be the King of Lombok. One legend mentions an uprising by Sumbawa pirates against Ki Pasek Tulamben, the port master (Syahbandar) of Tulamben in Karangasem (Handoko: 2017, pp. 95-108).

Several historians have written that the establishment of Bugis communities in Bali, including as Loloan, Jembrana, West Bali, occurred because Makassar fell to the Dutch East India Company. This defeat led to many Bugis people migrating to various parts of the Indonesian archipelago. This included Air Kuning (Jembrana), where persons under Daeng Nachoda established Kampung Bajo (Wajo) circa 1669. Jembrana, which was then ruled by Arya Pancoran (better known as I Gusti Ngurah Pancoran) granted permission to these Bugis migrants to establish their settlement in West Loloan, near a Balinese settlement in Yeh Kuning (Ardhana: 2011).

The use of the term "Bajo" in these various sources is confusing. Some writers have opined that these people were of Mandar heritage, while others have stated that they were Bugis and still others are unclear. For example, in its notes on the history of Islam in Buleleng, the Keramat Mosque in Buleleng states that:

... the spread of the Bajo from the Bugis on specific coasts and famed as pirates along the Northern Coast of Bali. Even today, many ethnic Mandar live in the Gerokgak area with their uniquely Bugis culture. The names of ethnic Bajo are also included in the story of Jayaprana–Layonsari, and the Candra Seng Kuala (year statement) goes sri=1, puspa=5, jihwa=6, and warna=4, meaning 1564 Saka or 1642 CE. The Bajo were famed as pirates at the Lingga area (at the mouth of the Banyumala River) headed by Aji Mampa, but not long afterward Aji Mampa and his followers left Lingga Beach. They later lived in the area now known as Kampung Bugis.

In the above quotation, it appears that the writer considers the Bajo, Buginese, and Mandarese to be the same ethnic group, despite these three groups being distinct and having their traditions and language. This tendency to consider these three ethnic groups as a single group may be attributed to their shared sailing expertise. Aside from this issue of terminology, it is important to note—as stated by Handoko (Handoko: 2017, pp. 95-108) that Dutch records have noted this community because of a rebellion in 1808. At this time, the Badung Kingdom in South Bali had hegemony over Jembrana, but it was the rulers of Buleleng, at the request of the adipate of Jembrana, that pressured the community. They accused the Muslims of challenging caste divisions by marrying Balinese women of high castes and thus driving local Balinese to do the same. Nevertheless, according to Handoko (Handoko: 2017, pp. 95-108), it is unclear to what extent this story was manipulated by the King of Buleleng, who ultimately gained control of Jembrana after slaughtering the leader of Loloan, Captain Mandar Patimi, as well as his followers. However, this community continued to exist in 1848, when a Bugis man from Trengganu named Ince Ya'qub lived there and donated a Qur'an and land for building a mosque. There are also stories that the Bugis community in Loloan was established by Syarif Abdullah bin Yahya Al-Qodry of Pontianak, who escaped the Dutch attack with his followers (Handoko: 2017, pp. 95-108).

As stated above, one cause of the Bugis migration in the Indonesian archipelago, including Bali, was political. There were wars between local kingdoms, and the Gowa Kingdom (Makassar) was defeated by the Dutch East India Company. Nevertheless, even in their new settlements, including in Bali, the Bugis were unable to escape local political issues. In some instances, they even took important roles in these issues.

For example, in 1660, during a war between the Singaraja Kingdom under Den Bukit and the Jembrana Kingdom under Aya Pancoran, many weapons from Makassar, including rifles, were used by the Balinese troops. This led to a strong friendship between the Buginese community and the family of Gusti Ngurah

Pancoran, which broke open the isolationism of Jembrana through barter and trade. In another incident, the Tabanan Kingdom under Cokorde attacked the Jembrana Kingdom but was defeated because Bugis troops reinforced those of Jembrana. In 1715, when Jembrana was ruled by I Gusti Alit Takmung, an oral decree was issued that gave Muslims the freedom to practice their religion (Ardhana: 2011).

Likewise, in the war between the Badung Kingdom under Cokorde Pemecutan III and Mengwi, many of the Badung soldiers were ethnic Bugis who had been recruited to the royal military. The story of the Bugis involvement and support for the Badung Kingdom in its war against the Mengwi Kingdom has been passed from generation to generation. One Buginese societal figure in Serangan Island, a fifth-generation resident named Haji Mansyur, still remembered this story clearly.

Navigating the Ocean, Developing Trade: Economic Motives

Long before the arrival of the Dutch East India Company, the Bugis people had already landed their ships in ports throughout the archipelago and as far away as India, the Malay Peninsula, Siam (Thailand), Australia, and the southern Philippines (Wekke et al.: 2019). Their sailing activities increased when Makassar was under the control of the Dutch East India Company, specifically after the Treaty of Bongaja (Cappaya Bongaya) was signed. The networks established under the Dutch East India Company were continued by the Bugis ships, particularly by the Wajo. Bugis maps indicate different trade routes that connected settlements listed in the Speelman report. In the 18th Century, Bugis activities in the Moluccan Strait had increased significantly, and as a result, they took greater roles in regional politics. Bugis occupied the position of Raja Muda in Riau, while in Selangor they established their sultanate (Andaya: 2016).

Ilyas (Ilyas: 2019, pp. 78-89) reports the same history. He notes that Bugis sea trade existed before the Dutch conquered Makassar, but was relatively insignificant. This trade was initially developed by the Bone people who lived in Cenrana, Bajoe, and Kajuara, as well as the Wajo sailors who traveled from Lake Tempe. If they were to pay their taxes to the Bone (i.e. to the ruler of Fort Cenrana, on the mouth of the Cenrana River), they sailed from their small docks in Doping, Peneki, and—most prominently—Makassar, where the Wajo had a community of their own and occupied important positions. Furthermore, Ilyas (Ilyas: 2019, pp. 78-89) writes that the Bugis had their bases outside of South Sulawesi, including in Flores, Sumbawa, Lombok, and Bali in Nusa Tenggara; Gresik in East Java; Bonerate in the Flores Sea; Kaili to the southwest of Sulawesi; Kutai, Pasir, Pegatan, Pulo Laut, and Pontianak in east, southeast, and west Kalimantan; as well as Jakarta, Riau, and Tanah Melayu (Ilyas: 2019, pp. 78-89).

According to Horst Liebner (Liebner: 2004), the defeat of Makassar at the hands of the Bugis–Dutch federation under Arung Palakka was an important point in the history of sea trade in South Sulawesi. Following the Treaty of Bongaja (1667), the trading port of Makassar fell under Dutch East India Company control, and several articles of the treaty severely limited the inter-island activities between Gowa–Tallo and their allies. The Malay traders, who nota been most fiercely defended Makassar from the Bugis–Dutch attack, were forced to leave Gowa–Tallo. In this exodus, they were joined by the nobility, warriors, and traders from South Sulawesi, and together they formed an armada of exiles that has frequently been likened to a floating city (Liebner: 2004).

According to Ilyas (Ilyas: 2019, pp. 78-89), for the first half of the 19th Century Bugis traders continued to work as described by Crawford in 1820. These Bugis ships docked in not only South Sulawesi, but also several other major ports. Data, which is believed to originate from Wajo traders' notes in Singapore, suggests that in 1825 there were 100 Wajo trade ships in Makassar, 100 in Mandar, 100 in Kaili, 50 in Wajo, 10 in Pare-Pare, 50 in Flores, 40 in Sumbawa, 50 in Bali and Lombok, 50 in Bonerate, 66 in eastern and southeastern Kalimantan, 20 in western Kalimantan, and 50 in Java. In other words, at the time the Bugis sailors from Wajo were operating almost 700 trade ships (Ilyas: 2019, pp. 78-89). Furthermore, Bugis traders from areas other than Wajo, including Bone, continued to actively sail and trade throughout the archipelago. The above explanation indicates clearly that Bali did not escape the attention of Bugis sailors.

The various ports mentioned above were locations in which the traders could take shelter and collect goods while still serving as points of departure for their trade-in the Indonesian archipelago and Singapore. Their commodities in Singapore included birds of paradise and Masseria bark from Papua; mother of pearl, seashells, tortoiseshells, agar-agar jelly, sea cucumbers, and birds' nests from Maluku, East Nusa Tenggara, Southeast Sulawesi, and Northern Australia; gold, sandalwood, birds' nests, and tortoiseshells from Kalimantan; and rice, coffee, and cotton gloves from their homeland. These traders did not only sell their wares in Singapore but also purchased such items as weapons and gunpowder from England and America, opium from China, kitchenware from China and Siam, silk from China, cotton from Bengal, wool from Europe, as well as fine gauze and scrap iron. From Java, they purchased sugar, tobacco, and bronze from Gresik (Ilyas: 2019, pp. 78-89).

The Bugis sailors' use of Bali as a port for rest and trade can be attributed to at least two factors. First, Article Nine of the Treaty of Bongaja (1667) between the Dutch East India Company and Gowa Kingdom (Makassar) states, "The people of Makassar may not sail anywhere other than Bali, Java, Batavia, Batam, Jambi, Palembang, Johor, or Borneo, and they must carry a pass." (Patti: 2009, pp. 151-154). Second, according to Noak & Erawan (Noak & Erawan: 2019, pp. 133-147), the Bugis people's expertise in sailing and trade was complemented by the Balinese people's lack of interest in trade and sailing. In Dutch sources, there is no indication of the Balinese people owning ships or other boats. These sources, conversely, note that the economic development of the island has been slow. As such, it can be said that the Bugis sailors had no competition in trade.

RESULTS

"Living on the Island of a Thousand Gods": Adaptation Strategies and Relations with Local Peoples

As the largest ethnic group in Sulawesi, the Bugis have strong customs and traditions that endure even when they migrate outside their ancestral areas. Likewise, their identity as ethnic Bugis continues to be maintained. Of course, this identity is dynamic, with elements disappearing, enduring, or even mixing with the traditions of settled areas. This occurs because groups of people do not live in space, but rather interact with other ethnic groups. This is by Parsudi Suparlan's argument that identity emerges from interactions. In other words, individuals and groups define their identities based on their recognized relations with others.

Maintaining Identity, Preserving Tradition

One identity that is strong among the Bugis their Islamic faith. This faith is so strong that it is commonly stated, "Karena Anda Bukan Islam, Maka Anda Bukanlah Bugis" ("If you are not Muslim, You are not Bugis"). This faith has been maintained by Bugis migrants, including those who have settled in Bali. As such, the presence of the Bugis in Bali, aside from having political and economic factors (i.e. sailing and trade), can also not be separated from their Islamic faith. In the oral tradition of Serangan Island (a Bugis settlement in southern Bali), for example, the settlement's origin is always linked to the coming of a nobleman and religious scholar named Syeikh Haji Mu(Kmin). The oral tradition goes on to explain that, after the Bugis migrants settled on Serangan Island, they requested permission to establish a small house of worship.

... Not long afterwards, he [Syeikh Haji Mu(Kmin)] asked the King to establish a mashallah, a place for prayer. The king said, 'Do not only build a mashallah. Build a mosque. I will prepare all of the materials. Whenever you want to build a mosque, contact me. I have a teak plantation. (Putra: 2011)

The house of worship built, which was originally small and could only hold a few worshippers, has since been renovated and expanded to hold hundreds of worshippers. The mosque named the Assyuhada Mosque is not only used for prayers and other acts of worship (Istighasah and the celebration of Islamic holidays such as Maulid [the Prophet's Birthday]), but also for meetings where important issues that involve the community are discussed (Interview with Usman, 6-8-2014). The presence of a mosque on Serangan Island is interesting

because, according to King Pemecutan IX, this mosque was the first in the Badung Kingdom and was built using funds from the royal treasury. This included the marble that has been installed within the mosque (Noak & Erawan: 2019, pp. 133-147).

The importance of Islam on Serangan Island is apparent from the Serang script that is used in many Bugis-language manuscripts. This script is thought to originate from this area, a supposition first presented by Mohammad Ali Fadillah, an archeologist who has researched the graves in Serangan since 1986. According to Fadillah, the Bugis language used on these graves, which is written in the Arabic script, is better termed Ugi Sērang.

However, according to Cho Tae Young (Young: 2012), who wrote a thesis on the Sērang script, Fadillah's argument about the Sērang Scripts solely based on the term's similarity to the name of Serangan Island. Young (Young: 2012) argues that Fadillah's is a weak argument, as the Serang script was already used before the Bugis migrated to Serangan Island in the 17th Century (Young: 2012).

Several other Islamic traditions continue to be practiced by the Bugis, aside from their activities in the mosque. This includes, for example, Aqiqah (the cutting of newborn infants' hair), celebrations of Maulid, Takbirkeliling (walking around the village while praising God's greatness), and halal-bi-halal (mutual forgiveness). The last two practices do not only involve Muslims but also local Hindu residents. For example, in the lead-up to Eid al-Fitr in 2014, the village chief of Serangan (a Hindu) asked the Muslim community to not practice takbir Keliling in Muslim areas-home to ninety families-but throughout the whole village. Likewise, halal-bi-halal always includes the Hindu community. Interestingly, halal-bi-halal is not only practiced by the Muslims, but also by Puri Pemecutan; the temple invites all Muslim residents of Serangan, including the children.

This seemingly reaffirms the historical bonds between the Bugis settlement at Serangan Island and the Pemecutan Badung Kingdom. These are crystallized in the strong kinship bonds between Muslims and Hindus, bonds that continue to be maintained well (Putra: 2011).

Aside from their Islamic identity, which continues to be maintained, the Bugis community has continued to practice Bugis marriage traditions. For example, Haji Hanapi, a Bugis societal leader and elder in Tuban, Denpasar, had his children married following Bugis customs and wearing traditional Bugis clothing.

One habit among the Bugis is to live communally within wooden stilt houses. According to several elders and societal leaders met in the Bugis settlements of Serangan Island, Tuban, and Buleleng, until the 1970s the Bugis migrants still lived in the wooden stilt houses that are traditional among the Bugis in South Sulawesi. One such house still stands firm in Serangan Island (see picture 1), and is often used for ceremonies and parties hosted by KKSS (Kerukunan Keluarga Sulawesi Selatan; the Family Association of South Sulawesi) in Bali. Presently, the Bugis migrants in Serangan Island, Suwung, Kapaon, and Buleleng use red bricks to build semi-permanent and permanent buildings with tin roofs.

Mixing Two Different Traditions

The Bugis and Balinese are known as two communities that have their own strongly maintained culture, traditions, religion, and habits, all of which are practiced in their lives. Nevertheless, owing to the intense interactions between these two groups it is not common for contact to occur between these two traditions, or for them to mix. Regarding marriage, for example, several Bugis men have married Balinese women. Umar, a Bugis societal leader from Suwung, explains that religious differences are resolved by the woman converting to her husband's religion.

Meanwhile, in the arts, an example of cultural mixing can be found in Kampung Loloan, where Bugis rebana music and martial arts have been mixed with the Balinese art of jegog. Even the art of Kendang Mebarung has used kendang drums shaped like bedug (Putra: 2011). Adaptation has also occurred in dance. For example, the Best dance can be performed extremely well by Balinese dancers despite its Bugis origin. Conversely, one Bugis student has won a school-level Balinese literature writing competition (Riyanto: 2019).

DISCUSSION

Maintaining Good Relations, Respecting Local Traditions

Adaptation strategies are ways in which interlinkages, mutual dependencies, and mutual understandings are built through partial or total adaptation. In the case of the Bugis in Bali, one such adaptation is the use of the Balinese language. All of the interviewees met were fluent in Balinese. According to Putra (Putra: 2011), the Balinese language is used as a tool for communications between village residents, whereas the Bugis language is only used within the same ethnic group or the family. In interactions between different ethnic groups, Balinese is used for informal social interactions, whereas the Indonesian language is used in formal interactions (i.e. in social organizations) (Putra: 2011).

Mutual respect's beliefs and related issues are also important in maintaining good relations between the Bugis and the Balinese. It can even be said that this respect for different beliefs is no longer at the level of tolerance, but has reached the level of appreciation. This can be seen from the mutual assistance provided by these two communities during their religious holidays. This was stated by Haji Hanapi, a societal leader and elder of the Bugis community in Tuban, Denpasar, as follows.

For Eid al-Adha and Eid al-Fitr, we ask the pecalangto keep the peace. The Pecalangare good and the children fear them. We're good... we're calm. Likewise, on the Nyepi holiday, they also ask us for help in keeping watch, particularly over the children to ensure that they do not leave the house. Right, the Bugis youth are known for being naughty. So we're the ones asked to keep the peace. The children do not dare do anything to us. This means that, if the Balinese people have Nyepi, we do too. We may not leave our homes, and we are asked to keep watch. Things are safe. And the mosque is not active. The call only comes out during Maghrib and Isya (evening prayers). Yes, we respect their belief and their faith. Likewise, the call to prayers, when it is Nyepiwe turn it all off. But on normal days it is still five times a day, including the group prayers after the call.

As it is one of the most important holidays for the Hindu population in Bali, the Bugis people greatly respect Nyepi. They turn off their lights, and they follow the prohibition against leaving the house. Furthermore, several Bugis men participate as Pecalangto secure the celebration of the holiday. Conversely, on the night of takbiran, the Balinese residents also call out the takbir as they walk around the village. On the Galungan holiday, as part of the tradition of Ngejed, the Balinese give food or fruits to their Bugis neighbors. Meanwhile, on the Islamic holidays of Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha, the Muslim Bugis also bring food to their Hindu neighbors (Riyanto: 2019).

CONCLUSION

From the above discussion, several important points can be concluded. First, the Bugis migration in various areas within, and even without, the Indonesian archipelago has a lengthy history, one that can be traced far before the fall of Makassar that many researchers have credited as a major trigger for migration. Referring to local, archeological, and colonial sources, it can be estimated that the Bugis have been in Bali since the seventeenth century. The destinations of these first migrants were areas where they could continue their work as sailors and traders. As such, Bugis communities can be found in the old harbors of Buleleng, Serangan Island, Tuban, Kepaon, Tanjung Benoa, and Kampung Loloan.

Second, the economic motives-sailing and trade were important in driving the Bugis migration. Sailing activities increased following Makassar's fall to the Dutch East India Company, specifically following the Treaty of Bongaja (Cappaya Bongaya). The fall of Makassar coincided with the fragmentation of Gelgel and the rise of new Kingdoms in Bali. Members of the nobility who were unsatisfied with the Treaty of Bongaja roamed the seas of the Indonesian archipelago, and many of them became involved in Balinese affairs when they sought a base to reassert their power and return to Sulawesi.

Third, as an ethnic group with strong traditions and faith, the Bugis have been able to maintain their traditions and their Islamic faith. As such, once their lives in Bali were stable, they began working to establish mosques for worship. The presence of multiple mosques on Bali is interesting; as such a phenomenon cannot be separated from royal support. The mosque on Serangan Island, for example, was built with the aid of the King of Pemecutan. The Bugis have also maintained and continue to practice Bugis marriage customs. Several traditions have also undergone mixing. In art, for example, cultural mixing has occurred in Kampung Loloan, where rebana and Bugis martial arts have been mixed with the Balinese art of jegog. The music form Kendang Mebarung, meanwhile, uses drums shaped like a bedug.

Fourth, one manner in which the Bugis migrants in Bali have adapted is through the use of the Balinese language. All interviewees were able to speak Balinese fluently. Furthermore, there is a sense of respect for different faiths and related subjects; such respect is important for the maintenance of good relations between the Bugis and Balinese. This respect for different faiths is not simply tolerance but extends to appreciation. This can be seen, for example, in the two communities' mutual support on religious holidays. On Nyepi, for example, the Bugis do not simply stay in their homes; several of the Bugis men serve as pecalang. Conversely, on the night of takbiran, Balinese residents join the Bugis in walking around the village.

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