

## **THE CULTURAL TREASURES OF KAMPUNG BUGIS IN THE CUSTOMARY VILLAGE OF SERANGAN, DENPASAR**

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### **Abstract**

*Kampung Bugis is a small community of Bugis people who occupy a special land in the customary village of Serangan. The oral narrative stated that the village was a gift from the King of Pamecutan Badung in regard for their merits in assisting the kingdom during the war. They were eventually known as hard workers, courageous, and immigrants like the Bugis people in general. They also bring those sets of attitude to overseas, one of them in the customary village of Serangan, Denpasar. In addition to being able to adapt very well, they were also capable of maintaining a religious life in harmony with the society of Serangan where the major religion was Hindu. In 2007, the village of Kampung Bugis experienced a tragedy of eviction that eliminated half of the village. During the evictions they also survived by continuing the tradition and caring for the heritage of their noble cultural treasures through the old As-Syuhada mosque, the old Qur'an book, the historical old tomb, and Bugis typical stage house. This writing is to highlight the cultural treasures and tradition that the people of Bugis strive for despite of many unfortunate events they experience including the recent evictions.*

**Keywords:** *Bugis Village, the Customary Village of Serangan, As-Syuhada Old Mosque, Qur'anic Book, Old Tomb, Bugis Typical Stage House.*

## Abstrak

*Kampung Bugis adalah komunitas kecil orang Bugis yang menempati lahan khusus di desa pakraman Serangan. Cerita lisan menyebutkan perkampungan itu adalah pemberian Raja Pamecutan Badung sebagai penghargaan atas jasa mereka membantu kerajaan pada saat peperangan. Mereka dikenal sebagai pekerja keras, pemberani dan perantau yang ulung seperti orang Bugis pada umumnya. Sikap hidup seperti itu juga mereka bawa ke perantauan, salah satunya di desa pakraman Serangan, Denpasar. Selain sanggup beradaptasi dengan sangat baik, mereka juga mampu menjaga kehidupan keagamaan secara harmoni bersama masyarakat Serangan yang mayoritas beragama Hindu. Saat mengalami penggusuran yang menghilangkan setengah perkampungan pada awal 2017, mereka juga tetap bertahan dengan melanjutkan tradisi dan dengan kebanggaan merawat warisan khazanah kebudayaan luhur mereka melalui masjid tua As-Syuhada, kitab Al Qur'an berusia tua, makam tua bersejarah dan rumah panggung khas Bugis.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Kampung Bugis, Desa Pakraman Serangan, Masjid Tua As-Syuhada, Kitab Al Qur'an, Makam Tua Bersejarah, Rumah Panggung Khas Bugis.*

## Introduction

Serangan is an island located in the southern city of Denpasar. Formerly, this island is separated from the sea which is approximately 500 meters from the mainland of Suwung, Denpasar. The Serangan people must cross the lush mangrove forest by using a motorboat to reach Denpasar. If the water receded, they simply walked between seawater and mud. Serangan has now connected by the highway that penetrates to the center of the village. Since the 2000s, some alternative roads have also facilitated the mobility and access of the people of Serangan. Their lives continue to beat day and night, mainly as the food stalls provide Serangan typical grilled fish menu.

For a long time, Serangan was well known to people as one of the tourist areas. While still using the boat, most tourists come from the surrounding tourist areas, such as Mertasari and Sanur (Segara, 2016). Given its strategic position between Sanur and Nusa Dua, up to now, Serangan remains a growing golden triangle. Even now, Serangan has become one of the places relying on large ships that bring tourists to Nusa Penida, Lembongan, even Gili Trawangan, Lombok. Serangan benefited from its eternal nickname as a turtle island. In addition, for a long period of

time the beach has been visited often by turtles to lay their eggs, it has now been developed a turtle breeding as a new tourist attraction.

The livelihood of most of the people of Serangan is fishermen. Although there is already a big road that allows them to work in other industries, their main jobs are mostly still in contact with the sea. They become helmsman and boat drivers, dive trainers, fishermen, seaweed seekers, coral reef nurses, and other marine jobs. The companies engaged in marine tourism has been increasingly growing, both outsider investment and the local community of Serangan.

Serangan is one of 10 urban villages and becomes the subdistrict of South Denpasar. The population is predominantly Hindu and led by a *Bendesa Adat* (informal local leader responsible for overseeing tradition and local culture). In addition to its form as an urban village, Serangan is definitely a customary village consisting of six *Banjar Adat* while officially led by a *Lurah* who oversees seven heads of the environment. One of them is Kampung Bugis, whose existence is believed to have been there since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, Kampung Bugis has become an inseparable part of the customary village of Serangan, either as an official environment under the village or customary village. Even customarily, they feel to be an integral part of the concept of *palemahan* (region) and *pawongan* (human) that is followed by the people of Serangan.

In general, the people of Kampung Bugis are not much different from the people of Serangan. They are very fluent and active in using the Balinese language. Some of them also have intermarried, so that, it is already established links of brothers and sisters between Balinese Hindus with the Bugis. During religious days, they visit each other and bring *jotan* (delivery of cake and food). Likewise, if any unfortunate circumstances occurred, such as death, the two communities will visit each other. The religious life of Serangan community has been established in *simakrama* (fraternity). An example of unique relationship between the Balinese Hindu and the Bugis is how the Balinese relay the chant of prayer of *puja tri sandhya* through an audiosound-system for their fellow Hindus to hear, at 18.00, and it mutually run at the same time when *adzan maghrib* (call for prayers) comes for Muslims. This

kind of intimacy in Bali is generally prevalent between Hindus and Muslims (see the same in Barth, 1993; Suwindia, et al., 2012; Subagia, 2016). In some areas, even places of worship represent a close religious relationship between the two religions (see also Gunarta, 2016; Segara, 2017, 2018).

Although in general, the existence of Bugis people is not different from Serangan people, when entering the yard in Kampung Bugis, the difference can be seen. The location of Kampung Bugis is apart and solitary in one village, it is not mingled with the other Serangan community. One main road which divides the village spans the typical of Bugis scene and an Islamic atmosphere. Every afternoon, after working or fishing, they usually sit together in front of their house. Their goats pass by, their children play, and the traders become the type of scenery over there. Flowers on stilts, as called by the people of Serangan, also grow more in Kampung Bugis. Maybe this flower has something to do with the stilt house that was once still quite a lot in Kampung Bugis.

The Bugis people in the village are obedient worshipers. The sound of the call to prayer as a sign to the five prayers never stops audibly, breaking the business of the Serangan people. When dusk comes, and it's time to perform Maghrib pray, the only old mosque in Kampung Bugis is always full. So is when the celebration of the big day takes place, Muslims from outside of Serangan also often participate in the worship there, especially those from Suwung and the surrounding areas. In addition to the fraternity, friendship, and similarities of religious organizations, they come together to find the Islamic vibe and atmosphere emitted by the oldest mosque in southern Bali named As-Syuhada, old Qur'an book that is still stored neatly, the Bugis typical stage house that is still standing and the historical old tomb that continues to be visited by pilgrims.

To be able to explore the depths of the feelings of Bugis villagers who were hit by this great problem stated on the abstract, this research was carried out thoroughly so as not to enter sensitive areas. The author benefited as part of the customary village of Serangan, thus Bugis village as part of Serangan is not a strange place for the author. Some informants are really accustomed to, even some of them are close friends.

The approach used in this research is qualitative with observation techniques, interviews, and documentation studies. Observations were done on all cultural sites and places where residents habitually gather, particularly in the afternoon, and in tents. In addition to observation, another major activity is interviews conducted with all subjects, particularly the *uwak* or *wak*, figures, and citizens who experienced the unfortunate event. Through this interview the author wants to find new experiences and explain some of his opinions that depart from various events and activities, including how their position in the frame of social, economic, political and cultural, as Geertz (1973: 5) believes that ethnographic-based anthropology research is to enrich the sensitivity of the researcher (see also Spradley, 2007), including his experience and awareness of events experienced from the past and told in generations.

The approach above points that the social experience of humans or individuals in relation to others is necessary to tell. In the triad concept of Berger & Luckman (1966) dialectics concerning on externalization, objectivation, and internalization show that meaningful knowledge structures (*nomos*), which are objectivated in reality are to explain individual actions. That is, the individual has the ability to internalize himself. But the social reality is constantly constructive which is assembled by humans through various actions or social interactions called by Berger as an externalization. The link between this concept and the Bugis villagers is that they have the resources in the form of knowledge about their past and their own relativity in the present. All of it is internalized in life as a tool for viewing the social world.

While Blumer (1969) in *Symbolic Interaction* when explaining human social actions also develop concepts about thought, interpretation, action, role taking, communication, action mapping, so acting through words and signals is a form of intergroup social action. Furthermore, Blumer conceptualizes his theory into two approaches., First, his attention to the way humans respond to culture by reading the situation and interacting. This response is carried out by humans in the framework of building an understanding of the right situation and behavior in response to the situation. Second, his attention to the relationship between action,

meaning an actor. In some forms, the relationship between action and self has developed a sense of identity in the cultural response activities.

In this study, for instance, victims felt and witnessed the lives of the events they went through, including how the history of the past, the presence of the Puak Gede and his glorification now. Their persistence and strength in facing the disaster are one response to the dynamics that have been happening. The social actions reflected in their minds are a new way of how Kampung Bugis residents view themselves and others so that their strengths can be understood as an effort to use the various meanings available.

Understanding the data above, the concept of *The Presentation of Self in Everyday* initiated by Goffman (1959) shows that the relationship of people in a structure can only take the form of dramaturgy that is played together, either through *namening*, *mimesis*, *othering*, *abrogasi*, *apropriasi*, to distinction. All of these tools are used in order to adjust themselves. The ability to adapt and make its culture dynamic affirms Meggers' opinion (in Kessing, 1999: 146) who states that culture can develop because humans as other creatures must maintain a relationship of adaptation with their ecosystem in order to survive. They can adapt through the cultural medium whose position relies heavily on the same laws of natural selection governing biological adaptation.

Through their response and adaptability, the Bugis villagers are also very good at imitating language, so they are fluent in Balinese, though, Balinese themselves cannot speak Bugis. "Although both of Bugis, in Bugis Village located in Benoa, Tuban, and Suwung, its citizens are not many who use Bugis language, they can also speak Balinese", said Usman with pride. If they have relatives or close friends of the Balinese in the customary village of Serangan, they are also able to evade themselves by wearing Balinese customary attire if they attend traditional ceremonies such as marriage, death or sacrifice (*bhuta yadnya*).

### **The History and Origins of Kampung Bugis**

Bugis is one of the tribes known to hard working. They have the courage to sail and wander away with a very famous motto, "Once the

sail is expanded, never to be lowered". This motto inspires them wherever they are, they even insisted of not going home from across the island if they have not been successful yet. In maintaining self-esteem, they have a life attitude not to violate the norm. They cultivate *siri* or personal and community honor/dignity culture in order to always do things according to respected customs. In addition, they also have a *getteng* or *mageteng* ife attitude, that is consistent in every deed and word.

Generally, in the past, most of the Bugis people were sailors or fishermen. They could go very far and sail across the waters of the archipelago. They had even sailed as far as Irian, Australia and Madagascar, South Africa (Mattulada, 2015:8). The highly distinctive *pinisi* and *lombo* ships bear witness to the bravery of the Bugis, while the small and medium-sized outrigger boats used to meet the oceans of Sulawesi and its surroundings. Maritime culture is visible in ports, especially in bustling Makassar, not only for loading and unloading of people and goods, but also the catch from the sea. Many found the ever present culinary stalls in Makasar, with a typical menu of sea fish, is as a sign that the sea has become the life of many Bugis people, in addition to agriculture which is also very important (Mattulada in Koentjaraningrat, 2007:272-273).

The saga stories of Bugis voyage is told up to Bali. Although many versions and books tell the story of the Bugis in Serangan, some informants who feel that they can keep the oral stories of their parents have their own beliefs. An informant named Wak Haji Mansyur (78 years old), is one of the most elderly people in Kampung Bugis. With Muh. Usman (45 years), the chairman of the village deliberation, Wak Mansyur stated that the lack of documentation and in-depth research caused the history to be understood in various ways. But as a generation born and raised in Serangan and get a history spoken verbally by *puak* or *wak* (elders), they have a strong conviction to believe that their ancestors truly came from Selebes or Sulawesi, especially Bugis from Bone and Wajo. Even so, in Kampung Bugis a variety of Bugis people from different area was also found. Usman claimed himself as Bugis from Soppeng. As it is known, Bugis or *To-Ugi* is the largest ethnic group inhabiting South Sulawesi,

the rest are Makassar, Toraja, and Mandar (Mattulada in Koentjaraningrat, 2007:266; Mattulada, 2015:6; Millar, 2009:19).

Wak Mansyur told about one of the oral histories that he and the Bugis people believed, it was at the time of the Bongaya Treaty. This was an agreement the Bugis kingdoms in Ujung Pandang, led by King Goa had with the Dutch in the 1600s, however, not everyone approved the contents of the Agreement, one of them was Puak Matoa. He and some others did not want to give up to Dutch orders. The Kingdom punished those who rebel, some had to be expelled. Around 44 people led by Puak Matoa use the *pinisi vessels* to travel far away. It was told that the ship sailed in uncertain direction because, at that time, all access to the mainland was controlled by the Dutch. After a long time, oscillating, Puak Matoa saw mountains in the distance and immediately docked in Northern Bali or Buleleng, however, they did not dare to get off from the ship because the troops were already on the alert. They then changed the direction to south Bali. Wak Mansyur and Usman believed that South Bali was Serangan island which was still close to the port of Sanur which at that time in 1946 had been used as a base for NICA Dutch troops in their efforts to take control of Bali (about the history of Dutch colonialism entry to Bali, see Agung, 1989; Dharmanuraga, 2011).

After occupying the Serangan island for about three months, some of them scattered to seek another life and settled in the areas of Suwung, Tanjung Bena, and Tuban. At a time when Bali was churning because of the Dutch colonial and civil war in Bali, the Pamecutan Kingdom, one of the most influential kingdoms in Badung, sent spies to determine whether the Bugis in Serangan were not Dutch supporters who had already begun to rule Bali. When they found out that people in Serangan were just sailors, the Pamecutan kingdom invited them to stay in the royal castle. After staying for three months, Puak Matoa and his followers asked to move to the coast but by the love of the King, they were given a place at Celagi Gendong, Monang Maning, Denpasar. Puak Matoa and some of his followers were then involved in the war which finally won by the Kingdom of Pamecutan over the Kingdom of Mengwi.



After joining the war, Puak Matoa felt disinclined at the king who was so kind as to give the place where all the needs fulfilled, then he asked permission from the King to retrieve back to Serangan. Considering the life in Celagi Gendong did not match the maritime culture, and also for his help to fight, the Kingdom of Pamecutan gave a piece of land in the form of protected forest in Serangan to be occupied. The Kingdom then advised them that the land was adjacent to the existence of the Hindu temple, Bugis people must also participate in maintaining the temple and join to *ngaturang ayah* (social work) if there was *piodalan* or holy religious day of Hinduism. Based on the mandate of the Kingdom, the Bugis people used to participate in traditional activities and culture of the people of Serangan. Since then, they were known as Kampung Bugis Serangan.

After three days of celebrating the New Year, on January 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2017, Kampung Bugis quarreled greatly. The conflict that ended with the displacement of half of the village land was triggered by the victory of a lawsuit of a citizen, claiming to be the owner of part of Kampung Bugis land. Since then, Kampung Bugis had only partially left on one side of the main road that divided it. As a result, Bugis people now inhabit half of the remaining settlements and some still survive in refugee tents with the humanitarian aids which still come, especially from BUMN Pelindo (state-owned enterprises of Pelindo) and Palang Merah Indonesia (Indonesian Red Cross). Now they are forced to live a new life.

The collective memories of the past that they could not erase in life, the history of entering and inhabiting the settlements, as well as the dignity of the Bugis, have made them not easily give up. Although some of their villages were displaced and flattened to the ground, they persisted and continued to look for strategies to get land to rebuild their lives, as usual, mainly to go to sea as main jobs. An informant, Mohadi (48 years), the head of Kampung Bugis, said that they are currently negotiating with the customary village of Serangan to fight for the rights of the Serangan people to get 6.5 hectares of land which the BTID (Bali Turtle Island Development) company promised, which since the 1990s reclaimed Serangan Island. According to Mohadi, as part of the *palemahan* and *pawongan* of the

customary village, they have the same rights as the six *Banjar adat* and the official environment in Serangan. In addition to fighting for the rights of the people of Serangan, they also continue to synergize with Family Harmony of South Sulawesi (KKSS) so that the problems faced can be resolved.

The tireless spirit they show proves that Bugis blood flow as Bugis people never disappears, despite being in the overseas for a very long time. The Bugis in Serangan is the fifth generation and their relatives in Sulawesi are almost no longer exist, so they decided to keep staying in the customary village of Serangan. The absence of a certain Bugis tribe that dominates in Kampung Bugis actually makes the bonds of kinship among them very strong. As Millar explains (2009:31), although the Bugis' social structure is patrilineal tied, primarily by the nobility, the Bugis also bind it bilaterally, so that both maternal and paternal families have a relatively equal relationship with the child. Even marriage will not eliminate membership in their families. Based on that strong bond, they want to continue their life and the traditions that they can still keep, in addition, because they have been well received by the Hindu in the customary village of Serangan. To preserve their culture and connection with their root, the whole family, children, youth and parents still use Bugis language as their native language.

In addition to maintaining the mother tongue language in the customary village of Serangan, they also maintain the tradition of ancestors through marriage, circumcision, and *rebana* (percussion type of traditional musical instrument) stage. They also want to continue to take care of the past history left by elders in the form of a worthless relic, including the old Syuhada mosque, the old Qur'an book, the historical old tomb, and the typical Bugis stage house. An informant, Muh. Usman said that the four legacies of their wealth are actually implicitly recognized as a cultural heritage, because according to the Law Number 11 Year 2010, it has already been worthy of being a cultural heritage, only, unfortunately, has not been established legally by the Mayor of Denpasar through a Decree.



**Photo 1: Large-sized billboards put by Bugis Village residents in front of the old tomb to remind the government of their four cultural treasures (Source: author's photo 2018)**

Usman and Mohadi said that the issuance of the Mayor's Decree due to the fact that the four cultural heritages were considered to have no verification team when all four had received a registration number from Bali Cultural Heritage Preservation Hall since 2014. Even Director-General of Culture led by Prof. Dr. Kacung Marijan has included Kampung Bugis Serangan by 2015 as one of 61 cultural preservation recommendations (see <http://nasional.republika.co.id/downloaded> on March 18, 2018). The struggle to gain recognition from the government was acknowledged by the informants to increase the spirit of Bugis villagers to continue to survive because it is only with the cultural heritage that they want to continue the tradition and give exemplary for the next generation. They also believe that the cultural heritage shows the glorification of the past that must be continuously dialogued to fulfill life in the present.

## **The Wealth of Kampung Bugis as a Cultural Heritage**

### **The Old As-Syuhada Mosque**

The mosque still looks very sturdy with some pretty big pillars. This white-dominated mosque has been renovated several times. The mosque

can accommodate about 300 people, for Muslims from Kampung Bugis and pilgrims, travelers, and workers. If Friday prayer was conducted, the number of worshipers who pray can reach 10-15 *shaf* (line), including using the main road body which extends from north to south. Five prayers conducted in the mosque are also always crowded because this is the only holy place of worship in Kampung Bugis. Perhaps, the reason why only one mosque in Serangan is due to the ratio of muslim families i.e. 99 families or 360 people from the total number of 966 families of Serangan residents (Team, 2017:1). Nevertheless, Muslims in Serangan do not live scattered, so in the customary village of Serangan, there is no place of worship or *musholla* anymore. In addition, the location of the mosque which several times under renovation, last in 2004, is very easy to find.

Wak Mansyur, as an informant, explained about the existence of the mosque after the Kingdom of Pemecutan donated 2.5 ha of land in the form of protected forest, then the people of Kampung Bugis immediately cleaned it to make it habitable. They succeeded in making the land a proper settlement and maintaining good relations with the customary village of Serangan. After setting comfortably, Puak Matoa felt the Bugis he led had not been performing the worship properly. On that spiritual need, Puak Matoa again requested permission to King Pamecutan to establish a *musholla*. The request of Puak Matoa was soon fulfilled, however, the King wanted instead to establish a mosque, not a *musholla* in Kampung Bugis.

The Pemecutan Kingdom provided assistance in the form of money, building materials, and the builders needed. After the mosque was built, the King and Puak Matoa agreed to name this mosque with Syuhada or As-Syuhada, which means struggle. They interpreted this mosque as a symbol of the struggle and hard work of Bugis people from Sulawesi to be able to settle peacefully in Bali. If it referred to the hypothesis of the entry of Islam into Bali around the 16<sup>th</sup> century that originally through trade contacts (see Fadillah, 1999), the existence of this As-Syuhada Mosque can be said to be very old.



**Photo 2: Government recognition of the ancient of the As-Syuhada Mosque. The inscriptions signed by Mari Elka Pangestu, the Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy in 2014 (Source: author’s photo, 2018).**

### **The Old Age Book of the Qur’an**

“The book had actually existed since the As-Syuhada mosque was established. We all did not know who wrote the book and when the book was written”, said Wak Mansyur. Now, the book is kept by Wak Ismail (54 years) at his house. Wak Ismail, the informant, stated that the book was inherited from generation to generation. It was composed by his ancestors therefore as heir, he and his family have moral responsibility to take care of it. Wak Ismail’s admission did not get rejection from informants and other citizens because, for them, the book must indeed be saved from damage. After all, the book became an important part of civilization built by the Bugis in Serangan and Bali in general.

At a glance, the book was no different from any other book of the Qur’an. It was just that the size is bigger than the average of Qur’an size and the other uniqueness is the fact that it is a hand-written manuscript. Some of the pages were not complete, and almost all the edges of the paper had started to break down. Maybe the paper was a high-quality paper, so it did not make the book seriously damaged. According to Wak Mansyur, perhaps the book was made of paper from the Netherlands. He attributed

the history of the entry of Bugis along with the entry of Dutch colonies in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries in Bali. But in general, the book can still be read quite clearly.

Wak Ismail, said that pilgrims can usually look around, read, or photograph the book to be immortalized as memories, but they are forbidden to touch it so that the book does not get easily damaged. If a group of pilgrims bring many scholars and *kiyai*, the book will be brought out and a *kiyai* will lead the recitation of holy verses of the Qur'an followed by chanting of *shalawat* in the congregation on the front yard of Wak Ismail's house. At the reading of the scripture, the book was not taken out or lifted to be read from the cabinet, but only shown by a special officer. There are always several pilgrims who visit this book every day and donate it for care.



**Photos 3 and 4: The Old Age Book of the Qur'an which is photographed from above and placed in a four legs wheeled glass cabinet for easy movement. , (Source: author's photo, 2018).**

For Muslims in Kampung Bugis, the holy book is very valuable not only because of its age, but also become a symbol and as a witness of the existence of Muslims, especially in Denpasar from time to time. Therefore, this book at a certain time is presented to give sacred and religious nuances. During every month of Muharram (in Islamic Lunar Calendar) this book will be paraded together by all citizens and the Kampung Bugis surrounding. In the event, this book will be carried by the officers in the front row, followed by chanting of *shalawat* by pilgrims who also carry Indonesian flag and banners with Islamic symbols on it. In Bugis Wajo

language, the event around Kampung Bugis is called *megilicik*. If first, this *megilicik* was held for three consecutive days, one lap every day, now only held for a day but with three times around. Nevertheless, the event was still going on solemnly, said Wak Ismail and Wak Mansyur.

### **The Historical Old Tomb**

Every day, especially in the month of Muharram and the religious holidays of Islam, the tomb which is located at the Southern most tip of Kampung Bugis and adjacent to the Susunan Wadon Temple, is always crowded. On normal days, 3 to 5 buses loaded with 45 people, are parked in a side street of the tomb near the field of I Wayan Bulit, while in the month of Muharram, the old grave can be visited by 20 buses a day. According to Muh. Usman, as an informant, who is also a member of Fardhu Kifayah, a group that is in charge of managing the old tomb, said the pilgrims come from all provinces in Indonesia, especially the areas where Muslims are predominant, such as Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Nusa Southeast West (Nusa Tenggara Barat or NTB), as well as Muslims from all regions in Bali. Usman also said that there are also pilgrims from abroad. The most frequent ones are from Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei Darussalam, and even from the Netherlands, Russia, and Capetown (South Africa). Pilgrims from South Africa, according to Usman, may still have connection with the Bugis who inhabited Madagascar (see Mattulada again in Koentjaraningrat, 2007 and Mattulada, 2015).

According to informants, this old tomb is rich in historical value. There are many versions of the story that circulated about the old tomb that became popular since the 2000s. The existence of road access that penetrates Serangan Island as described in the introduction above has also created an old tomb in Kampung Bugis as one of the main tourist destinations in Bali. As for the number of versions in circulation, according to Usman, in addition to not much documented in writing, the history of the tomb becomes vague because in the gravestone no written date, year and name are found. However, based on the story he received from the elders from generation to generation, the old tomb was believed to be Puak Matoa. The Balinese or the Hindu Serangan community called it Puak

Gede refers to the word *Gede* which means the eldest child in the family or someone who because of his respectable position, is called *jero gede*. The names of Puak Matoa and Puak Gede have the same meaning, that is the elderly or respected while Puak Gede is the name used and popularized by Fadillah while doing archaeological research (see Fadillah, 1986, 1999). The Usman's informant said that the term Puak Matoa is usually given to the royal descendants or noble aristocracy or someone who because of his influence then has many followers. Puak Matoa who led 44 people from Sulawesi, sailed to Bali and fought alongside Balinese against Dutch colonials is considered a role model.

The figure of Puak Matoa including his genealogy and past work are still mystery that will continue to be sought not only by the people of Kampung Bugis, but also the pilgrims. Now, the name of Sheikh Haji Mukmin appears as another description of Puak Matoa. The name Sheikh Haji Mukmin was popular two years ago when Wak Mansyur told his son that he once met a *sheikh* through a dream who claimed to be Haji Mukmin. The name of Haji Mukmin was also found in the family tree of Haji Ahmad Sastra who is considered the descendant of the first Kampung Bugis in Serang. Since both of the news spread widely, the name of Sheikh Haji Mukmin is finally regarded as a historical figure buried in the old tomb mentioned above, and increasingly popular among pilgrims through travel agencies.



**Photos 5 and 6: Pictured a bus “Sholawat” transporting a group of pilgrims from Tangerang, Banten on a pilgrimage to Puak Matoa or Puak Gede or Sheikh Haji Mukmin (Source: author’s photo, 2018).**



Before the tomb was famous, the people of Kampung Bugis were not very fanatical about the tomb pilgrimage. Usman said, there are various schools in Kampung Bugis, such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. However, most of them claim to be *ahlusunnah waljamaah*. Nevertheless, with the old tomb being used as one of the cultural heritage and religious tourism destinations, they have benefited greatly. As they evacuate in tents due to evictions, the donation of pilgrims is used for building public facilities, such as public kitchens and bathrooms, as well as to finance religious activities in Kampung Bugis. The pilgrims felt the existence of the old tomb as their way of honoring and praying to the scholars who have contributed to the spreading of Islam in Bali and increasingly understand the uniqueness of Kampung Bugis that they do not find in other areas.

### **Bugis Typical Stage House**

The Bugis house according to Mattulada (2015: 27-28), is classified according to the social position of the inhabitants. There are at least three kinds of Bugis houses, first, *saoraja*’, large houses inhabited by kings or nobles. The house is in five or seven plots. *Timpa’ laja* (its *bubungan*) is storeyed of five for the ruling king and three for the other nobles. It has a *sapana*, the staircase topped over it. Second, *saopiti*’, is a residence, its shape is smaller than *saoraja*’, it has not more than four plots, related one or three, it does not have a *sapana*. Usually inhabited by people of high ranking, rich people, or people of prominence and well-regarded in society. Third, ‘the ball to the same ‘or *barumparung* is the home where most people live. They are almost in three plots, two-tiered and without *sapana*. The three types of houses are built according to certain patterns in accordance with the provisions of *panngaderreng*. Therefore, the construction of a house is done by a customary expert called *panrita-bola*.

The characteristic of Bugis traditional house is a stage house supported by several sturdy pillars with wood as its main material. Stage houses are also found in Kampung Bugis, but most of them seem to be the ‘*bola to sama*’ in type. According to Wak Mansyur, when Puak Matoa and his followers managed to clean up the protected forest land of King Pamecutan, they built a house on the stage. Since then, Kampung Bugis,

is also known and called “The Stage” by the Balinese community in the customary village of Serangan. With the passage of time and the changing of an era, the stage houses that dominated Kampung Bugis were gradually disappeared. Most of the houses are modern shaped with concrete walls. In addition to the increasingly complex influence of modernity and needs, the houses of the stage could not stand the weather anymore and were damaged and thus not worth defending.

In the middle of the disappearance of all stage houses, now there is only one stage house that still stands upright. According to Wak Haji Mahmuluddin (50 years), as an informant, the son-in-law of Haji Anwar (late) who is a direct descendant of H.M. Taha (late) of the first generation of Kampung Bugis, the stage houses built hundreds of years ago were still solid because all the raw materials use *uli* wood that is resistant to all weather, not easily damaged and cannot even be nailed with iron spikes but using wooden nails. This house has 30 pillars, one kitchen, bedroom, and family meeting room while under the stage to be a place to keep the equipment to go to sea. As a result, the care of this stage house is very expensive. “That’s why we really hope that the government will soon make this stage house as a cultural heritage so that the burden of care can be borne by the State”, said Wak Mahmuluddin or Wak Mul while saying this house as a witness of history. Now the stage house was aloof in the middle of the evicted land.



**Photo 7: The only Stage House belonging to the late H. Anwar family and standing upright over some of the displaced villages. A zinc fence protects this cultural site from being damaged by irresponsible hands (Source: author’s photo 2018).**

### **Analysis: The Cultural Heritage and Future Projections**

The pilgrims who visited Kampung Bugis told numerous reasons they had to come all the way to Kampung Bugis, which was to pray for the Puak Gede who had addressed a significant contribution to conveying Islam to Bali, a gorgeous island with a majority of Hindus. Another reason was that they were extremely impressed in the figure of Puak Gede and the four noble legacies he left behind, as if Puak Gede's figure continues to "live" to accompany the people of Kampung Bugis for he seems to unite and provide resources in difficult times.

Wak Masyur as the informant told that the pilgrims' donations were enough to finance every spiritual need of Bugis villagers, primarily to finance religious holidays.

When experiencing problems, such as evictions that are considered to be the worst disaster ever experienced by Bugis villagers in their history during the customary village attack, they continue to present a great figure who can reunite the pieces of the problem. Puak Gede or Puak Matoa which is now revived through the figure of Syekh Haji Mukmin is described as the greatest cleric and the most influential figure in Southern Bali. The presence of pilgrims who have flocked since the 2000s is just another impact of their efforts to revive this powerful figure. Glorification of Syekh Haji Mukmin with all the inheritance he left behind becomes a cultural capital that will continue to be brought to life because as Gramsci (1971) assumed that human beings have never been able to vacuum and are always creative to gain the past and fulfill their present needs

In line with Gramsci, Bakhtin (in Rudyansjah, 2009: 42, 43) agrees that reviving the history of the past is the way people present life as a dialogical space. He also sees the existence of life as a process of dialogue between the perpetrator with himself and the other in a broad sense which includes not only others, but also the culture, history and environment that surrounds it. Bakhtin further mentions the intelligence of the respondent to respond to them as a process of writing or answering, and this process not only shows the meaningful structures that the perpetrator wished to engage in dialogue with himself, his history, his culture, and other actors in his life, but also shows the various power structures working in his life.

Based on Tony Rudyansjah's long study of the Sultanate of Wolio in Buton (2009), Puak Gede's glorification also point-out that Bugis villagers have the ability to present cultural entities that can become mystical and real in the life of the Bugis people. Although pilgrims have visited this old grave since the 2000s the road access to the customary village of Serangan is getting easier (see Segara, 2016) and now the old grave has become more crowded with visitors. That impacting the remarkable transformation for scholar Sheikh Haji Mukmin having more various stories of the past that characterize him, pumped by its sanctity to be more idiomatic in terms of spiritual and religious meaning. Through this effort, Bugis villagers managed to practice a religion that was legitimized by an influential figure. This way the shared values could be maintained.

In the view of social-cultural anthropology, the creativity of Kampung Bugis sets religion with the legitimacy of a great scholar, in line with Emile Durkheim's (in Saifuddin, 2011: 74) thought that religion is the essence of culture since religion has the glorious power to control all aspects of human life. This can occur because religion is the only one that can explain the nature of human existence, where they come from, what their duties are to live in the world, and where to go if they die. None of the cultural elements can reveal them except religion. Durkheim's view is reinforced by Clifford Geertz (in Saifuddin, 2011: 74-75) who claim that religion is not only part of the culture, but also the core of the culture that allows religion as a guide for life, the determinant of direction and accuracy of life that is recognized as good and bad. The identical idea is expressed by Ade Solihat (in Tony Rudyansjah [ed], 2015: 63-64) which states that the concern for the social-cultural life of man is in fact never separated from the religious system/ religion/belief.

Telling about Bugis is telling a story about courage, loyalty, and a strong ethos. This is a broad representation of the Bugis people that can be identified from the slogans of life that they hold. "Once the sail is expanded, never to be lowered" is the slogan of the Bugis sailors who will not go home if they are not successful in the country. This character is reinforced by three distinctive characteristics of the Bugis, namely *lemphu* or honesty, *getteng* or firm or consistent and *tettong* or steadfast (Darmapoetra, 2013:

65-69). Strengthening the Bugis identity is constructed with various symbols. However, the concept of identity, as described by Chris Barker (2014: 132) is one of the central categories in cultural studies addresses of the cultural description of a person in which we engage the emotional aspects of the equality and difference, as well as the personal and the social.

One way to explore self-identity socially is to refer to an extraordinary story or event that is the background of someone's birth. Matullada (2015: 37) explained that in the history of the great people in Bugis, there were perpetually stories that described the ways of birth of a prominent leader who had an influence on his lifetime. The leader will gain high respect in the sense of authority to lead the crowd or someone in power will look for the background of extraordinary events at the time of his birth, and such stories will increase the respect of the crowd to him. One popular example is Aruppalakka La Tenritatta', Arumpone XIV which is the same as Sultan Hasanuddin in Gowa. Both among the Gowa people (as opposed to him), markedly among the Bugis, born of La Tenritatta', later described as extraordinary events. The story leads to borrowing the story of the birth of Prophet Moses in the time of Pharaoh in Egypt. More or less the same thing was stated by Millar (2009: 45) who stated that personal behavior and achievement were highly meaningful for the Bugis since it would indicate their status.

The character of the Bugis is certainly formulated by many reasons, including how they continue to be involved in a competition, benchmarking and status determination, as well as wise judgments concerning the people (Millar, 2009: 45). In terms of employment, besides being a sailor, they are also hard workers in agriculture (see Mattulada in Koentjaraningrat, 2007: 272-273). The natural conditions will reflect the character of the people and cultural traditions that inhabit it. Kessing (1999: 145, 146) also sees that ecological adaptation is essential in developing various cultural traditions, primarily in tribal societies. Therefore, according to him, humans as creatures and like other creatures must maintain an adaptation relationship with their ecosystem in order to survive. In addition to this argument, the characteristics of the Bugis are further strongly influenced by their cultural structures, one of which is a particularly influential bond

of kinship. As explained by Millar (2009: 31; see again Koentjaraningrat [ed], 2007; Matullada, 2015) although the social structure of the Bugis people is bound patrilineally, notably by the nobility, the Bugis also bind it bilaterally so that the families of both the mother and father relatively the same to the child. Even marriage will not eliminate membership in their families.

Puak Gede who became a central figure in Bugis Village further experienced a process adoration developed by tradition and its environment. As told by the informants (Wak Mansyur and Usman), if they do not have a historical background, Puak Gede will not be legendary as it is today. When there was no glorification of Puak Gede, it continued to live through the old tomb of Syekh Haji Mukmin and other cultural sites he left behind. Usman's informant stated that one of the reasons they were still tough and felt that they were not guilty of eviction cases was when a typical Bugis stilt house as one of the cultural heritage was not dismantled when evicted. "This proves that the court's decision as a representative of the government has legitimately recognized the existence of Bugis Village because the stage houses in the evicted area were not taken apart," he said.

Standing up on the stage house has become an icon for Usman and Bugis Kampong residents to survive because if they surrender, it is the same as they do not recognize the legacy of Puak Gede. They feel that they betrayed ancestors and no longer have self-esteem as Bugis. In addition to stilt houses, other cultural heritages are the As-Syuhada Mosque, the Qur'an Book, and the Puak Gede Tomb. Thus, they project that the inherited four-cultural heritage now is also a "self-esteem site" that is not easily lost and surrendered by the social conditions they face later.

## Conclusion

The concept of identity that continues to lead as recognized in cultural studies shows its point in the case of Kampung Bugis in the customary village of Serangan. Although the Bugis come from a completely different culture, in this case, the Bugis, they have a mechanism to adapt to a new culture. On the one hand, they maintain the identity of the Bugis, but on the other hand, they can accommodate the Balinese identity. In particular,

they regard it as the only Kampung Bugis that uses Bugis language as an everyday active language yet they are also quite fluent in the Balinese language when communicating with Balinese people. In contrast, the Balinese in the customary village of Serangan are unable to speak Bugis. Through this case, it must be acknowledged that changes in behavior, actions, and perceptions of Kampung Bugis community have shown that the identity is never final or steady, primarily as a direct process (see Hall 1991). Identity is not simply something that is only personal since it is always available to open a dialogue between one individual with another.

In addition to these privileges, their existence has become a very impressive entity, notably from the historical aspect, the struggle, and the abandoned cultural heritage. There are at least four cultural treasures (the mosques, the Qur'ans, the tombs, and the stage houses) which they strive to be recognized as cultural heritage sites. Through their cultural treasury, they persisted to continue their Bugis identity tradition even though it is facing a very severe catastrophe. On this matter, they desire to set an example that wherever they are living, Bugis culture can still be guided alongside the local culture. They are, as Gramsci (1971) says, are humans who never vacuum to make history and culture to continue to live their needs in the present.

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