

# UNVEILING BALI'S HIDDEN FACET

## The Narrative Identity of the Pegayaman Village Muslim Community in Buleleng

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**Abstract:** This article examines the narrative identity of the Muslim community in Pegayaman Village, located in Sukasada District, Buleleng Regency, Bali Province. As the oldest Muslim community on the predominantly Hindu island of Bali, the people of Pegayaman Village possess unique characteristics compared to other Muslim communities on the island. These include the tradition of combining Balinese and Arabic names for their descendants, the use of Arabic books translated into Balinese in daily life, and various forms of acculturation between Balinese traditions and Islamic teachings. These unique features suggest a dual identity for the Pegayaman community, representing themselves as both Balinese and Muslim. The theoretical framework for this study is Paul Ricoeur's narrative identity theory, while the research approach employs a qualitative method using narrative analysis and literature review. The findings indicate that both historical and fictional narratives contribute to the formation of the Pegayaman community's narrative identity. Meanwhile, the *idem* and *ipse* identities, reflected in the culture, traditions, and character of the Pegayaman community, are rooted in both extralinguistic and linguistic dimensions. Moreover, the narrative identity of the Pegayaman community generates ethical, aesthetic, and political implications for its members.

**Keywords:** Bali island, Islamic community, Pegayaman village, narrative identity.

### Introduction

Apart from being popular as a tourist destination for both local and foreign visitors, the island of Bali is also renowned for its predominantly Hindu population with diverse cultures and traditions.

The Hindu identity of Bali emerged in the 14th century when the Majapahit Kingdom, based on the island of Java, introduced Hinduism to Bali.<sup>1</sup> However, the cultural diversity and traditions on the island predated the arrival of Hinduism. In Bali, these cultural nuances and traditions seamlessly blended with Hindu practices and rituals, resulting in unique religious ceremonies that distinguish the island's Hindu community from others, especially when compared to the Hindu community in India, which boasts the world's largest Hindu population of 1.09 billion people.<sup>2</sup> Notable differences include Bali's Nyepi ritual and Galungan and Kuningan celebrations, which are absent in India. Conversely, India's Hindu community observes traditions such as Dipawali, Khrisna Janmashthmi, Onam, and Ganesh Chaturthi, which are not part of Bali's Hindu celebrations.<sup>3</sup>

Despite Hindu practices waning on the neighboring island of Java due to the rise of Islam, Bali has successfully preserved its distinctive, unique, and specific cultural diversity and traditions, making it a 'protected,' pure, and sustainable haven. This longevity has contributed to Bali's reputation as the 'Island of the Gods,' a testament to its enduring Hindu heritage. Hindu religious practices on the island of Bali along with its distinctive, unique and specific cultural diversity and traditions, which were able to survive over time, even long after Hindu religious practices faded away on the island of Java due to the arrival of Islam, caused the island of Bali to be considered still "protected". , pure (authentic) and sustainable, giving rise to the attribution of the island of Bali as an island of the Hindu community, or what is also known as the "Island of the Gods"

It cannot be denied that social attributions or labels often homogenize and marginalize diversity. It is appropriate that the attribution of the Balinese people not only applies to those who are Hindu but also to those of other religions who have lived on the island of Bali since the time of their ancestors, passing through generations.

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<sup>1</sup> Nengah Bawa Atmadja, *Genealogi Keruntuhan Majapahit: Islamisasi, Toleransi, dan Pemertabatan Agama Hindu di Bali* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010), 184-185.

<sup>2</sup> I Wayan Gata, "Filosofis Sampradaya dalam Kehidupan Sosial Masyarakat Hindu di Bali (Studi Kasus di Desa Sidatapa, Kabupaten Buleleng)," *Genta Hredaya: Media Informasi Ilmiah Jurusan Brahma Widya STAHN Mpu Kuturan Singaraja* 2, no. 1 (2018), 33-34, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.55115/gentahredaya.v2i1.144>.

<sup>3</sup> Meilani Dhamayanti, "Komunikasi Lintas Budaya Etnis India, Etnis Cina, Serta Pribumi di Kampung Lubuk Pakam," *Jurnal Ilmiah Komunikasi Makna* 6, no. 1 (2015), 18, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.30659/jikm.6.1.13-21>.

In fact, various Islamic communities have resided on the island of Bali for centuries.<sup>4</sup> Examples include the Islamic community of Pegayaman Village in Buleleng, the Islamic community of Kampung Loloan in Jembrana, the Islamic community of Kampung Kecicang in Karangasem, and the Islamic community of Kampung Kepaon and Serangan in Denpasar.<sup>5</sup> All these Islamic community groups deserve to be called "Balinese people" due to their deep-rooted history on the island. The Hindu community on Bali even refers to them as Nyama Selam, meaning "Brother of Islam".<sup>6</sup>

Among these Islamic community groups, the Pegayaman Village community in Sukasada District, Buleleng Regency (North Bali), stands out as the oldest and most unique. They have been present on the island of Bali since the 17th century, and their distinctiveness lies in the tradition of combining Balinese names with Arabic names for their descendants, a practice that has continued for generations<sup>7</sup>. In Pegayaman Village, it is common to encounter names such as Ketut Muhammad, Ni Wayan Fatimah, or Nengah Surudin. Similar to the Balinese people's naming conventions, where the first child is named Wayan, Putu, or Gede, the second child Made, Nengah, or Kadek, the third child Nyoman or Komang, and the fourth child Ketut, the people of Pegayaman Village add an Arabic name to the end. Notably, unlike in Balinese society, where the prefix to the name of the fifth child reverts to the prefix of the first child, such as Wayan, Putu, or Gede, the people of Pegayaman Village maintain the prefix of the fourth child for the fifth child.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Kunawi. Basyir, "The 'Acculturative Islam' As A Type Of Home-Grown Islamic Tradition: Religion and Local Culture in Bali," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 13, no. 2 (December 1, 2019), 326, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2019.13.2.326-349>.

<sup>5</sup> I Nengah Punia & Wahyu Budi Nugroho, "Pola Dan Strategi Akulturasi Masyarakat Islam-Jawa dengan Hindu-Bali di Desa Pegayaman Bali Utara," *Jurnal Kajian Bali* 12, no. 02 (2022), 344, <https://doi.org/10.24843/JKB.2022.v12.i02.p02>.

<sup>6</sup> Yantos Putriana, "Kearifan Lokal dalam Membangun Kerukunan Islam dan Hindu di Desa Adat Kuta Badung," *Jurnal Dakwah Risalah* 31, no. 2 (2020), 240, <http://dx.doi.org/10.24014/jdr.v31i2.10398>.

<sup>7</sup> Wahyu Budi Nugroho & Gede Kamajaya, "Sistem Moral Universal Masyarakat Desa Pegayaman di Kabupaten Buleleng Bali," *Jurnal Sosiologi Nusantara* 9, no. 2 (2023), 156-157, <https://doi.org/10.33369/jsn.9.2.147-164>.

<sup>8</sup> Achmad Zainal Arifin, "Identity Politics of the Muslim Minority in Pegayaman Village (Strategies on Maintaining Harmonious Life in Bali)," in *Proceedings of the Annual International Conference on Social Science and Humanities (AICOSH 2022)*, ed. Rama

The combination of Balinese and Arabic names by the people of Pegayaman Village signifies respect for their ancestors and a desire to maintain a connection while preserving the historical memory of their lineage from both Javanese and Balinese ethnic groups. Moreover, this naming tradition creates a unique and distinctive social identity for the people of Pegayaman Village, uniting two identities previously associated with different religious influences—the Arabic name representing Islam's strong influence on the island of Java, and the Balinese name representing the profound influence of Hinduism in Bali. This combination of names serves as a manifest identity, one that is visible on the surface, explicit, immediately connected to the world, and can be directly confirmed, or what can be termed as an "exterior identity." Exploring the unique and distinctive social identity of the Pegayaman Village people further would be intriguing through the concept of narrative identity. This shows the adaptability of Muslims to local culture as shown elsewhere in the archipelago, for instance in Aceh,<sup>9</sup> the Philliphine,<sup>10</sup> Bima,<sup>11</sup> Singapore,<sup>12</sup> Alor,<sup>13</sup> Manado,<sup>14</sup> Tolaki,<sup>15</sup> Korea,<sup>16</sup> Java,<sup>17</sup> Thailand,<sup>18</sup> and Muna.<sup>19</sup>

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Kertamukti et al. (Paris: Atlantis Press SARK, 2022), 136, <https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-494069-87-9>.

<sup>9</sup> Abdul Manan et al., "The Unity of Community in Cemetery: An Ethnographic Study of the Islamic Burial Rituals in Aceh, Indonesia," *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 21 (2024): 24, <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v24i1.14965>.

<sup>10</sup> Daniel Susilo, Rahma Sugihartati, and Roberto Santos, "Muslim Minority in Manila: Ethnographical Studies of Minority Expression on the Archipelago," *Al-Jami'ab: Journal of Islamic Studies* 61 (2023), 421, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2023.612.419-440>.

<sup>11</sup> Fransiska Widyawati, "Being a Muslim In a Catholic Family and Vice Versa: Religious Education in Mixed-Faith Families in Flores, Eastern Indonesia," *Ulumuna* 26 (2022): 341, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v26i2.548>.

<sup>12</sup> Helmiati Helmiati, "Muslim Religiosity in a Challenging Secular State of Singapore," *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 9 (2021): 351, <https://doi.org/10.21-043/qjis.v9i2.8026>.

<sup>13</sup> Ayu Benu, "The Isak Mosque and the Ismail Church: A Symbol of Muslim-Christian Cultural Interaction in East Alila, Ilawe Village, Alor," *Religio: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* 11 (2021): 49–74, <https://doi.org/10.15642/religio.v11i1.1661>.

<sup>14</sup> Edi Gunawan et al., "Interfaith Marriage of North Sulawesi Multicultural Community in Minority Fiqh Perspective," *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 19 (2024), 386, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v19i2.8072>.

<sup>15</sup> Ahmadi et al., "Legal Authority and Marital Identity: A Study on the Kalosara Tradition of the Tolaki People in Southeast Sulawesi," *Al-Manabij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* (2024): 317–32, <https://doi.org/10.24090/mnh.v18i2.11956>.

## Narrative Identity for Pegayaman Village Community

Efforts to understand the naming traditions of the descendants of the Pegayaman Village community, which combine Balinese and Arabic names, can be approached through the concept of narrative identity. Not only does this concept shed light on the daily activities of the people of Pegayaman Village as they uphold Balinese culture, but it also delves into aspects of exterior and interior identity. Additionally, it touches upon ethical, aesthetic, and political dimensions of that identity. The concept of narrative identity, popularized by Paul Ricoeur within the hermeneutical tradition, aims to address a fundamental question: "Who is human?" Starting from this question, the concept attempts to explain the "what" and "who" of humans, leading to implications for ethical, aesthetic, and political dimensions.<sup>20</sup>

Initially, the concept of narrative identity primarily operated in the individual realm—the entity of human selfhood. However, in its development, this concept has been widely applied to studies in the collective realm, encompassing communities, social groups, ethnicities, races, and even nations. The utilization of narrative identity in collective studies often begins with emplotment, involving the construction of various life events into an understandable story. Emplotment becomes the locus for synthesizing historical narratives with fictional narratives.

Historical narratives, being extralinguistic and referenced to reality, include elements such as non-language, pre-assumptions, participants, topics of conversation, settings, connectors or channels, codes, and

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<sup>16</sup> Eka Srimulyani, "Indonesian Muslim Diaspora in Contemporary South Korea: Living as Religious Minority Group in Non-Muslim Country," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 5 (2021), 668, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v5i2.9733>.

<sup>17</sup> Wiwik Setiyani, Saprudin, and Nurhairunnisa, "Inclusive and Exclusive Dynamics in Local Community Wedding Tradition in East Java and West Nusa Tenggara," *Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 18 (2024): 123–41, <https://doi.org/10.15642/islamica.2024-18.2.123-141>.

<sup>18</sup> Chris Joll and Srawut Aree, "Tok Takia's Legacy in Ayutthaya, Thailand: Tracing Qadriyyah Circulations through the Bay of Bengal," *Studia Islamika* 29 (2023), 427, <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v29i3.20625>.

<sup>19</sup> A Zainal, H S Ahimsa-Putra, and A Rezki, "Hybrid Culture in Katoba Ritual of Muna," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 18, no. 1 (2024): 156–57, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2024.18.1.155-179>.

<sup>20</sup> David Wood, *On Paul Ricoeur Narrative and Interpretation* (London & New York: Routledge, 1991), 48.

various forms of messages. All of these elements exist symbolically and can be factually verified from documents, archives, monuments, and similar sources. On the other hand, fictional narratives, originating from imagination, include myths, fairy tales, folk tales, or various stories told over time. Ricoeur describes imagination as a "storage box for oral and written traditions," and fictional narratives, while related to extra linguistic areas, redescribe reality into symbols.<sup>21</sup> Fictional narratives work by transforming reality into metaphors, creating "another reality" by reframing the description of reality.<sup>22</sup> They often contain ideals that enable alternative descriptions of reality, destabilizing narrative identity and providing a nuanced conclusion to the narrative. In this instance, the ultimate nuance can only be realized through a fictional narrative. The development of the narrative takes place while the individual or collective is still present (alive) and has not yet reached the ultimate limit (existence). The crafting of a narrative or plot necessitates a conclusion to the story, enabling interpretation.

In examining distribution, a process involving *mimesis*<sub>1</sub>, *mimesis*<sub>2</sub>, and *mimesis*<sub>3</sub> is evident. *Mimesis*<sub>1</sub>, termed "prefiguration," involves the transformation of action from life to symbolic representation in the linguistic area. *Mimesis*<sub>2</sub>, or "configuration," is the stage where events are structured to form a coherent text or system. *Mimesis*<sub>3</sub>, also known as "interpretation," involves the fusion between the text and the reader, where the reader interprets the text. These processes—*mimesis*<sub>1</sub>, *mimesis*<sub>2</sub>, and *mimesis*<sub>3</sub>—culminate in *phronesis* or "narrative understanding," allowing the text to be comprehended not only by oneself but also by others. *Phronesis* facilitates reflective reading of narratives, enabling individuals or collectives to evaluate and decide on future actions with implications in the ethical, aesthetic, or political realms.<sup>23</sup>

After channeling our study into the narrative identity of the Pegayaman Village community, a more detailed exploration of 'personal identity' becomes pertinent. Given that this study was conducted at the social entity level, personal identity is positioned as a

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<sup>21</sup> Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative Volume 3* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press., 1988), 247-249.

<sup>22</sup> David M. Kaplan, *Teori Kritis: Paul Ricoeur* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Utama, 2010), 138.

<sup>23</sup> Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative I*. (Chicago.: The University of Chicago Press., 1984), 53-86.

collective representation of the Pegayaman Village community. Ricoeur elucidates that personal identity encompasses two interrelated aspects that both equate and differentiate each other. He employs the terms 'identity idem' and 'identity ipse' to delineate these aspects. Ricoeur further breaks down idem identity, which encompasses similarities, into four features: numerical, extraordinary similarity, uninterrupted continuity in development, and permanence in time. While the first three features of idem identity can be recognized extralinguistically, the fourth feature and the locus of ipse identity can only be grasped linguistically or symbolically.<sup>24</sup>

Moving forward, ipse identity comprises two distinct features: character or disposition, and the commitment to keeping promises or self-determination (self-consistency). Character features entail various tendencies in an individual that render them recognizable as 'the same.' These features can be elicited through values, norms, culture, or morality when an individual becomes part of a collectivity. The feature of keeping promises or self-determination refers to a personal entity that 'allows to promise,' placing oneself under the obligation to act, demonstrating a self-capable of taking responsibility for actions and making moral commitments.<sup>25</sup>

The two features of ipse identity mentioned above operate within the domain of interior identity—internal rather than external identity, which directly relates 'to others' or the outside world. In this research, an analysis of idem identity and ipse identity is poised to shed light on the daily lives of the people of Pegayaman Village, who navigate two distinct traditions or social practices—Islamic-Javanese and Hindu-Balinese. This is particularly relevant considering their social attribution as Nyama Selam, which practically translates to people of Islam or Muslim brothers participating in Balinese traditions.

### **Formation of Pegayaman Village Community Narrative**

In examining the narrative distribution or formation within the Pegayaman Village community, it becomes evident that there are two distinct historical narratives, along with a fictional narrative, serving as valuable study materials. The first pertains to the origins of the Pegayaman Village community, while the second delves into the

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Paul Ricoeur, *Oneself as Another*, ed. Kathleen Blamey (USA: The University of Chicago Press., 1994), 121-122.

etymology of the name 'Pegayaman Village.' Both narratives will be analyzed utilizing the stages of *mimesis*<sub>1</sub> (prefiguration), *mimesis*<sub>2</sub> (configuration), and *mimesis*<sub>3</sub> (refiguration) embedded within the plot.

### ***History of Pegayaman Village Community***

#### *Mimesis*<sub>1</sub> (Prefiguration)

According to historical records, the inhabitants of Pegayaman Village were initially Javanese-Islamic soldiers or knights. They were brought to Bali Island by King Panji Sakti with the purpose of safeguarding the southern territory of the Buleleng Kingdom, which directly bordered the realm of the Mengwi Kingdom.

#### *Mimesis*<sub>2</sub> (Configuration)

There are three versions regarding the origins of the Pegayaman Village Community. Firstly, it is suggested that three Javanese-Islamic soldiers, dispatched by King Amangkurat I from the Islamic Mataram Kingdom, arrived at the Buleleng Kingdom to present an elephant as a gift to King Panji Sakti. This gesture aimed to foster cooperation, given that King Panji Sakti had successfully conquered the Blambangan Kingdom in Banyuwangi in 1648.<sup>26</sup> The second version proposes that one hundred Islamic soldiers from the Blambangan Kingdom, led by King Panji Sakti after the conquest, settled in the Buleleng Kingdom. The third version suggests that one hundred Islamic soldiers from the Islamic Mataram Kingdom, who assisted King Panji Sakti in conquering the Blambangan Kingdom, were then relocated by King Panji Sakti to the Buleleng Kingdom (Suharto 2023).<sup>27</sup>

Apart from the various versions of the Pegayaman Village community's origins and the social background of the Islamic soldiers, there is a historical account indicating that they primarily originated from the Islamic Mataram Kingdom in Central Java. Another version proposes that the hundred Islamic soldiers hailed from the Blambangan Kingdom, predominantly from the Osing Tribe in Banyuwangi, along with members of other tribes who had settled in the Blambangan Kingdom through diplomatic relations, such as the

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<sup>26</sup> Indriana Kartini, "Dinamika Kehidupan Minoritas Muslim Di Bali," *Jurnal Masyarakat Indonesia* 31, no. 2 (2011): 115–45.

<sup>27</sup> Ketut Muhammad Suharto, *Ensiklopedia Desa Muslim Pegayaman* (Buleleng: FPSI, 2023), 7-10.

Madurese, Mandar, and Bugis.<sup>28</sup> The final version, intersecting with the second version of Pegayaman Village's history, emphasizes the multi-ethnic composition of the soldiers brought by King Panji Sakti, starting from their origin in the Blambangan Kingdom.

Subsequently, upon their arrival in the Buleleng Kingdom, the Islamic soldiers were married to local Balinese women by King Panji Sakti. This union held political significance; firstly, it aimed to prevent the Javanese-Islamic soldiers from returning to their hometowns, and secondly, King Panji Sakti strategically placed them in the southern region of the Buleleng Kingdom, bordering the Mengwi Kingdom.<sup>29</sup> The amalgamation of these soldiers with local Balinese women marked the beginning of the uniqueness and distinctiveness of the Pegayaman Village community. Due to the soldiers' frequent and extended absence from home, childcare responsibilities predominantly fell on the shoulders of the Balinese women.

These Balinese women, who converted to Islam, continued to uphold their culture and traditions. They followed Balinese naming traditions for their children's first names, while using Arabic names for their children's last names, reflecting the naming tradition of their husbands (soldiers) with a strong Islamic-Javanese influence at that time. This combination of names became the identity of the Pegayaman Village people, representing both the mother's Balinese lineage and the father's Arabic lineage. Beyond naming conventions, these Balinese women also imparted various Balinese traditions to their children, ensuring that they grew up as Muslims practicing Balinese culture.

Moreover, the ethnic diversity of the Pegayaman Village community expanded further with the arrival of the Bugis community. According to reports, a ship from the Raja Bone group in South Sulawesi, en route to Java Island, got stranded on the North Bali coast due to strong sea currents.<sup>30</sup> Raja Panji Sakti welcomed some of the ship's crew to settle in Pegayaman Village due to the existing Muslim

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<sup>28</sup> Ketut Muhammad Suharto, "Komunitas Suku Bugis, Pewarna Desa Pegayaman," 2023, accessed on Januari 23, 2024 <https://www.balisharing.com/2023/11/01/komunitas-suku-bugis-pewarna-desa-pegayaman/>.

<sup>29</sup> Napsiah, "Modal Sosial Sebagai Penguatan Identitas Sosial Masyarakat Muslim Di Bali.," *Jurnal Studi Masyarakat, Religi, Dan Tradisi* 5, no. 1 (2019), 105.

<sup>30</sup> Moch. Khafidz Fuad Raya et al., "Menyama Braya: Balinese Hindu-Muslim Ethnoreligious Construction in the Creation of Peace Education," *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 10, no. 1 (2023), 6, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2023.2237289>.

community there, and they agreed. Over time, the population of Pegayaman Village increased again, with the influx of Hindu-Balinese people from Karangasem in 1963, following the eruption of Mount Agung. These developments in Pegayaman Village likely occurred through a process of social merging or the "merger of social groups." The initial merging occurred through the marriage between one hundred Javanese-Islamic soldiers and local Balinese women, followed by the settlement of the Bugis community, and finally, the arrival of the Hindu-Balinese community from Karangasem<sup>31</sup>. The historical development of the Pegayaman Village community has transformed it into a multiethnic and multicultural village that endures to this day.

#### *Mimesis<sub>3</sub> (Refiguration)*

The historical narrative detailing the origins and social background of the Pegayaman Village community gives rise to its own meaning and identity. Firstly, they constitute the oldest Islamic community on the island of Bali. Secondly, they hail from a lineage of warriors associated with assertiveness, discipline, intelligence, and even power. Thirdly, they maintain close ties with the Buleleng Kingdom, a connection that persists to this day. Fourthly, they are descendants of Javanese people who strongly adhere to Islamic teachings. Fifthly, they are also descendants of Balinese people who continue to uphold Balinese culture. Sixthly, they have integrated into Balinese society and are, in other words, considered native Balinese people—Muslims known as Nyama Selam. Seventhly, the various processes of merging social groups they have experienced affirm Islam as their universal moral system, even though they reside on the predominantly Hindu island of Bali.

#### ***History of the Origin of the Name Pegayaman Village***

##### *Mimesis<sub>1</sub> (Prefiguration)*

The name Pegayaman Village originates from elements familiar to the community, related to artifacts and environmental conditions they have previously experienced.

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<sup>31</sup> Nugroho and Kamajaya, "Sistem Moral Universal Masyarakat Desa Pegayaman, 155.

### *Mimesis<sub>2</sub> (Configuration)*

There are several versions explaining the origin of the name Pegayaman Village. Firstly, it is derived from the word “peguyangan”, signifying a place for bathing animals, specifically referring to the elephant bathing area gifted by King Amangkurat I to King Panji Sakti.<sup>32</sup> Secondly, it could be linked to the name “Banjar Pagetepan”, where Islamic soldiers settled after marrying local Balinese women. The term “pagetepan” itself is derived from the local gatep tree commonly found in that area, known as the “stylem tree” in Javanese. Thirdly, an alternative explanation suggests that it stems from the name of the traditional keris weapon owned by the Islamic Mataram Kingdom, known as “keris Gayaman”.<sup>33</sup>

### *Mimesis<sub>3</sub> (Refiguration)*

In the tradition of naming descendants, which combines Balinese and Arabic names, Pegayaman Village's name symbolizes connections to both Java and Bali. The Javanese influence is evident in the names of the gayam tree and the keris of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom. Meanwhile, the Balinese representation is derived from the term “peguyangan,” the Banjar name Pagetepan, and the gatep tree.

The historical narrative of Pegayaman Village's existence, particularly King Panji Sakti's conquest of the Blambangan Kingdom in Banyuwangi, is elucidated through the Babad Buleleng. Pegayaman Village's inhabitants, originating from one hundred Muslim soldiers from the Blambangan Kingdom, predominantly from the Osing Tribe, have been studied by the Kumpi Bukit Pegayaman Study Center Institute (LPS). Cultural and traditional similarities, such as dialect and the Burdah art form, were found between Pegayaman Village and the Osing Tribe, emphasizing language practices and musical instrument shapes. Additionally, the Endog-endogan tradition in the Osing tribe mirrors the Sokok Taluh tradition in Pegayaman Village, both rooted in the Javanese term “endog” and the Balinese term “taluh”, meaning “egg”.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Kartini, “Dinamika Kehidupan Minoritas Muslim Di Bali, 122.

<sup>33</sup> Suharto, *Ensiklopedia Desa Muslim Pegayaman*, 7-10.

<sup>34</sup> Bherta Sri Eko Murtiningsih and Veronika Veronika, “The Role of Multicultural Competence Based on Local Wisdom in the Cross-Cultural Adaptation Javanese Muslim Minority in Pagayaman Village, Buleleng Regency, Bali Province,” *Jurnal*

The history of the presence of the Bugis community in Pegayaman Village can also be verified, shown by the existence of Pegayaman Village residents of Bugis descent who live in Pegayaman Village to this day, for example Mr. Tontowijauhari who currently works as Head of Affairs (KAUR) staff at the Pegayaman Village office. The fate of the residents of Pegayaman Village, descendants of the Bugis ulama in Pegayaman Village, is still being traced, including Mr. Karaeng Sufu, Mrs. Rumiayah, Mr. Mahmud, Mr. Bahanan Muda, and Mr. Nadori.<sup>35</sup> Apart from that, the presence of Hindu-Balinese people from Karangasem in Pegayaman Village as a result of the 1963 eruption of Mount Agung can also be verified through various media reports. On the other hand, the fictional narrative in the history of the existence of the Pegayaman Village community is shown through the history of the collaboration between King Amangkurat I and King Panji Sakti, including one hundred Muslim soldiers from the Islamic Mataram Kingdom who are said to have helped conquer the Blambangan Kingdom by King Panji Sakti, as well as the story of three Muslim soldiers from the Kingdom. Mataram Islam was sent by King Amangkurat I to bring elephants as a gift as well as efforts to establish cooperation with King Panji Sakti because he succeeded in conquering the Blambangan Kingdom.<sup>36</sup> Until now, this series of historical stories cannot be verified, or in other words, no accurate evidence has been found.

## **Social and Personal Identity of the Pegayaman Village Community**

### ***Idem Identity***

#### *Numerical*

Numerical identity necessitates a consistent element that remains unchanged across diverse situations. In the context of the Pegayaman Village community, this principle is aptly illustrated by the tradition of naming descendants, which involves combining Balinese names with Arabic names. For instance, consider a typical name from Pegayaman Village, such as "Ketut Muhammad Hasyim" (KMH). The persona of

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*Komunikasi Ikatan Sarjana Komunikasi Indonesia* 7, no. 1 (2022): 221–31, <https://doi.org/10.25008/jkiski.v7i1.625>.

<sup>35</sup> Suharto, *Ensiklopedia Desa Muslim Pegayaman*, 7-10.

<sup>36</sup> Punia & Nugroho, "Pola Dan Strategi Akulturasi Masyarakat Islam-Jawa dengan Hindu-Bali di Desa Pegayaman, 339.

KMH can be readily recognized as a resident of Pegayaman Village, whether within or outside the village, as he is exclusively affiliated with Pegayaman and its unique naming tradition. To provide a more detailed illustration, KMH will consistently be acknowledged as a resident of Pegayaman Village in various circumstances, irrespective of his emotional state, health condition, or economic standing. Whether he is experiencing joy or sadness, health or illness, poverty or wealth, he remains unequivocally identified as KMH from Pegayaman Village.

#### *Uncanny Resemblance*

Features of extraordinary similarities in idem identity can be recognized based on characteristics, in the context of the Pegayaman Village community, these similarities point to similarities with Javanese and Balinese communities. There are several forms of art and traditions of the Pegayaman Village community which are similar in form to the arts and traditions of the Javanese community, including burdah, hadrah, saparan, baby dedication ceremony, and traditional clothing. Burdah is the activity of praying and chanting praises to the Prophet Muhammad S.A.W. Burdah in Pegayaman Village is usually performed by fifteen to twenty people, and lasts from nine in the evening to four in the morning.<sup>37</sup> Apart from being a form of chanting praise for the prophet and being held during Islamic holidays or weddings, the burdah in Pegayaman Village is also used as a means of treatment, namely being held when a resident is seriously ill and does not recover.<sup>38</sup>

#### *Uninterrupted Continuity in Development*

Uninterrupted continuity in development implies a consistent identity maintained from the beginning to the end of the development process. Another distinct aspect shared by the people of Pegayaman Village, besides the tradition of combining Balinese and Arabic names for their descendants, is the enduring social system of leadership. This traditional leadership system has persisted in the Pegayaman Village community since the time of their ancestors to the present day.

While other Balinese communities typically have a traditional village with regulations such as awig-awig or pararem, derived from Catur Dresta and influenced by Hindu religious teachings, Pegayaman

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 339.

<sup>38</sup> Suharto, *Ensiklopedia Desa Muslim Pegayaman*, 7-10.

Village differs.<sup>39</sup> It is the only village community on the island of Bali without a traditional Balinese village structure, awig-awig, or pararem. Instead, it is led not by a traditional banddesa (village head/traditional head) but by a “penghulu”.

This headship system can be classified as an “uninterrupted continuity in development” as it has endured for more than three and a half centuries in Pegayaman Village, spanning various historical periods, including the era of power struggles between Balinese kingdoms, Dutch colonialism, independence, the Old Order and New Order authoritarianism, and the Reformation era up to the present day. Despite the societal development shifts from traditional to modern and now postmodern, this system has remained resilient. Even the process of merging social groups within the Pegayaman Village community, characterized by “merging social groups,” has not impacted the social system of headship in Pegayaman Village.

#### *Permanence in Time*

Permanence in time signifies the enduring existence of something amidst changes, particularly when it comes to non-physical entities. This trait is exemplified by the teachings of Islam, serving as the moral foundation for the Pegayaman Village community. The presence of Islamic religious teachings as a moral compass for the people of Pegayaman Village can be traced back through the social and cultural history of this community.

Firstly, the people of Pegayaman Village have been Muslim since their inception, either originating from Islamic soldiers of the Mataram Kingdom or, as other versions suggest, from the Blambangan Kingdom. Secondly, the patrilineal culture, dictating that wives and children follow their husbands, including in matters of faith, resulted in local Balinese women converting to Islam when married to Javanese-Islamic soldiers of Pegayaman Village.

Thirdly, the Muslim Bugis community in Pegayaman Village has further strengthened the Islamic dimension of the community. Fourthly, there is a notable absence of conflict between Islamic teachings and various moral, social, religious, and cultural concepts in Pegayaman Village. As a heterogeneous and multiethnic region, Islamic

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<sup>39</sup> I. G. M.A Mahadewi, “Pengesahan Awig-Awig Desa Adat Berdasarkan Peraturan Daerah Nomor 4 Tahun 2019,” *Jurnal Konstruksi Hukum* 1, no. 1 (2020), 187-88, <https://doi.org/10.22225/jkh.1.1.2155.187-191>.

moral concepts coexist harmoniously with Hinduism, Javanese culture, Balinese culture, and Bugis culture, avoiding contradictions.

Fifthly, the Hindu-Balinese community exhibits great tolerance towards adherents of other faiths, allowing the people of Pegayaman Village to organize their social life based on their own values, norms, and culture. As highlighted previously, in the feature of uninterrupted continuity in development, the people of Pegayaman Village have not used the traditional banjar system or had awig-awig, as observed in Balinese communities, but have instead employed the social system of *kepenghuluan*. The existence of the *penghulu* as a traditional or religious leader in the Pegayaman Village community reflects the daily life of this community, strongly influenced by Islam over time.

These social and cultural processes have solidified the teachings of Islam as the moral system of the Pegayaman Village community. The fourth feature of *idem* identity, namely permanence in time, refers to the linguistic dimension, involving the "postponement of description of reality." This abstract concept, in the context of the Pegayaman Village community, pertains to their moral system. The linguistic dimension associated with fictional narratives allows for the description of reality in various ways, contributing to a nuanced understanding of the Pegayaman Village community as distinctly Islamic. This fourth feature of *idem* identity becomes the locus of *ipse* identity.

### ***Ipse Identity***

#### *Disposition or Character*

The narrative identity's character is shaped by various habits, values, norms, culture, or ideal types. Since its inception, the Pegayaman Village community has been a multiethnic and multicultural society, embodying an Islamic character characterized by tolerance, moderation, and inclusivity. Tolerance in Pegayaman Village is evident through the tradition of "*ngejot*" or delivering food to Hindus during religious holidays, participating in *Nyepi* by refraining from activities outside the home, and assisting in making *ogoh-ogoh* to welcome *Nyepi*. The community's Islamic moderation is apparent through its rejection of the caliphate discourse and the absence of a reactionary response to issues related to religious blasphemy at the national level.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Interview with Nengah Abdul Gofar Ismail, Pegayaman, Bali, September 9, 2023

The Islamic inclusiveness of the Pegayaman Village community is demonstrated through various forms of acculturation, encompassing cultural ideas, patterned activities, and artifacts. In terms of ideas, this is evident through the use of refined Balinese language in daily life, the translation of Islamic books into Balinese, and the practice of using a combination of Arabic and Balinese names for children. The preservation of traditions such as baby safety, mapag toya, Balinese-style wedding processions, arts like burdah and hadrah, and pre-holiday traditions of penapean, singing, and penampahan exemplify patterned activities.<sup>41</sup> Artifacts or cultural products are represented by traditional clothing, specifically lancingan clothes.

#### *Commitment or Self-Commitment*

Upholding promises or steadfastness entails placing oneself in a 'position of obligation' and 'loyalty,' essentially embodying a self-capable of forming a moral commitment. In the Pegayaman Village community, this commitment is evident in their continuous efforts to uphold Islamic values within society, utilizing informal, formal, and non-formal educational channels. From an early age within the (informal) familial context, children in Pegayaman Village are instructed in prayer and Quranic recitation. In fact, as per information from a resident, parents in Pegayaman Village prefer sending their children to Islamic schools at the elementary level, recognizing the importance of this formative age in instilling religious values. The transmission of Islamic values at home is further reinforced through community traditions, such as the practice of visiting homes during the month of Ramadan, along with various Islamic social rituals like salvation ceremonies, expressions of gratitude, weddings, tahlilan (prayer for the deceased), and circumcision ceremonies.<sup>42</sup>

Concerning formal education, the Pegayaman Village community boasts a nearly equal number of regular formal schools and formal Islamic schools. According to the Pegayaman Village Profile (2022), there are seven regular formal schools in Pegayaman Village, comprising three elementary schools and one government-owned junior high school, as well as two private kindergartens and one private

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<sup>41</sup> Joshua Jolly Sucanta Cakranegara and Nadira Salsabila, "Acculturation of Islam and Christian in Balinese Culture: A Historical and Sociological Study," *Harmoni* 23, no. 1 (2024), 74, <https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v23i1.705>.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

junior high school. Simultaneously, there are six formal Islamic schools, including one Raudhatul Athfal (Islamic kindergarten), two Ibtidayah (Islamic elementary schools), one Tsanawiyah (Islamic junior high school), one Aliyah (Islamic senior high school), and one Islamic boarding school—all privately owned.<sup>43</sup> The substantial presence of formal Islamic schools in Pegayaman Village likely aligns with the principles of sustainable education, serving as reflections of the community's values, norms, and social culture.

### **Ethical, Aesthetic, and Political Implications**

The narrative identity of the Pegayaman Village community implies several ethical, aesthetic, and political considerations, which, though indirectly addressed in previous explanations, have not been extensively focused or systematized. The ethical implications of the Pegayaman Village community's narrative identity are multifaceted. Firstly, the awareness of their Javanese and Balinese ancestry motivates them to preserve various ancestral cultures and traditions—comprising systems of ideas, patterned activities, and cultural artifacts. Preserved cultural ideas encompass the combination of Balinese and Arabic names for children, the use of refined Balinese language in daily life, the translation of Arabic books into Balinese, and the unique social system of headship. Meanwhile, preserved cultural activities involve rituals like *penampahan*, singing, and *penampahan* before holidays, as well as arts like *burdah* and *hadrah*, wedding processions, *mapag toya*, and baby safety. Cultural artifacts that are preserved include the distinctive traditional clothing of the Pegayaman Village community in the form of *lancingan* clothes.

Secondly, their endeavors to maintain harmonious relations with the Hindu-Balinese community, considering their shared Balinese ancestry, are evident in their acceptance of the exodus of the Hindu-Balinese community from Karangsem to Pegayaman Village in 1963 due to the eruption of Mount Agung. This is further manifested in their respect for Hari Nyepi by refraining from activities outside the home, assisting in making *ogoh-ogoh*, and observing the tradition of *ngejot* or giving food during Hindu-Balinese holidays.

Thirdly, their awareness of descending from ancestors who adhered to the teachings of the Islamic religion places the people of Pegayaman Village in a position where they prioritize Islamic values as

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

the highest virtue. This is reflected in their concerted efforts to instill these values in the succeeding generations through various educational channels—informal, formal, and non-formal.

Fourthly, the awareness of their unique community status on the island of Bali has spurred the people of Pegayaman Village to delve into their community's history through collaborations with universities, government entities, cultural figures, and others. This historical exploration aims to construct a standardized history of Pegayaman Village, especially given the diverse versions of their historical narrative. The efforts encompass not only Bali but extend to regions outside the island, such as Lombok, Bayuwangi, and Solo. Collaborations in scientific research involve institutions like Udayana University, Ganesha Education University, and Jakarta State University, along with non-governmental organizations like the Islamic History Observer Forum (FPSI) and the Kumpi Bukit Pegayaman Study Center Institute (LPS). Recent research reveals that Pegayaman Village dates back seven and a half centuries to 1284 when the Singasari Kingdom, led by Kertanegara, sought to seize Bali by dispatching "Chicken Fence" troops to the area now known as Pegayaman Village.

There are two aesthetic implications of the Pegayaman Village community's narrative identity. Firstly, various forms of art, culture, and traditions that offer entertainment must align with Islamic law. The adage in Pegayaman Village stating "customs stand on the pillar of syara' and rely on the book of Allah" exemplifies this commitment. An instance is the hadrah art, which incorporates blebet rattan pencak silat movements intended to replace dances deemed potentially haram in Islam. Secondly, there's a proposal to designate Pegayaman Village as a tourist village, considering its uniqueness. Village leaders suggest adopting the formats of a research tourism village and a tolerance education tourism village, considering these align best with the Islamic community of Pegayaman Village.

Moreover, the narrative identity of the Pegayaman Village community holds two distinct political implications. Firstly, it is characterized by the absence of a traditional Balinese village government system within the Pegayaman Village community. While Balinese communities typically have both service villages and traditional villages to govern their affairs, Pegayaman Village exclusively features service villages. In contrast to the conventional

Balinese structure, the community is led by an Islamic traditional village headman, negating the presence of a traditional *banddesa* and the customary *awig-awig*. This deviation has been elucidated in the *idem* identity feature, specifically in the uninterrupted continuity in development.

Secondly, the Pegayaman Village community demonstrates resistance to Bali Governor Regulation Number 79 of 2018, which mandates the wearing of traditional Balinese clothing on Thursdays in both governmental and private settings. This resistance stems from the belief that the community already possesses its unique traditional clothing. Men wear traditional attire comprising a sarong, a songkok or peci, and *lancingan* clothes, particularly during mosque prayers. Women in Pegayaman Village adhere to their distinct traditional clothing—Balinese *kebaya* paired with a headscarf. As a result, the community rejects the imposed regulation, asserting the significance of their own traditional attire.

## Conclusion

Based on the comprehensive descriptions provided earlier, several conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, an examination of the Pegayaman Village community through the narrative identity concept reveals the presence of both historical and fictional narratives in the distribution or formation of the community's narratives.

Secondly, concerning *idem* identity, numerical features manifest in the tradition of combining Balinese and Arabic names in the Pegayaman Village community. Extraordinary similarity features are evident through cultural and traditional parallels with Javanese and Balinese communities. The feature of uninterrupted continuity in development is demonstrated by the enduring social system of leadership. Simultaneously, the feature of permanence in time is underscored by the teachings of the Islamic religion, serving as the moral system of the Pegayaman Village community.

In *ipse* identity, the character of the Pegayaman Village people is characterized by their Islamic approach, which is tolerant, moderate, and inclusive. The fulfillment of promises or self-determination is exhibited through their commitment to instilling Islamic values in the younger generation, accomplished through various educational channels – informal, formal, and non-formal.

Thirdly, the narrative identity of the Pegayaman Village community gives rise to a series of ethical, aesthetic, and political implications. Ethical implications include the preservation of ancestral culture and traditions, efforts to maintain social harmony with the Hindu-Balinese community, and endeavors to instill Islamic values for future generations. Additionally, the community actively engages in exploring its historical existence by collaborating with various stakeholders.

Aesthetic implications involve the presence of art within the community that aligns with Islamic principles, ensuring cultural traditions with elements of entertainment. Furthermore, the proposal for a research tourism village and a tolerance education tourism village, directed towards the district government, reflects their vision for Pegayaman Village as a potential tourist destination in Bali.

Political implications emerge from the unique organizational structure of the community, deviating from the traditional Balinese village system. Additionally, the community's rejection of the obligation to wear traditional Balinese clothing emphasizes their commitment to preserving and adhering to their distinct traditional attire. []

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### **Interview**

Interview with Wayan Rabihudin, Pegayaman, Bali, 7 August 2023.

Interview with Ketut Muhammad Suharto, Pegayaman, Bali, 9 September 2023.

Interview with Nengah Abdul Gofar Ismail, Pegayaman, Bali, 9 September 2023.