

## **MINORITY MUSLIMS IN NORTH BALI: IDENTITY ON THE MAKING**

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### **Abstract**

Indonesia faces specific problems in creating and maintaining national unity due to the heterogeneity of its citizens. Identification with and primary loyalty to the nation has to be reconciled with different regional groupings which draw on language, custom, and religion to preserve their distinctiveness. Many of these complex patterns of identity may be called 'ethnic' and have the potential to divide the nation internally. The investigation of socio-religious and cultural plurality in such an ethnically rich nation as Indonesia challenges us to identify not only the essential factors responsible for maintaining cultural group identity, but also to show how this occurs within the broader achievement of national unity. The purpose of my study of the Muslim Balinese community in Pegayaman is to clarify issues involved in cultural heterogeneity. In this case the socio-cultural diversity of Indonesia is manifest in Bali more in religious rather than in broader 'ethnic' category. This article generally depicts the way the Muslims of Pegayaman in Northern Bali have maintained a separate socio-religious and cultural identity amidst a majority of Hindu-Balinese. Although their livelihood is heavily surrounded by an environment where the socio religious norms of the majority of population are different to their own, they have succeeded in maintaining their separate cultural identity. This study will pay specific attention to the following areas: 1) the Muslims defense mechanism vis-à-vis external challenges to their collective integrity; and 2) the degree to which the Muslims interact with the Hindu population.

**Key words:** Pegayaman, Balinese Muslims, Hindu Balinese, Identity.

## **Introduction**

The Muslims of Pegayaman in Northern Bali have been successfully maintaining a separate socio-religious and cultural identity, although their livelihood is heavily surrounded by a majority of Hindu-Balinese whose religious norms are starkly different to their own. This study is based on ethnographic research conducted on the field site, in the sense that the ethnographer lived around the people being studied for around a year. By making a direct, participant observation on the local people, I get firsthand information as well as direct observation on people's day to day activities. The result of this research study is it reveals the way the Pegayaman Muslims maintain their basic vital identity and at the same time in the way the cope with external challenges that strengthens further their religious integrity.

Ethno-linguistically the Muslims and the Hindus in Pegayaman village of Sukasada sub-district belong to one group, the Balinese, since both groups speak Balinese even though they are separated by religious beliefs. Pegayaman is the only village in North Bali with more Muslims inhabitants than the Hindus, around 90 % out of its six thousand people here are Muslims. The Hindus in Pegayaman also position themselves in an ambivalent situation – as part of the Hindu-Balinese majority who bring themselves into minority context by living in a predominantly Muslims area. In 2020 they made up around 10% of a total population of 6.000 Pegayamans.

Islamic education is an important element to maintain the religious boundary as a Muslim vis a vis the out group. It includes family, and a range of public institutions, both traditional and formal. Traditional education takes place in the mosque, langgar (small mosque), and pesantren (traditional religious school). The formal type of education covers education given in modern pondok pesantren equipped with madrasah (formal religious school) which provides secular knowledge, besides teaching Islam as the major subject. A wider network of religious schools has facilitated Pegayaman Muslims with a continuing supply of religious teachers whose essential role is not only deepening Islamisation. They also play major role in directing communal resistance to the extension of outer boundary, which they fear may loosening the community's bond to Islam.

### Featuring Pegayaman's Spatiality

Pegayaman is located in the northern part of Bali, where it is administratively subsumed within Sukasada sub-district, Buleleng regency. Muslims living in Pegayaman were counted in 2017 around 6.000. Buleleng is the major regency in the North, covering an area of 125,8666 square kilometers, and divided into 8 sub-districts. The main regency in the South is Badung, which includes the capital of Bali, Denpasar. Kecamatan Sukasada lies about two kilometers to the South of Singaraja, the capital of Buleleng. It consists of 15 villages<sup>1</sup>, one among them is Pegayaman.

Population figures based on religious affiliation in Sukasada subdistrict show clearly that Pegayaman is the only village with more Muslims inhabitants than the Hindus, around 90 % out of its six thousand people here are Muslims. Another village with the second largest Muslim population after Pegayaman is Tegallinggah. However, Muslims in Tegallinggah are in minority compared to those of the Hindus. In fact Pegayaman is the only village in Sukasada in which Muslims outnumber Hindus.

Administratively, Pegayaman village is divided further into 4 hamlets (*banjar* or *dusun*). Banjar Dangin Margi (Dusun Barat Jalan), Banjar Dauh Margi (Dusun Timur Jalan), Banjar or Dusun Kubu, and Amrertasari. The village is led by a village chief, known locally as *Perbekel*, or *Kepala Desa*. Pegayaman Muslims are not the only minority in an ambivalent position. Since there are some Hindu-Balinese who live among them. In this case the Hindus in Pegayaman also position themselves in an ambivalent situation – as part of the Hindu-Balinese majority who bring themselves into minority context by living in a predominantly Muslims area. In 2017 they made up around 10% of a total population of 6.000 Pegayamans. The Hindus are mostly concentrated in Banjar Amertasari and there they exceed Muslims in number. They are allowed to stay under certain conditions set up by Pegayaman Muslims who do not permit them to build cemeteries, temples, and to raise pigs, they must then attend temples in neighbouring villages, mostly in Gitgit. According to one informant, in the past Pegayaman Hindus

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<sup>1</sup> The 15 villages of Sukasada sub-district are Ambengan, Git Git, Kayu Putih, Padang Bulia, Pancasari, Panji Anom, Pegadungan, Pegayaman, Sambangan, Selat, Silangjana, Sukasada, Tegal lingga, Wanagiri

worked as farm labourers for the local Muslims. They then cleared their own land in the uninhabited Amertasari forest. The number of Hindu migrants increased after eruption of Mount Agung in 1963. Some of them came from Karangasem regency and settled in Pegayaman after part of their land was devastated. Ethnically the Muslims and the Hindus belong to one group, the Balinese, even though they are separated by religious beliefs.

The Pegayaman people divide their four banjar into two major sub-villages. These are the *desa* located in the low terrain, including both Banjar Barat and Timur Jalan; and *kebon* which includes *Banjar Kubu* in the middle terrain and Banjar Amertasari higher up. *Desa* is the centre of political administration, religious and cultural activities, while *kebon* is the hinterland, where rice, clove, coffee are grown. The divisions between two major areas is apparent in general conversation. When people want to go uphill in the middle or high terrain, they say *luas ke kebon* (go to field), while if they go downhill or to the mainland they will say *luas ke desa*” (go to the village). Generally people who live in *kebon* go to *desa* for Friday prayer since the mosque is located in Dusun or Banjar Barat Jalan. They also attend weekly *pengajian* (Al Qur’an classes) after Friday prayer in Ulama’s *santren*<sup>2</sup>, visiting their families and friends. Meanwhile people from *desa* go the hinterland for agricultural work.

The geographical division between *desa* and *kebon* is matched by the distinctive residential forms. *Desa* is more densely populated than *kebon*. In *desa* people live in compounds with houses with corrugated iron roofs. Public buildings, such as: concrete mosque, small mosque (*mushola* or *langgar*), schools both private and government, the community health center (*puskesmas-pusat kesehatan masyarakat*), the village administrative office are all located in *desa*. Although the general scenery in low terrain is dominated by corrugated iron roofs of houses, this does not mean that there is no cultivation here. Some people do grow cloves, coconut trees, and vegetables in their front and backyards, although most of them grow their commercial crops on the middle and high terrains.

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<sup>2</sup> Mushola is a place smaller than a mosque for praying and giving religious instruction.

*Kebon* is surrounded more by hilly and steep mountainous cultivated land areas. The hinterland area is more sparsely populated. Houses here are not adjacent to each other, but are built quite apart from each other. People tend to settle on a plot close to their own farmland. *Kebon* people may have to walk quite a distance, passing through large areas of cultivated land, to visit their neighbours

### **Ancestral History and the Formulation of Local Identity**

For the Pegayaman people territory has commemorative values. Its cultural meaning can be as valuable as its natural resources. It is their homeland descended down by their former forebears. It is where the ancestors came from. According to the literature of Babad Buleleng, King Panji Sakti reigned Buleleng in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In 1619 his central domain was moved from Panji to Sukasada. From here Panji Sakti began to expand his realm by conquering other local rulers within Buleleng. When he had gained control over most of Buleleng, he wanted to conquest Blambangan, which at that time was a vassal state of Solo in Central Java. In 1639 King Panji Sakti's army attacked Blambangan and successfully defeated this kingdom in a furious battle. Panji Sakti's victory had prompted the ruler of Solo, Senopati Ing Alogo Sayidin Natagama to make a peace agreement. The latter awarded King panji Sakti an elephant and three Javanese men. Of the three, two dwelt in a *patani*<sup>3</sup>, and their settlement later on was named *Patani Jawa*. The other settled in Lingga closed to the beach of Toya Mala. Lingga derives from that of the place where the man came from, Purbalingga. Lingga was finally called Tegallingga – one of the villages, administratively controlled under the Sukasada sub-district, whose residents believe that their ancestors of origin came from Java.

The expansion of Panji sakti to Blambangan resulted in the growth of Javanese settlement within the Buleleng regency. The Patani Jawa is now called *Banjar Jawa* or

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<sup>3</sup> Patani is a synonym of *banjar* (a sub-village or hamlet) settlement units. *Patani Jawa* or *Banjar Jawa* now is a sub-district town of Buleleng. As a regency (*daerah Kabupaten*), Buleleng coordinates sub-district areas (*kecamatan*). Each sub-district is divided further into villages, and each village constitutes several sub-villages.

the settlement of Javanese people. Meanwhile, the place where the elephant was released to bathe (*aguyang-guyang*) was called *Banjar Peguyangan*, and the stable built for the elephant was called *Patani Petak* or *Banjar Petak* (Worseley 1972: 161). All of these settlements thus bear an association with historical record and the ancestral origin.

According to Babad Buleleng, when population of Banjar Jawa increased sharply, King Panji Sakti removed some of them to the forest of Pegayaman where the present generation of Pegayaman now lives.

Unlike Babad Buleleng, another historical resources, *Sejarah Kerajaan Buleleng*, explains that the expansion of King Panji sakti to Blambangan was preceded by a clash between the King of Mataram, Sultan Agung and his brother, Pangeran Mas, which had caused the latter to flee to Pasuruan to ask help from its rulers, Surapati, to attack the first mentioned one. Surapati realized that his military force was not as big and strong to fight against Pangeran Mas' military troop. As a consequence, he suggested Pangeran Mas to seek military support from Panji Sakti who was willing to help by sending his army led by his son, Prince Panji Danudestra, to attack Mataram. In that furious battle, the Prince got killed, which later made King panji Sakti to take revenge and led the second attack, bringing bigger army personnel. In the middle of fierce battle, the ruler of Mataram, finally ask for a ceased fire. Finally, a peace agreement ensued with the following conditions:

1. Surapati would remain as ruler of Pausuran
2. Pangeran Mas was to become the King of Kediri in East Java
3. The King of Buleleng would be given an honourable entitlement as Anggluran Pandji Sakti and presented with an elephant with two keepers, and 800 Muslim men from Blambangan as his followers as compensation for the war damage (*pampasan perang*) (see Panji Tisna 1956: 2)

King panji Sakti placed the eight hundred Muslims in Pegayaman which borders with Mengwi domain<sup>4</sup>. In this case, as both texts mention, Pegayaman Muslims were used as

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<sup>4</sup> Mengwi is now called Tabanan-a regency of Bali provincial government.

a buffer against the Mengwi, the South Balinese kingdom. The Mengwi assaulted Buleleng in the eighteenth century and the people of Pegayaman fought against them. The historical record both admitted that those Muslims were the forefathers of the *tindih* (king warriors) in the mountains.

If the written historical texts record and preserve the historical facts on papyrus or palm leaves (*lontar*), oral history depends completely on the memories of the older generation especially the senior ulama. Moreover local narratives are considerably adjusted to local context and needs. Individual interpretation thus plays a major role here. It produces different narratives and perspective from those found in written texts. My main concern is not with finding which of these versions is right, but with how the Pegayaman Muslims people understand and perceive their own history, and how this affects their own ideas about identity. It seems that the most important thing for them is not the historical truth, but heroic image they derive from the ancestral legend. These positive self images are important for the ways they boost and enhance the courage of villagers living in a minority situation, and to cope with their feelings of cultural alienation.

Differences in representing historical narratives in oral and written texts, concerning the arrival of the ancestral origin and land possession of Pegayaman obviously illustrates well Vicker's thought:

In oral tradition it is usual to have a variety of legends regarding a community's origins. Heterogeneity and lack of congruence means that different stories can be used to different context (Vickers 1987: 39).

In general both the written and oral tales recognize that Pegayaman Muslims identify their ancestral of origin are Javanese from Blambangan. The main difference among those accounts is that each of them creates different local heroes as the focus or central theme of the story. If the literature of Babad Buleleng and sejarah Kerajaan Buleleng describes the heroism of King Panji Sakti as the founder of Buleleng, the epic of oral tales are the ancstors. Ini this situation, villagers not only learn about the lives of their forebears, but are also influenced in the way they see themselves in the present.

An oral history recounted to me by an ulama began from the battle between King Panji Sakti and the Mengwi. When the Mengwi attacked, trying to conquer Buleleng, King

Panji Sakti sought military support from Blambangan ruler of East Java, with whom he had previously established good relationship. As a result hundreds of Blambangan warriors with elephants were sent to Buleleng to drive away Mengwi's warriors. The battle spread to Pancasari region, on the border with the kingdom of South Bali<sup>5</sup>. With this military assistance, Panji sakti regained control over his kingdom. He then awarded the border covering the area from Pegayaman to Pancasari to the Blambangan warriors. The latter chose to settle in Pegayaman for it is hemmed by two large rivers i.e: Tukad Silangjana and Tukad Lebah which fertilize the soil.

A myth of descent provides a shared account of the origins of a community, recording the exploits of the community's ancestors and its history of development. Through narratives such as folklore and myths, the perceived shared descent of a group is reinforced, and a sense of identity between its members is established. A common myth of descent thus gives the group a sense of belonging to a single lineage or clan.

The teaching of local history in the family by parents to their children, and in pengajian by an ulama to his pupils, not only strengthens the sense of ancestral lineage. It also stresses the heroism of the ancestors and their dedication to the Islamisation of Bali. Ancestral myths enable the people to develop a more sophisticated view of how tales of the past and of the creation of things may serve as justification of the present state of affairs, making this seem eternal and sacred" (Smith 1986: 205).

### **The Fluidity of Pegayaman's Identity**

A community is recognized and identified by variety of distinctive cultural attributes, such as religion, language, territory, ethnicity, nationality, and race. Given this assumption, it is thus quite reasonable to suggest that communities usually have multiple rather than single-based identities. In this regard the complexity and multiplicity of Pegayaman's identity can be defined, among other things by its contextual settings. On the basis of religious and territorial boundaries, they identify

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<sup>5</sup>Pancasari was formerly called *Lalang Linggah* since this area constitutes a wide (*linggah*) land covered by tall grass (*lalang* or *ilalang*). It was also named *Benyah* as there was an old well flowing in this area turning it into a muddy place. Another version interprets *benyah* as meaning a disastrous area since there was a big flood.



themselves as part of Muslim Balinese. The way the Pegayaman people recognize themselves as Muslim Balinese is obvious from the vernacular they use in daily conversation. They all speak Balinese, and use Balinese birth order names i.e *Wayan, Nyoman, Nengah, and Ketut*. However when this identity is exposed to larger external boundaries they find themselves in a dual position i.e at regional level (within the administrative and territorial boundaries of Bali province) they are considered to be minority Muslim Balinese vis a vis the majority of Hindu Balinese. Whereas at the national (state boundary) level they are part of the majority of the Indonesian Muslims. All are depending on whether the emphasis is placed at regional or nation-state level, this religious community is beleaguered minority or a part of the majority Indonesian Muslims. They are part of the most populous national grouping of Muslims in the world, yet in their region they are a minority, and sense themselves to be on the defensive because of their religious affiliation. This resonates well with Horowitz (1975: 118): “ascriptive identity is heavily contextual. It embraces multiple levels or tiers and it changes with the environment.”

Smith (1986) argues that a group identity can be recognized by its collective name. A group’s collective name is an emblem which distinguishes a community group from all others. It may have a symbolic meaning for both the group members and non-members alike. The name is generally given according to a typical characteristic of the ethnic group members and non-members alike. And it represents its distinctiveness from the other group. For example, in Bali, places may be named after the ethnicity or religious identification of the group. Thus we observe the peoples of ‘*Banjar Jawa*’ and ‘*Kampung Bugis*’, as well as the less spatially distinct ‘Hindu Balinese’, the ‘Muslim Javanese’, and the ‘Muslim Balinese’. A collective name may evoke the idea of magic and power, as well as connoting a sacred quality. This explains why Bali is referred to *Pulau Dewata* (island of the Gods), *Pulau Seribu Pura* (island of a thousand holy temples); and Lombok as *Pulau Seribu Masjid* (island of a thousand mosques) to

represent the majority of faith of the native inhabitants, as well as *Pulau Mutiara* (island of pearls)<sup>6</sup>

The Hindu Balinese call Pegayaman people, like other Muslims in Bali i.e the Bugis, the Javanese, the Sundanese, *Nyama Selam*. *Nyama* means relative, *Selam* means Islam. Meanwhile the Pegayaman Muslims name their Hindus' counterpart '*Nyama Bali*'. Bali here refers to multiplied identification i.e religion (Hinduism), ethnic attribute (the Balinese), geography (Bali island), and regional government (Bali province),

The inter-mixed identifications drawn from religion and ethnicity, is apparent from the way the Hindu-Balinese identify their belief as *agama Bali*. A person who was born as Balinese is automatically becomes Hindu. And so the term '*masuk Bali*' is aimed at persons who convert to Hinduism. A name thus produces an image of a distinctive characteristic associated with a particular community in the minds and imagination of the members and outsiders.

The Hindu-Balinese identify the Pegayaman people and other Muslims (the Bugis and the Javanese) as migrants. The former does not view the latter as 'Balinese' origin (*orang Bali asli/tulen*) though they have been living in Bali for centuries, speak Balinese, and some of them have inter-married to some extent with the local Balinese women. They are only accepted as fully Balinese when they convert to Hinduism. For them to be a Balinese is inherently to be a Hindu. In this case, therefore, religion is activated not only as an overarching attribute of identity, but is also treated as an enclosing or exclusive boundary towards the out group. The identification of Muslims, as *Nak Selam* or *Nyama Selam* (in a more refined language) is conceived by the Hindu-Balinese to be an appropriate term to distinguish the other group.

The Pegayaman Muslims for their part, identify themselves as the Balinese who are Muslims (*Nak Bali Selam*), besides being *Nyama Selam*. The religious attribute of being '*Selam*' (Muslim), is here placed after the ethnic one, 'Balinese' to prevent them from

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<sup>6</sup>Lombok is wellknown for sea water pearls (*mutiara air laut*). It is called sea water pearls since the pearls are taken from seashells farmed in the depth of sea water. Sekotong and Gili loacted in the West Lombok region are among the main locations of sea water pearls farmings. Sekarbile – one of a subdistrict town located in West Lombok - is the central bussiness of all sorts of jewelries made out of combination of pearls and gold, pearls and silver.

being mistakenly understood as the Hindus. Their identity as Balinese is marked by the fact that their ancestors came to Pegayaman in the 17th century, they speak Balinese, and that some of the Pegayaman Muslim men married Balinese women after being converted to Muslims.

That Islam is the ultimate, most determinant identity was explained by an informant when asked to compare the status of his Javanese Muslim ancestors i.e. *wong Blambangan* with his own version identity as a Balinese Muslim:

To be a true committed Muslims is more important than belonging to an ethnic group, whether someone is a Balinese, a Javanese, a Madurese, or Bugis, as long as he or she is a Muslim, we are all tied up as brothers or sisters in common faith (*saudara seiman*).

Here he stresses that ethnic ties are limited by regionalism, whereas religion, Islam, with its valuation of brotherhood (*persaudaraan sesama umat*) can bind its followers beyond geographical and political (nation-state) boundaries. Clearly, universal Islam seems to be the supreme tie, one which overrides ethnicity, regionality, nationality, and other primordial ties. At the same time, we should not lose sight of the fact that, within the unifying claims of Islam, there are other complex and various elements which contribute to individual and group identities in Pegayaman.

Horowitz (1975) argued that the multiplicity of ascriptive identities may have variabilities in traits and may work in different circumstances and at different levels. The multiplicity of Pegayaman Muslims identities are centred upon the ties of Islamic brotherhood. They think of themselves simultaneously as members of world Muslim community, as Indonesian Muslims, and as Balinese Muslims of Pegayaman. Moreover, by measuring the degree of religiousity by conformity to the syariah, especially the most observable one i.e the daily five prayers, they tend to distinguish themselves as true committed Muslims from 'nominal Muslims' in other parts of Indonesia (see Geertz: 1960). Yet, as adherents of the four Islamic schools (*madzab*), they also identify themselves as followers of *ahlusunah wal jama'ah*, and contrast themselves with the followers of Muhammadiyah who does not recognize the four school of Islamic jurisprudence.

### **Cultural Attributes and Identity Markers**

The people of Pegayaman feel that that they have been successful in maintaining themselves as Muslims over centuries, even though they are only a small group facing the possibility of massive influences from the larger Hindu-Balinese society. This view is represented by those describing themselves as being fortunate, accepting enlightenment from God (*menerima hidayah*), allowing them to remain true Muslims. Considering their religious resiliency, an ulama of Pegayaman said: “Pegayaman Muslims are like pearls in the sea, remain white and shimmering (*layaknya mutiara yang tetap putih-bersih, bercahaya di tengah samudra luas*). Another ulama symbolized his community’s persistence as being like fish living in the deep of the sea, never getting salty (*seperti ikan yang hidup di laut, tidak pernah menjadi asin karenanya*). Resilience and persistency become part of the embedded identity of Pegayaman Muslims, built along with living coexistingly with different believers surrounding their environment.

Living in a situation which spiritually does not encourage religious life and even challenges them with the possibility of massive influence from the larger Balinese, the Pegayaman Muslim feel that God has protected them, by allowing them to remain as persistent Muslims (*istiqomah*) under difficult circumstances.

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that identity is given definition by religious elite (ulama) rather than being ascribed in a broader, amorphous tradition. In this case, the role of ulama as legitimators and as the source of knowledgeable interpretation of religious values is crucial. In a community where religion becomes the over-arching and dominant basis of identity, the ulama do not only take a leading role in ritual activities, but also define and control the implementation of religious laws, therefore acting to regular behaviour more directly. In Pegayaman, Islamic identity is stressed so forcefully that it threatens to overwhelm other dimensions of identity.

### **Dress Code**

The Pegayaman villagers often express their distinctiveness by highlighting the differences between their own cultural attributes and those of the Hindu-Balinese. Some of my informants were explicit about the importance of dress. For example, a son of a prominent ulama refers to certain teachings which suggest that Muslim should

differentiate themselves from the non-Muslims (*membedakan kaum*), by pointing out to the Pegayaman's dress codes. According to him the dressing style of Pegayaman serves both to mark their religious identity as Muslims and to conceal *aurat* (private parts of the body which for a Muslim woman is from the hair down to the knees except the face and palm, and for a Muslim man, it is from the navel to the knees). The dress style of Muslim women clearly distinguishes them from the Hindu-Balinese who never wear head-cover (*kerudung, jilbab*). Muslim men wear the *songkok* (Muslim cap) and *sarong* (long strip of cotton worn as a skirt tucked on the waist) to differentiate them from the Hindu Balinese men who commonly wear *udeng* (Balinese cap) and *kamen* (a piece of batik cloth worn round the middle of the body). Though the *songkok* (*kopiah* in bahasa) has in Indonesia also assumed a wider significance as a badge of national identity which means that the non-Muslims can wear it, the Pegayaman can keep on stressing its religious function, which is to mark the identity of Muslim.

### **Greetings**

Another religious symbol which highlights the Muslims' cultural distinctiveness is the greeting habit. A call of *assalamu'alaikum* (peace may be upon you) to which the response is *wa'alaikummussalam* (peace may be upon you too), followed by shaking hands and uttering the *salawat nabi* (requesting God's blessing for prophet Muhammad) are common greetings when one meets friends and relatives. Kissing hands is more common when one meet elders and religious leaders. According to an informant, these greetings not only mark hospitality, mutual relationship, but also a prayer of well being to other Muslims. As he said: as brothers and sisters in common faith (*saudara seiman*), it is recommended that we pray for one another

### **Individual names**

Besides distinct religious ideological contrast and religious practices, there is also similarity, to some extent, between the Hindus and the Muslims Balinese, in regard to certain cultural attribute, such as birth order names. Similarly to Hindu-Balinese, the Pegayaman also recognizes giving birth order names: 'Wayan', 'Nyoman', 'Nengah', and 'Ketut' for the first, the second, the third, and the fourth child. If the Pegayaman

have more than 4 children, the fifth, sixth, and so on will continue to be called 'Ketut'. Since the people there generally have big families, there are more persons who are called 'Ketut' than any other birth order names. In this case the way of giving birth order names follows linear order. This contrasts with the more widespread Hindu-Balinese practice of following cyclical order of names i.e. after the fourth child they tend to repeat the sequence. This recurring cycle is another cultural attribute marking off Pegayaman villagers from their neighbours.

In the use of birth order names, Pegayaman Muslims have another distinctive practice in not recognizing 'Putu' and 'Made' as variations of 'Wayan' and 'Nengah', as most Balinese do.

The birth order name is meant to identify children easily from the eldest to the youngest. However, the Pegayaman Muslims consider the surname to be more important than and thus encompasses the first name. This is because it contains religious meaning. Thus if the first refers to the identity as ethnic Balinese, the second name marks their identity as Muslim.

The second name or surname is derived from various sources such as important figures in Islami teaching, among others are the names of God's angels and prophets. Other favoured names are chosen from among important figures surrounding the prophet Muhammad, such as his wives, father, mothers, uncles, his four companions, and *tabi'in tabi'at* or his followers after the period of sahabah (best companions).

Muhammad is the most common name for Muslim men in Pegayaman, since he is the core of Islamic emergence. Some of them use combined names of the prophets, such as: Muhammad Ibrahim, Muhammad Nuh, Muhammad Yusuf, Muhammad Sulaiman; or a combined prophet and angel names, such as Muhammd Ridwan, Muhammad Malik. Ridwan is the prophet who guards the door to heaven while Malik gurads the door to hell.

Siti is the most common name given to Pegayaman Muslim women, and is combined with the prophet's wives names: Siti Khadijah and Siti Aisyah; or his mothers (by blood and breast –feeding): Siti Aminah and Siti Halimah. Combined names are also often

taken from Quranic verses, or other Arabic words out of the Qur'an which have favourable meaning, examples are Saleh Yusuf is a prophet's name. By giving this name, parents expect to be as pious as the prophet Yusuf, a smart looking and a wise man.

This procedure of giving composite names marking ethnic and religious identities is also evident in the names of ulama, such as: Guru Nyoman Ali Akbar (Nyoman is the second child, while Ali Akbar are two of the prophet's four best companions). Guru Wayan Jamil (Wayan is the first son, while Jamil means kindness), Guru Wayan Jibrail – the angel passing on revelation to prophet Muhammad.

The use of Islamic names is suggested by the teaching that parents should give good and meaningful names to their children. Since parents consider that the ulama knows Arabic and understand Islamic better than the ordinary people, some of them go to the ulama to seek advice on choosing appropriate and favourable names for their children. This tradition is called *nunas barokah adan*. The title of 'guru' or ulama, used for religious leaders is an acknowledgement of their knowledge, piety, and religious eminence

Some people ask the ulama to give their child a name at the time of the birth ceremony. In this case, they expect the *barokah* (blessing) out of the name given by respectful ulama. The *barokah* is sought to influence the person towards rightful goals and behavior. Certain religious names are also thought to have consequences for their bearers. The community expects them to behave consistently with the values embodied. The Pegayaman Muslims see religious names as significant cultural markers differentiating them further from the Hindu Balinese.

### **Dietary Taboo and the Extension of Religious Restriction**

Religious laws and practices governing diet – the prohibition of alcohol and certain meats – as well as methods of food preparation and slaughter of animals for consumption also set Pegayaman Muslims apart from outside groups. The strength of these religiously based dietary restrictions can be seen in Pegayaman's daily life. The Hindu-Balinese who live there are forbidden from raising pigs. Furthermore, they are not

allowed to cook pork dishes, or bring pig meat into the village. One of my informants told me what happened when the taboo was violated:

When a Hindu-Balinese wanted to take a short cut to her village by passing through Pegayaman, she was forced to retreat from Pegayaman because some youths threw stones at her. The cause of their anger was the pig she was bringing from the Pabean market along with her journey to the village at that time.

Dietary taboos also make the Pegayaman Muslims very cautious about accepting invitations to eat from Hindu Balinese friends and neighbours. Petty traders who have to travel from one village to another and have to eat outside Pegayaman are very careful in choosing from the menu. Commonly they prefer coffee stalls owned by Muslims, since they feel that they can have *halal* (lawful) meat which moreover, if they eat in Hindu-Balinese cafe they cannot be sure that the plates and cutlery have not been mixed with implements used for cooking and eating pork.

The values of the majority impinge various ways on religious community. This is not only experienced by the Muslims living within the larger Hindu-Balinese society, but also by a small number of Hindu Balinese living amidst the Islamic community in Pegayaman. They have very limited religious freedom for conducting their religious practices within this Muslim vicinity. Their adjustment within the Islamic boundary is not only limited by the taboo on buying pigs from the other Hindu village or market and raising them in Pegayaman geographical boundary. There are other significant religious restrictions, notably prohibitions on building temples, maintaining graveyards within Pegayaman vicinity. Consequently, every time they want to worship, to celebrate important religious events, and to hold individual rituals, to make religious congregation, they have to leave the village to go to Gigtgit—one of the villages which is nearest to Pegayaman. In summary, the Hindu Balinese are tolerated in Pegayaman as long as they abide by the rules—by not observing their religious practices and ceremonies within the village boundaries. Thus, the religious boundary constrains not only the internal religious community, but also members of the outer, majority religion as well. The inner boundary thus activates cultural markers in relation both to its own and external members who fall under their influence because they live among the Muslims.



The above discussion clarifies the contrasting religious features of a group which does not merely exhibit cultural differences, but also contributes to the maintenance of such differences in interaction with others. This atmosphere represents well Barth's argument:

Entailed in ethnic boundary maintenance are situations of social contact between persons of different cultures: ethnic group only persist as significant units if they imply marked differences in behavior i.e. persisting cultural differences (1969: 15).

### **Performing Arts**

The contrasting values of the Hindus and Muslims are exhibited in some of their artistic works. The Pegayaman villagers demonstrate their religious identity by creating their own works of art which is very much different from the ones constructed by the Hindu-Balinese. The Pegayaman's ulama prohibit their people from performing and watching some Balinese art works principally because they are considered to be incompatible with Islam. This is because such performance displays female figure as an object of eroticism. For example, the dancing style of Balinese women that reveals private parts of the body (*aurat*) and mixed sexes (female and male) dancing are religiously unacceptable. This prohibition also applies to Balinese traditions of *mejangeran* where the dancing girls (*janger*) are encircled by spectators, mostly men who drink palm wine (*metuakan*) while watching. Some men even freely join in the dance with the girls. Exposing *aurat* for art performance in public is prohibited in Islam. Watching a dancing girl who does not conceal her *aurat* properly is prohibited, since this may arise the male spectators' sexual desire.

The ulama prohibit the Pegayaman Muslims to watch leather puppet performances of the neighbouring Hindu-Balinese village. Since this display is viewed to be part of the Hindu Balinese ritual activities. The Hindu Balinese usually hold the leather puppet performance for celebratory individual rites of passage such as marriage, and post-death ceremony.

The fact that the Pegayaman people conceive of some of the Hindu-Balinese art forms incompatible with Islamic teaching creates an important incentive for them to create their own works of art. The principle motivation for their artistic creation, however, is

the celebration of Islamic values, rather than the need to contrast Muslim styles with those of the Hindu-Balinese. The local term for this kind of expression of art work is *kesenian untuk dakwah* (religious art exhibited to convey the message of Islam). The *barzanzi*, *manakib*, *hizib*, *Yasinan* are among the recitation associations (*sekeha*), called *sekeha wirid*, *wiridan*. They function to emphasize the fact that the Muslims have their own art associations and perform as a routine purveyors of counter cultural values. These recitation groups which meet in the evenings are not leisure activities of their members, but spiritual practices, since the formulae used for the chanting are taken from certain verses of the Qur'an. For example, *Yasinan* group reading the the Suroh Yasiin (36<sup>th</sup> chapter of the Qur'an).

Surudin, an ex-santri (pupil) of Pondok Pesantren Nahdlatul Wathon in Pancor, East Lombok brought *hizib* to Pegayaman in the early 1960s. Tuan Guru Haji Zainuddin Abdul Majid a founder of this Pesantren collected *hizib* (literally means prayers) from the Qur'an and Hadith and published them in Arabic in 1912. It contains *doa penolak balak* (prayers to reject calamities and misfortune such as disease, accidents, and other disasters).

Zakaria (son of an ulama, Ustadz Anshori) brought *manakib* (collection of prayers) on Pegayaman in 1984 after he finished studying at Pondok Pesantren Darussalam Blok Agung, Kaligesing, Karangmulyo, Tegalsari, Kabupaten Banyuwangi of East Java. According to him, Syech Abdul Kadir Zaelani composed the *manakib* book which contains prayers for rejecting disaster and calamities, asking for well being, prosperity, a happy long life, and avoiding bad deeds. This group recognizes the concept of *tawasul*, meaning asking God's blessing through the mediumship of awarded prayer to the prophet Muhammad and Syech Abdulkadir Zaelani. By using intermediaries the members think that their prayer will be accepted more quickly. In this collective recitation, the surah Alfatikah, first chapter of the Qur'an, always precedes the recitation of *hizib* and *manakib*. Leader of this recitation group will read the autobiography of Syech Abdul Kadir Zaelani before dedicating the recitation to prophet Muhammad and the latter.

### Extended Outer Boundary

To some extent the Pegayaman Muslims also face the extension of Hindu Balinese cultural practices passes to their own boundary. This happens when the Hindu-Balinese celebrate Nyepi (the silent day): they impose religious restrictions intended especially for the Hindus and the non-Hindus alike. There are four main limitations observed during Nyepi, called the *catur brata*: *amati geni* (no light), *amati karya* (no work), *amati lelungan* (no travelling), *amati lelangunan* (no noise). The Balinese regional government obliges its people—Hindus and non-Hindus alike—living within the territory of Bali to abide by these religious rules. And the Pegayaman Muslims respect these prohibitions by living without lights, nor to go out of the village, or to hold public congregations. The totally silent day was observed for twenty four hours, starting from 6 a.m until 6 a.m the following day. One day before the celebration, the village headman brought a letter of notifications from the *camat* (sub-district head) of Sukasada to the Guru Imam who then passed it on to the other ulama. This letter requested Muslims not to use the amplifier for a call to prayer (*adzan*). They were also required not to leave the village except for emergencies, such as sickness required hospitalisation when the person would need a letter of permission from the village head to leave the village. Under local customary law (*hukum adat*), the Hindu-Balinese government is permitted to impose a fine on those offending against these restrictions.

On the day it took place, the Pegayaman conducted *adzan* without an amplifier or the striking the *bedug masjid* (mosque drum) to announce prayer times in order to show their tolerance of the surrounding Hindu-Balinese villagers who observed Nyepi. In fact people did not mind making a call for prayer, praying, and hearing sermon without amplifier, as well as doing without light, since they were used to it in previous years. However, some of them did crumble when a villager died during the time when the electricity was cut off. As all shops are closed during Nyepi, villagers found it difficult to buy certain equipment for burial, like white cotton and camphor. They complained that they had to get a letter of permission from the *klian banjar* before leaving the village to tell the family of the deceased who live in another village. This process took

time, while Islamic teaching obliges relatives to bury the corpse as quickly as possible. There was also no public transport during *Nyepi*.

The prohibition during *Nyepi* includes taking off scarves and *songkok* they wear by the time they pass through a Hindu Balinese village when *Nyepi* is commemorated. For Muslim men this restriction is tolerable. However, for the women since head and hair are parts of the *aurat*, putting of the head scarf would be religiously judged as offending the *syari'ah*, This gives the reason for Pegayaman women not to travel outside their village when the Hindus observe *Nyepi*.

Comparing *Nyepi* with the situation of Ramadhan, when Muslims were obliged to conduct fasting, few villagers said that they could tolerate when no shops and markets open during *Nyepi* day though they may urgently need something to buy. But, it was not the case when the Muslims fast during *74* (fasting month). The Hindus keep their restaurants, cafes, food shops and stalls open. According to them, the Hindu-Balinese should show the same tolerance of Muslims who are fasting by closing their cafes and restaurants during the day. In this situation, the Pegayaman feel that religious tolerance is demanded of them than of Hindus.

The feeling that the Pegayaman Muslims have to perform greater tolerance than those of the Hindu-Balinese was when *Nyepi* fell exactly on the night when Muslims hold *malam takbiran* – the night before they celebrated end of fasting month (*Iedul Fitri*). *Takbir* is glorifying Allah's name by uttering *Allahu Akbar*. At night prior to *Ied*, Muslims in Bali especially those living in urban areas held *takbir* around the city by driving a mini truck carrying dozens of men. They used the loud speaker to echo the *takbir*, while passing throughout the city's main streets, while those living in rural areas such as Pegayaman, Sukasada Sub-District, Buleleng, men held torches while walking around the village and uttering *takbir*. In 1991, however, *takbir* was banned since it coincided with *Nyepi*. On the eve of *Ied Al-Fitr (malam lebaran)*, Muslims were not free to hold *takbir* at public places, since it would break the rules of *Nyepi*

Another case showing the extension of Hindu's religious boundary to Pegayaman's Muslims was when the local government build the village gate and public taps with the

shape of *candi bentar*. *Candi bentar* is an architectural style associated with Hindu Balinese temple. The front gate of Balinese temple usually applies a certain model of architectural design, called *candi bentar*. The Muslims of Pegayaman conceived the architectural model of *candi bentar* for the village front gate, separating its physical boundary from other Balinese village gates and the public taps decorated with ornamental Hindu-Balinese carving, portraying and representing more to the Hindu-Balinese identity instead of the Muslim cultural tradition. Moreover, symbolic carvings like phallic emblems were said to be disrupting people's concentration while they performed ablution at the public taps before conducting prayer. Not long after their construction, the perpetrators cut the *candi bentar* into half, and typical Balinese ornaments decorating the public taps were destroyed.

Horowitz noted that the persistence of ethnic identity relies on external stimuli. The religious boundary further drives the inherent values and differences between the Pegayaman Muslims and the majority of Hindu-Balinese. One way of maintaining this cultural distinctiveness is by constructing value boundaries which exclude non-members consistently through a range of cultural criteria and practices. Their persistence is ensured not only through interaction among its members, but also through their external relationship with the non-members alike. These are apparent when Pegayaman Muslims impose certain religious limitations, not only on their own members, but also on the Hindu-Balinese living within the boundary of their village. In turn, the large Hindu-Balinese society has also imposed certain restrictions on Pegayaman, extended beyond their own cultural-religious community. This leads to the argument that the persistence of a group requires the extension of its value boundary beyond its own membership, and to some extent demands the tolerance upon others, paradoxically, by allowing a degree of interpenetration of the separate belief systems. This case shows how the Muslims extend tolerance when the Balinese celebrate the silent day (Nyepi), and, vice versa, when the Islamic calendrical rituals are celebrated nationally. This leads to a conclusion that confronted with external stimulation, a group may show both its militant persistence and tolerance in different contextual settings.

### **Educational Institutions and the Maintenance of Identity**

Long term persistence of Pegayaman Muslims as a discrete community suggests that their situation and capacity to maintain their distinctive identity and boundary is worth learning. This fact raises queries about social mechanism enabling the Pegayaman people to resist Hinduism at the outer boundary and their determination to conserve their own identity.

There is a basic organizational structure that works for the maintenance of the community's fundamental identity. Islamic education is one of important elements to maintain the religious boundary as a Muslim group. Islamic institution playing a dominant role as a medium of socialization here includes family, and a range of public institutions, both traditional and formal. By traditional institutions I refer especially to Islamic teaching which takes place in the mosque, langgar, and pesantren (traditional religious school). By formal institutions I mean Islamic education given in modern pondok pesantren equipped with madrasah (formal religious school). These modern educational institutions provide fairly comprehensive secular knowledge, besides teaching Islam as the major subject.

### **Family Circle**

The family is the starting point of Islamic education. This is where a Muslim is first exposed to basic religious values. The role of family lies on parents as the agents of socialization. And Islamic education begins at birth. A preliminary form of education is a father's whisper a call to prayer in both of the baby's ears. Its main purpose is to give the baby a sense of Allah, the Greatest Creator (Al Kholiq) enabling human beings to be present in this worldly life. As the *syahadah* is embedded in the *adzan*, it marks faithful recognition of the oneness of Allah.

The purpose of giving Islamic instruction in early childhood is to influence children's attitudes to choose Islam as their basic way of life. Children are first taught to pray when they are about three years old, though at that age they are not yet able to read the verses of prayer fluently. Parents endeavour in teaching them the proper action while praying. Children learn this when the family members hold the prayer together, led by

the father as prayer leader (*imam sholat*), while his wife and children as well as other family members become the *makmum* – those who follow the *imam*.

The verses used in congregational prayer within the family are taught at the same time as the teachings of the Qur'an. After *salat*, the father commence teaching their children. At this age, they learn to read the *Juz Amma*<sup>7</sup> containing short chapters of the Qur'an. The learning process of reading the Qur'an is called *ngaji*.

The task of passing on Islamic instruction from family to *udztadz* i.e junior religious teachers (*guru muda*) ot senior one (*ulama* often called *guru lingsir*) is when children have reached the age of 5. This is an informal class where children learn at the *ustadz* house after *subuh* and *maghrib* prayer time. *Uztadz* are more knowledgeable than parents to whom children learn various branches of Islamic knowledge, such as: *ilmu tajwid* (knowledge of reciting the Qur'an), *tauhid* (Islamic monotheism), *ahlak* (Islamic ethics), *fiqih* (Islamic jurisprudence).

Parents place a great trust in religious teachers especially the elderly one *ulama*, not only because of their knowledge but also for their virtue (*barokah ilmu*). They believe that since the knowledge of *ulama* has been blessed by God, they will bring virtue to others. This belief is associated with the assumption that *ulama* are different from ordinary people. They are more pious and full of charisma. They are, hence, thought to have a closer relationship to God than the ordinary people. These religious dignitaries become a channel of God's grace (*penyalur barokah*) (Dhofier 1982: 70-71).

For children, achieving fluency in reading the Qur'an is the main objective. And this is more demanding than learning to understand the meaning. The tradition of *namatang Qur'an* or *Qataman*, illustrates the importance placed on the ability to read the Qur'an. The performance of this ceremony marks that a child has finished reading the whole Qur'an.

Islamic education outside the family is called *pengajian*, and takes place for the most part in the *santreng* or *langgar* , mosque, and individual household of the *ustadz*. *Pengajian* is a daily feature of *Pegayaman's* life, and is conducted every day mostly

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<sup>7</sup>It starts from the chapter of *An Naba'* to *An Naas*.

after the prayer times of *Subuh*, *Maghrib*, and *Isya*. Such was the frequency of pengajian in Pegayaman that when Habib Adnan (leader of Indonesian Ulama Council for Bali Province) visited the village, he described it as a *desa santri*. Here the term *santri* refers not exclusively to religious pupils alone but to all members of the pious Muslim community. The fact that 87% of villagers are Muslims and that Pegayaman contains a large number of religious institutions, highlighting its identification as *desa santri*. While these institutions perform many functions, I shall only highlight their educational function here.

Pengajian held by senior ulama are intended more by the adults although they also set up different times to teach children. For the adults, the *guru lingsir* emphasises the interpretation and explanation (*tafsir*) of the holy book and the hadith (prophet tradition). They do not learn the *tajwid* or Arabic grammar any longer, and therefore, have to take advanced teaching of the Quran i.e studying the *tafsir* in pengajian.

Islamic education has produced a strong spiritual bond between pupils and the teachers. The religious bond manifests in the giving of alms, *wakaf* (land given for public interests: building roads, r schools, *madrasah*, mosque, and *mushola*) and labour services for the Pegayaman's ulama as expression of paying indebtedness.

### **Religious Education Outside Village**

Pegayaman provides mostly informal Islamic education (pengajian), formal schooling is limited to primary and secondary schools i.e *madrasah ibtidaiyah* and *madrasah tsanawiyah*. Compared to that of Java and Lombok, there seems to be not so many advanced religious institutions available in Bali. Leaving the village in search of advanced religious knowledge is important for the above reason. And Pesantren in Java and in Lombok fulfill the need for advanced learning in Islam. Besides this, going to Pesantren is a way of preserving the educational tradition of the Pegayaman's ulama and a means of acquiring higher socio-educational status. The graduates of modern Pesantren who have both a secular and a religious background rendered a higher prestige than the graduates of secular schools.



Pegayaman justify this external mobility for advanced education as conforming to the hadith: “seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave”, meaning that there is no limitation of age for anybody to take education. “Seek knowledge as far away as China”. This is because the prophet Muhammad refers to China since at that time China up to now is very highly developed.

Commonly the youths of Pegayaman go to pondok pesantren<sup>8</sup>, after they finish their secular or religious schooling (madrasah) at primary or secondary level. They do not have any difficulties when they move to pondok pesantren for they have a preliminary background in pengajian, especially pupils graduated from Madrasah. Some of the Pondok Pesantren where many of them enroll are Pondok Pesantren Darussalam Blok Agung in Banyuwangi, Pondok Gontor in Ponorogo, and Tebu Ireng in Jombang of East Java. Some other go to Madura and Lombok. Some popular Pesantren where the Pegayaman youths take their higher Islamic learning are in Pondok Pesantren Nurul Hakim in Kediri of West Lombok, and Nahdlatul Wathon in Pancor of East Lombok.

In recent times the tradition of wandering to several Pondok Pesantren has ceased. In this regard, Dhofier stated that

The introduction of the madrasah system by Pesantren at the beginning of the twentieth century led to the disappearance of one important feature of the Pesantren tradition i.e. the tradition of the wandering santri. The adoption of graded system and the reliance on formal certificates as a sign of scholastic achievement forced santri to stay for long periods in just one Pesantren. (Dhofier 1982: 41)

In Pegayaman the decline in economic well-being, rather than the introduction of madrasah, is a more important cause of this change. Moving from one pesantren to another entails expenses for travelling and accommodation for the period of study. Limited economic means also lie behind the preference of most parents for traditional pesantren for their children instead of modern ones which provide formal religious schools (madrasah ibtidaiyah, tsanawiyah, and aliyah)) and university, since the former is cheaper. Only small numbers of parents, in better economic circumstances send their children to modern pesantren which provide secular subjects in their curricula. Pesantren Nahdlatul Wathon in East Lombok is one example. It has secular schools

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<sup>8</sup> The activity of living in a Pondok Pesantren for studying is called *mondok*.

from primary up to university level, besides religious one. When I asked about their reasons for sending their children to modern pesantren, one among them gave the following reason:

Taking both Islamic and secular education is like having a blade with two sharp edges . They function both for the life in this world and the hereafter. As worldly life is a preparation for a better and eternal life in the hereafter we hope persons with secular knowledge will dedicate it to the religious path.

This dual educational orientation make Islamic teaching the fundamental basis of secular knowledge, creating a balance between the aims of achieving worldly prosperity for the sake of life in the hereafter. Among the better off economic groups, people strive to achieve a balance in having both a religious and a secular education. In modern Islamic education (*madrasah*) there is no multi-stranded relationship between the *guru* and pupils. Traditional Islamic education coexist with the growing numbers of madrasah which provide secular knowledge.

Islamic education in Pegayaman performs a fundamental role in the formation of counter-cultural values (against the Hindu-Balinese majority), and thus at the same time also maintains the community Islamic identity. For Muslims living in a minority situation, pesantren and madrasah both have supplied Pegayaman village with religious and cultural leadership allowing the community to counter the dominant culture of the Hindu-Balinese majority.

## **Conclusion**

Studying Pegayaman community affirms Cohen's (1974) concept of an ethnic continuum. The Socio-religious life of the Pegayaman Muslim community seems to represent and illustrate this continuum well. At one end of the scale, they maintain a geographically and culturally discrete area, while at the other end , they are embedded in the large structure of the dominant society. Both tendencies are manifest in the way the Pegayaman Muslims maintain their internal boundary and identity. In dealing with external relationship they form socio-cultural mechanism, well-adapted to controlling the strain of such social interaction. In other words, the boundaries they set up in the interaction with the Hindu-Balinese are intended to prevent them from losing their cultural integrity.

Religious education is the most vital institution to maintain the Islamic boundary. Faced with a scarcity of Islamic expertise in Bali, Pegayaman Muslims have intensified their educational links with Pesantren in Java and Lombok in recent times. This wider network of religious schools has provided Pegayaman with a continuing supply of religious teachers whose essential role is not limited to deepening Islamisation. They have also been instrumental in directing communal resistance to the extension of outer boundary, which they fear may diminish the community's bond to Islam.

The maintenance of cultural integrity occurs along the continuum of accommodation and conflict. In many respects, the Pegayaman Muslims do regard themselves as possessing a core of practices and beliefs which lead them to refuse to share some of their attributes of their non-Muslims fellow Balinese. Their preference to adhere to Islamic rules and customs obliges them to borrow selectively from the host culture, such as in applying Balinese' birth order name combined with Islamic name.

In external relationships the scale swings more toward complete pluralism than toward full assimilation which is at the other end. This marks the superficial or relative harmony between Muslims and Hindus. The former are willing to interact with the latter provided that there is no risk of loosening their socio-religious integrity.

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