

# Name System of *Wayan, Nengah, Made, Nyoman* and *Ketut* as A Balinese Muslim Identity in Pegayaman Village, Buleleng, Bali

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## ABSTRACT

This study explores the background of the use of the Balinese naming system and its meaning based on the birth order of *Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut* in the Muslim community in Pegayaman Village, Buleleng, Bali. This research results from field research on imitating a naming system based on the birth order of *Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut* in the Muslim community in Pegayaman Village. Data analysis uses an interaction cycle consisting of various activities: data collection, data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verifying. The study results show that the use of this naming system is related to the ancestral history of the Pegayaman Muslim community, namely the Osing people from Blambangan. Panji Sakti, the king of Buleleng, brought them when he controlled Blambangan in the 17th century. They function as human capital to strengthen the Buleleng Kingdom. They adapted the culture to be accepted by the Balinese ethnicity. In this way, they adopt various elements of Balinese culture, such as a naming system based on birth order. This adoption is also related to the teachings of Kanda Pat or the teachings of *sedulur papat kalima pancer*, which contain Hindu and Islamic culture. This condition indicates that the use of the naming system is not only based on reasons social and cultural but also magical and religious reasons. Cultural adaptation has resulted in them developing a hybrid identity, namely a combination of Balinese, Javanese, and Islamic cultures. This achievement is inseparable from the role of the Buleleng kingdom so that their identity can be called legitimate. This identity can strengthen our understanding between the Pegayaman Muslim community and Balinese ethnicity. This needs to be maintained so that inter-religious and inter-ethnic relations remain harmonious.

**Keywords:** Naming system, Muslim identity, adaptation, hybridity.

## INTRODUCTION

Balinese ethnicity merges with Hinduism and the island of Bali as its locality. This idea gave rise to the perception that the island of Bali is only inhabited by Balinese ethnic, who are Hindus. This thinking is wrong because the population of the island of Bali is multicultural. For example, many of them are Muslims. They not only live in cities but also villages. One of the villages with a Muslim population is Pegayaman Village, Sukasada District, Buleleng Regency, Bali, Indonesia. This village is unique; it is solid in adopting various elements of Balinese culture. For example, the Pegayaman Muslim community members use a naming system based on birth order that applies to Balinese people, namely *Wayan, Nengah/Made, Nyoman, and Ketut*. This phenomenon can be exemplified by several names, namely *Ketut Muhammad Suharto, Haji Ketut Dai Mudin Hasyim, H. Ketut Imanuddin Jamal, Wayan Ismail, Nyoman Ali Akbar, Ketut Raji Jayadi, etc.* (Suharto, 2023).

This pattern is fascinating to study, considering Oommen's (2009) and Thomborrow's (2007: 227) opinion that a naming system is a form of ethnic identity. The names *Wayan, Nengah/Made, Nyoman, and Ketut* are Balinese ethnic identities to refer to and call someone based on the family's birth order (Segara, 2015; Korn, 2018). Applying this naming system to the Pegayaman Muslim community shows a unique phenomenon: non-Balinese ethnic Muslims use Balinese ethnic identity. This pattern is interesting to study, considering Danesi's idea (2010)

that a name is not only an identity but also a particular type of word with a specific meaning that develops according to the history and culture of a community. Referring to this idea, using the naming system Wayan, Nengah/Made, Nyoman, and Ketut for the Pegayaman Muslim community is not accidental but related to historical and cultural aspects. This aspect is interesting to study in the context of the dynamics of Pegayaman Village as a Muslim community amid a Hindu community.

There has been no study of the naming system for the Pegayaman Muslim community members. The only article that mentions this topic is the book written by Suharto (2023) entitled "*Esiklopedia Desa Muslim Pegayaman Bali*". In this book, Suharto (2023: 77-79) describes models of acculturation in Pegayaman Village, including sequences of Balinese names, nicknames for children, and friends, believe Wayan, Nengah/Made, Nyoman, and Ketut. Suharto did not explain in detail the meaning of the words Wayan, Nengah/Made, Nyoman, and Ketut socially, culturally, and religiously-magically. Likewise, there is no explanation of the historical background of why the members of the Pegayaman Muslim community adopted a naming system based on birth order, which is the Balinese ethnic identity. These aspects are interesting to study so that the uniqueness of the naming system in the Pegayaman Muslim community can be understood more broadly, deeply, and holistically. Thus, their habit of using a naming system based on birth order can be accepted as an alternative for parents in Pegayaman Village who must give names to their children. Giving a name is very important as self-identity to provide convenience in naming and calling their children. Likewise, the name contains the parents' hope that their child will become a person with the right, excellent, and beautiful behavior in the family and society.

The Balinese ethnic naming system, which refers to the order of birth of children in the family, namely Wayan, Made/Nengah, Nyoman, and Ketut, has been widely studied by various experts, for example, Korn (2017), Segara (2015), Panetja (2004), (Antara, 2015), etc. Likewise, Geertz & Geertz (1975), studied the Balinese kinship system. They alluded to the technical names of husband and wife. Covarrubias (2013) suggests beliefs, processes, and structure of words and nicknames in the daily life of Balinese people. These studies are very important for studying the Balinese ethnic naming system adopted by the Pegayaman Muslim community members.

## METHODS

The approach to studying the naming system as the identity of the Pegayaman Muslim community is qualitative research. The research location is in Pegayaman Village, Sukasada, Buleleng, Bali. Research informants were 5 residents of Pegayaman village, appointed purposively with the consideration that they understood the problem under study. The primary informants came from Pegayaman Village, the Village Head, and religious leaders, such as Drs. Ketut Muhammad Suharto, . Their position is significant because they are not only religious leaders but also pay great attention to efforts to maintain various traditions in Pegayaman Muslim Village as long as they do not conflict with the teachings of Islam. The naming system that applies to the Pegayaman Muslim community is related to Balinese culture. This condition resulted in informants being appointed Balinese, for example, traditional and religious leaders, humanists, Hindu scholars, and leaders of formal organizations, for example, PHDI (*Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia Buleleng*) and traditional villages around Pegayaman Village, for instance, Padangbulia Traditional village, Gitgit traditional village, and Silangjana traditional village. These traditional villages have traditionally had close and longstanding social contact with Pegayaman Village.

Data collection used in-depth interviews aimed at purposively appointed informants. Another data collection method is the observation of cultural actors in the context of using the naming system as a term for addressing and greeting in everyday life in Pegayaman Village. Document studies are no less critical, for example, in the form of notes on elementary school students' names. This document is essential to determine to what extent students stick to the naming system inherited by their nobles. Other documents are lontar, such as the Buleleng Chronicle, available at the Gedong Kirtya Lontar Library in Singaraja. Document studies are carried out using the hermeneutic method. This way, the document's implied and explicit meanings can be understood in depth, broadly, and thoroughly. The use of various types of data collection methods can be carried out separately and combined in the context of data triangulation so that the validity of the data is more guaranteed.

The overall data analysis followed the Miles & Haberman (1992) model. As for the steps, first, data collection

(data collection) followed by the activity of performing verbatim data transcription. Second data reduction (data reduction). This step includes various activities, namely selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming the data that has been transcribed. In this way, the data helpful in answering the research problem is visible. Third, data presentation (data display). This step takes the form of data presentation activities, namely describing the main ideas in the form of data presented in an organized manner and combining the abstracted information, making it possible to conclude. Data is presented in themes, propositions summaries, and articles' narratives grouped, accompanied by emic and ethical interpretations concerning the theoretical framework—fourth, concluding, and verification (conclusions: drawing/verifying). The conclusion is the emic and moral meaning of the patterns that appear during data analysis. The decision is a proposition about the phenomenon under study, namely regarding the naming system and various aspects that apply in Pegayaman Village. The conclusions obtained stem from initial findings that are temporary. This conclusion is the conclusion after going through the verification process. The decision is the answer to the problem under study, namely the historical background, culture, and dynamics of the naming system that applies in Pegayaman Village, regarding its external and internal structure, namely the ideas behind it.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Pegayaman Village is located in Sukasada District, Buleleng Regency, Bali. This village is easy to reach from the city of Denpasar, the capital of the Province of Bali, and the City of Singaraja, the capital of the Buleleng Regency. The location of Pegayaman Village is inward – to the east, about one kilometer from the Denpasar – Singaraja highway. The distance between Pegayaman Village and Denpasar City is about 73 kilometers. The distance from the city of Singaraja is about six kilometers. The main road that connects the city of Singaraja and the city of Denpasar is a provincial road in excellent condition. Likewise, the one-kilometer-long village road that connects Pegayaman Village and the Singaraja – Denpasar highway is in perfect condition. Visiting Pegayaman Village can occur quickly, using car or motorbike transportation.

Referring to Suharto's explanation (2023), as well as based on observations and interviews with various parties, it can be seen that Pegayaman Village has adopted elements of Balinese culture. This phenomenon is reflected in the naming system and the Balinese language used. Likewise, the commemoration of Islamic holidays, for example, the Birthday of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, follows the order of the Galungan – Kuningan holiday ritual that applies to Hindus in Bali. They recognize several important days commencing the Prophet's Birthday, namely *penapean* (the celebration of making fermented sticky rice), *penyajaan* (the celebration of making various snacks/cakes), and *penampahan* (the festival of slaughtering sacrificial animals). The event's highlight was continued with *Umanis*, namely the next day. Currently, the residents of Pegayaman Village carry out various crowd activities. Likewise, the rice farming system follows the *subak* model in Bali, complete with multiple forms of agricultural rituals according to the Islamic religion.

### The Naming System Imitates Balinese Ethnic Traditions

The naming system based on birth order, namely Wayan, Nengah/Made, Nyoman, and Ketut in the Pegayaman Muslim community, imitates Balinese culture. This imitation is adapted to the culture of the Pegayaman Muslim community. For example, the letter I and the syllable Ni as symbols of male and female that apply in Balinese society, such as I Wayan Dharma, are not used in Pegayaman Village. The letter a in Pegayaman Village changes to o and is behind the name. Old Javanese or Arabic is sufficient to indicate one's gender. For example, the name Wayan Ali Sudarto is a man who was born first in a family. Ali is a personal name for boys that comes from the Arabic name, which is one of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad. The letter o = a in Sudarto is Old Javanese as a male symbol. A person's name can also only use a mixture of birth order and personal names from Arabic. For example, there are male names Ketut Imanuddin Jamal, Wayan Ismail, and Nyoman Ali, and female names, such as Wayan Nurminah, Nyoman Aminah, Ketut Syariah, etc.

The naming system based on Wayan's birth order comes from the word Wayahan, which means oldest. Made comes from the word *Madya*, which means middle. This meaning causes Made to be called Nengah. Made, or Nengah means he is a child whose birth is in the middle between Wayan and Nyoman. Nyoman comes from *Noman*, which means younger than Made/Nengah. Ketut comes from the word *Kitut*, the youngest child, or he was born following three older siblings. This idea reflects that there are only four children's naming systems

based on birth order: Wayan, Nengah/Made, Nyoman, and Ketut.

This pattern implies that regardless of the number of children outside the four previous sequences of children's names, they are called Ketut. For example, a Pegayaman Muslim family has ten children, so the fifth to the tenth child is called Ketut. Logically, they were born following Ketut, who was in the previous four birth groups. So, the other Ketuts were placed outside the last four children and, at the same time, served only as followers of the existing Ketut. A child naming system based on birth order can be formal and listed on the birth certificate, so it must be used for official matters and terms to refer to and address in society. Its use can also be informal, only based on memory, and not used for official cases, but only for addressing and addressing terms associated with everyday life in society.

Polygamous families can agree to determine the order of names based on birth, that is, whether to follow the children born to older wives or form a separate name order. For example, the first wife has two children, so the birth order names are Wayan and Nengah. If the second wife has children, she can continue the birth order name, Made. If, based on the agreement, they do not join the first wife, then the second wife can make a name based on a separate birth order, namely starting from Wayan and continuing with the names of the subsequent birth order.

The pattern of calculating the birth order of children must be four, which applies not only to the Pegayaman Muslim community but also to Balinese society. The Balinese first group their children based on birth order consisting of four people: Wayan, Nengah/Made, Nyoman, and Ketut. Children born outside this group of four must be distinguished, for example, by adding the words *tagel* and *balik*. *Tagel* means folding or turning, which means returning. For example, a family has five children. The fifth child is a boy of the same sex as the first child. The fifth child was named I Wayan Balik Adnyana. *Tagel* or *Balik* indicates he is a multiple of Wayan or returns to the first order of birth, like his oldest brother. The words *Tagel* or *Balik* can be placed formally or informally. The formal way is officially listed on the name itself. Meanwhile, informally, it is only based on the recognition that he has the status of *Tagel* or *Balik*.

### Religious-Magical Birth Sequence System

It appears to be a similarity in the number of birth names in the Pegayaman Muslim community and Balinese ethnicity; there must be four: Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut. The determination of this number has a religious-magical dimension. According to I Gede Marayana (75 years), an observer of Hindu customs and religious issues, the Balinese naming system for Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut refers to the teachings of Kanda Pat or Catur Sanak (fourth brother). This teaching believes in the four brothers who accompany the birth of every human being, namely *yeh nyom* (amniotic fluid), blood, placenta, and *lamad* (thin membrane) (Manuaba, 1994; Tonjaya, 1981; Acri, 2022). Kanda Pat has an essential function for intrauterine life. Kanda Pat helps the growth and safety of the baby from the moment it is created in the womb until it is born (Manuaba, 1993; Surayin, 2002).

Every human being must respect *Kanda Pat* by personifying him in the form of four supernatural beings: Ratu Wayan Tebeng, Made Jelaung, Nyoman Pengadangan, and Ketut Petung. The names of Kanda Pat contain elements of a naming system based on birth order, namely Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut. Hinduism adheres to a system of equivalence between humans as the microcosm and the universe as the macrocosm (Lombard, 2005). The four cardinal directions in the cosmos are guarded by four Hindu gods, namely Iswara (east/*kangin*/sunrise direction), Dewa Brahma (south/*kelod*/sea direction), Mahadeva (west/*kauh*/sunset direction), and Lord Vishnu (north/*kaja*/direction to the mountain). Four Gods or *Catur Dewa* plus one in the middle, namely Shiva, thus forming five gods or *Panca Dewata* (Acri, 2022; Stuart-Fox, 2010). Analogously, humans as microcosms are looked after by Kanda Pat, namely Ratu Wayan Tebeng, Made Jelaung, Nyoman Pengadangan, and Ketut Petung. Kanda Pat added himself as an individual in the middle or *pancer*.

The teachings of *Kanda Pat* are also known in Javanese society as *sedulur papat kalima pancer* (four brothers and a fifth brother at the central point). This teaching outlines that everyone has four siblings and oneself is at the main point or *pancer*. *Sedulur papat* guarantees safety for someone at the center point (Endraswara, 2012; Subagja, 1981; Wisnumurti, 2012). *Sedulur papat kalima pancer's* teachings seem well known in Pegayaman

Village. This allegation is based on the ancestral origin of the Pegayaman Muslim community, the Osing ethnicity of Blambangan (Suharto, 2023). Blambangan is the largest Hindu kingdom on the eastern tip of the island of Java. This kingdom developed simultaneously with the Hindu kingdom of Majapahit. At the time of the collapse of Majapahit in the 15th century, Blambangan stood as the only Hindu kingdom in Java, controlling the tip of East Java, including the areas of Banyuwangi, Jember, Lumajang, Bondowoso, and Situbondo (Beatty, 2001; Margana, 2012). Hindu religion shared by the Balinese and Osing ethnic groups has resulted in the teachings of *Kanda Pat* and *sedulur papat kalima pancer* having similarities in form, meaning, and function for salvation.

The reign of Sultan Agung, the king of Mataram, in the 1630s caused the Osing people to change their religion from Hinduism to Islam. Referring to Geertz (1981), the conversion of religion in Java has never eradicated the beliefs that preceded it, namely Hinduism and Buddhism. Likewise, the religious conversion carried out by the Osing people did not abolish the teachings of *sedulur papat kalima pancer*, which contained elements of Hinduism. This teaching is combined with the Islamic religion. This symptom is reflected in various aspects, which include the count of four in *Kanda Pat*, equated with the count of four according to Islam, namely four angels and four Companions of the Prophet (Beatty, 2001: 57).

The four Companions of the Prophet were Abu Bakr, Umar bin Khathab, Usman, and Ali (Mahmudunnasir, 1988). This pattern cannot be separated from the spread of Islam in Java, which adheres to the principle of compromise. For example, Sultan Agung, who succeeded in converting Blambangan to Islam, can be sure that he would accept the traditions already existing in society. Sultan Agung implemented Islamization politics by bringing together Javanese traditions with Islam. This politics has increasingly fostered the growth of Kejawen Islamic mystical teachings (Simuh, 2019). Referring to this idea, Sultan Agung did not abolish the teachings of *sedulur papat kalima pancer* as an element of the original Indonesian religion when he converted the Blambangan kingdom to Islam.

Thus, the movement of the Osing people to Pegayaman Village at the request of the king of Panji Sakti certainly brought along their religious culture, including the teachings of *sedulur papat kalima pancer*, which contained a mixture of Hindu and Islamic cultures. This meeting point resulted in them being able to accept *Kanda Pat Bali*, who believed in the existence of four supernatural powers as human protectors, namely Ratu Wayan Tebeng, Made Jelaung, Nyoman Pengadangan, and Ketut Petung. This acceptance is done by matching a person's name with a name based on birth order: Wayan, Made/Nengah, Nyoman, and Ketut. These four names correspond to the four supernatural powers in *Kanda Pat* and the Islamic count of four: the four angels and the four Companions of the Prophet, Abu Bakr, Umar bin Khathab, Usman, and Ali.

This belief implies that a person named Ketut Muhammad Suharto, for example, can be interpreted as expected to have noble qualities like the Prophet Muhammad SAW and enough to have wealth that is obtained lawfully. The word Ketut does not only mean that he is the fourth child, or it could be the fifth child, and so on. Ketut can be associated with the hope that the name bearer is always in a safe condition because he is protected by *Kanda Pat*, *sedulur papat kalima pancer*, four angels, and four Companions of the Prophet. This thinking indicates that the Pegayaman Muslim community imitates the naming system based on birth order, not only for practical but also for religious-magical reasons. Practical reasons refer to the convenience of calling and addressing someone, namely, not using a personal name but using the words Wayan, Nengah, Nyoman, or Made. Religious-magical reasons refer to the hope that the name owner thinks, speaks, and acts correctly, competently, and beautifully. Likewise, he is free from various dangers, both natural (*sekala*) and unreal (*niskala*) causes, so his life becomes safe and happy.

### **The Role of the Kingdom of Buleleng and Legitimacy Identity**

The Blambangan kingdom was contested by the Mataram Kingdom and several Hindu kingdoms in Bali to satisfy political, economic, and religious ambitions. Political ambitions are related to fulfilling the requirement that a great empire is visible from the extent of its territory. The financial industry is inseparable from Blambangan's position as a kingdom rich in rice, timber, and bird's nests. Spiritual purpose refers to the interests of Balinese kings who want to use Blambangan as a fortress to overcome the expansion of Islam from the West. The Mataram Kingdom tried to occupy Blambangan to convert Blambangan to Islam as a springboard for

attacking Bali (Margana, 2012).

At the end of the 16th century, Blambangan was ruled by Raja Gelgel Bali. The Mataram Kingdom under Sultan Agung succeeded in seizing Blambangan from the reign of the Gelgel king around the 1630s (Ricklefs, 1994; Purwadi, 2009; Margana, 2012; de Graaf, 1986). Mataram's attempt to seize Bali by using Blambangan as a springboard failed because the kingdoms in Bali united to maintain its existence as the only island based on Hinduism. The VOC, the enemy of the Mataram Kingdom, secretly supported Bali (Atmadja, 2017; Margana, 2012). The VOC helped Bali because the Mataram kingdom and the VOC were enemies. Both were involved in the war over Batavia. Sultan Agung failed to seize Batavia from the VOC. The Mataram kingdom was very wary of attacking Bali, not only because it had to consider the kingdoms' power in Bali but also the possibility that the VOC would help them. Mataram's mastery of Blambangan gradually led to religious conversions. The Osing ethnic group changed their religion from Hinduism to Islam. Thus, it is not surprising that Blambangan, as the last basis of Hinduism on the eastern tip of Java Island, automatically disappeared (Margana, 2012; Atmadja, 2017a; Mashad, 2014).

1645 Sultan Agung died and was succeeded by his son Amangkurat I (1646-1677). This king is known as a tyrannical ruler, so many rebellions arose. Amangkurat I was succeeded by Amangkurat II (1677-1703). Mataram remains in a state full of conflict. This allowed Blambangan to become independent and succeed in achieving glory during the reign of Tawagalun (1665-1691). The power struggle between the families of the Blambangan kings allowed the Kingdom of Buleleng under King Panji Sakti in 1697 to help one of the warring parties. The provision of assistance led to the control of Panji Sakti over Blambangan.

According to Suharto (2023), an oral tradition in Pegayaman Village stated that when Panji Sakti controlled Blambangan, he recruited 100 Osing people to become royal soldiers. This recruitment is related to the Osing people's reputation as influential or powerful when defeating enemies on the battlefield. They are considered to have supernatural powers based on animism, dynamism, and Islamic mysticism (Margana, 2012: 24-27). All of this is inseparable from Hinduism and Buddhism, which are intertwined with animism, dynamism, and Islamic mysticism. Likewise, the teachings of *Kanda Pat or sedulur papat kalima pancer* are no less important. Because, in Balinese society, for example, many people practice Kanda Pat's teachings to gain supernatural powers. The interweaving of all of these, borrowing the ideas of Subagja (1981), gave birth to the original Indonesian religion.

The recruitment of Osing people from Blambangan as soldiers by the Kingdom of Mataram numbered in the hundreds. They were called by the name of Blambangan soldiers (Margana, 2012, pp. 24-25). Panji Sakti imitated this pattern. This king also recruited the Blambangan people as soldiers of the Buleleng kingdom. The consideration of the king of Panji Sakti is the same as the reason for the Mataram Kingdom, namely that the Osing people have supernatural powers. The Osing people, as soldiers of the Buleleng kingdom, are placed in a particular location, namely Pegayaman Village. This condition causes the Osing people from Blambangan and the Muslim community in Pegayaman to be very closely related. Suharto (2023: 5) states that this connection is evident because the Osing people in Blambangan have many cultural similarities with the Pegayaman Muslim community. For example, the *burdah* art in Pegayaman Village has similarities with the Osing people's *burdah* art, namely the *burdah gembrong*. This pattern is inseparable from the role of Panji Sakti, who brought the Osing people to Pegayaman Village and gave them the freedom to develop their culture amid Balinese society and culture based on Hinduism.

The soldiers recruited by Panji Sakti came from young people who were considered physically and spiritually vital, along with their leaders, namely three warriors, Nur Alam, Nur Awin, and Nur Mubin (Suharto, 2023: 32). The task of the Blambangan soldiers who live in Pegayaman Village is to guard the border area between the Kingdoms of Buleleng and Mengwi. The territory of the Buleleng Kingdom includes the peak area down to the space below it, namely Pancasari. Blambangan soldiers are obliged to guard this area so that soldiers from the Kingdom of Mengwi do not enter it. The king of Buleleng could summon Blambangan soldiers for the security of the palace and the state. This condition resulted in Blambangan soldiers or the Pegayaman Muslim community members having robust political and religious-magical ties with the royal families of the Panji Sakti descendants (Suharto, 2023).

Through marriage politics, peace between the Kingdoms of Buleleng and Mengwi ended the conflict between

the two kingdoms. Even the Kingdom of Buleleng handed over control of Blambangan to the Kingdom of Mengwi. This surrender resulted in Blambangan no longer being under the rule of the Buleleng Kingdom but shifting into the hands of the Mengwi Kingdom (Nordholt, 2006). This peace resulted in the task of the Blambangan soldiers to guard the border area so that the Kingdom of Buleleng remained safe and automatically became lighter. The existence of Blambangan warriors in Pegayaman Village was supervised, maintained, and tamed by the Buleleng kingdom. The goal is that they are loyal soldiers and prevent the actions of weapons-eating masters.

For this reason, the king of Buleleng took several steps, first placing the Osing people as royal soldiers in Pegayaman Village. The goal is not only the task of securing border areas but also to supervise, maintain, and tame them easily. Second, their particular placement also allows Blambangan soldiers to develop the Islamic religion and the accompanying religious traditions without disturbing and being harassed by the surrounding Hindu communities. Third, the Kingdom of Buleleng is also trying to Balinize the Pegayaman Muslim community so that social distance with Balinese Hindus is getting narrower – cross-ethnic and cross-religious social relations become better as the essential capital for realizing peace in society.

Balinisation or Baliseering is carried out in various ways, including providing opportunities for Blambangan soldiers who are Muslim to marry Hindu women – the wife follows the husband's religion under the patrilineal kinship system in Balinese society (Korn, 2017; Panetja, 2004). This marriage is also related to the oral tradition in Pegayaman Village, which states that "the 100 Muslim paramilitaries recruited from Blambangan did not bring their wives to Singaraja" (Suharto, 2023: 59). This marriage pattern results in a kinship relationship between the Pegayaman Muslims and the Balinese because every marriage unites not only a man and a woman but also the families of both parties. Mixed Muslim and Hindu families or Osing and Balinese people facilitate balinization, among others, in the form of using the names of the birth order system, namely Wayan, Nengah/Made, Nyoman, and Ketut. Balinisation is also done through efforts to incorporate Balinese cultural elements into Pegayaman Village's Islamic culture. For example, the arrangement of the rice farming system in Pegayaman Village follows the *subak* model in Bali. Likewise, the language used in everyday life, among residents of Pegayaman Village and Balinese people uses Balinese.

Whatever the form of balinisation of the Pegayaman Muslim community is inseparable from the political design of the kingdom outlined by the kings of Buleleng. Likewise, the kings of Buleleng certainly support balinization because it relates to state security. The Osing people, as the forerunners of the Pegayaman Muslim community, must obey the orders of the king of Buleleng because they are bound by power relations and the underlying doctrine, namely *sitindih*. This means that Pegayaman Muslims must be loyal to defend the Buleleng kingdom. The *sitindih* philosophy is related to other principles, such as *madura* (heroism), *kawanin/kawanian* (courage), and *subala wirya* (might and strength) (Suharto, 2023). These doctrines are significant cultural capital for the Pegayaman Muslim community, both in their service to the Buleleng Kingdom and in maintaining their existence amid the Balinese Hindu community. Ownership of these doctrines resulted in the king of Buleleng always trying to Balinize the Pegayaman Muslim community so that its application would not have a negative impact, but on the contrary, namely a positive impact, as reflected in the existence of social solidarity between Pegayaman Muslims and the Buleleng kingdom and the Hindu community around it. This way, conflicts with religious or ethnic backgrounds are resolved to realize peace in the Buleleng kingdom.

Royal involvement in balinization resulted in the Pegayaman Muslim community developing into Balinese Muslims or Islam. This label is officially used by Pegayaman Muslims, as seen, for example, in what was done by Suharto (2023), Mashad (2014), and Korn (1934). The Muslim Bali/Balinese Islam refers to the conditions the Muslim Pegayaman community can develop acculturation between Islamic culture and Balinese Hindu culture. This pattern has resulted in the Pegayaman Muslim community members having mixed cultural identities. For example, they use a naming system based on birth order following Balinese culture. Balinization cannot be separated from the active role of the Buleleng kingdom. Thus forming what is called a legitimate identity (Buchari, 2014). This means that developing the identity of the Pegayaman Muslim community is inseparable from the policies of the institution that dominates it, namely the Kingdom of Buleleng. As the ruling party, the Buleleng Kingdom rationalized and continued its domination of the Pegayaman Muslim community through balinization. The goal is not only to perpetuate the power of the kings of Buleleng by using the Pegayaman Muslim community as a resource but also to foster good relations between Hindus and Muslims as

a basis for peace in society.

## Cultural Adaptation and Hybridization

Humans are always bound by time and space (Giddens, 2011). Space includes the natural and socio-cultural environment. The migration of the Osing people to Bali resulted in them dealing with a different time and space. The Osing people are obliged to adapt to the culture. In this way, they will be accepted by the dominant cultural community in an area (Kaplan & Manners, 2012). This pattern also aligns with the saying, "Where the earth is stepped on, there the sky is held up" (a person must adapt to the social environment in which he is located).

The cultural adaptation carried out by the Osing people as members of the Pegayaman Muslim community is taking over several elements of Balinese ethnic culture, then combining them with the culture brought from Blambangan. For example, in Blambangan, parents must give their children personal names, including Old Javanese, Sanskrit, or Arabic. They do not know the naming system based on birth order. In contrast, the Balinese ethnicity recognizes a naming system based on birth order: Wayan, Nengah/Made, Nyoman, and Ketut. The Osing people in Pegayaman Village accept and adapt various Balinese cultures with Islamic culture accompanied by localization, thus giving birth to a unique mixed culture. This pattern can be seen in the personal names of members of the Pegayaman Muslim community, for example, Ketut Muhammad Suharto, Wayan Ismail, Nyoman Ali Akbar, etc. Likewise, they gradually left the Osing language, then replaced it with Balinese to smooth their communication with the Balinese.

The names of Pegayaman Muslims, for example, Ketut Muhammad Suharto, are a combination of three cultures, namely Balinese (Ketut), Islamic (Muhammad), and Javanese (Suharto). Wayan Ismail combines two cultures: Balinese (Wayan) and Islam (Ismail). Referring to Martono's idea (2014), this pattern indicates hybridity or cultural hybridization, namely the process of merging or exchanging between cultures to produce a new culture that is distinctive and even unique. Hybrid-style names for the Pegayaman Muslim community are not uncommon but can also have the meaning of social glue. This means that this naming system can bring closer and strengthen social relations between Muslims and Hindus or between Balinese and Osing ethnicities who live in the same time and space, namely the island of Bali. Using names based on birth order, namely Wayan, Nengah/Made, Nyoman, and Ketut, to address and greet in everyday life creates a powerful effect that the people we socially communicate with are our people. Name hybridization cannot be separated from cultural hybridization more broadly. This condition resulted in cultural meeting points in various aspects of life, so the relationship between the Balinese Pegayaman Muslim community and the Balinese ethnicity became even more robust. The meaning is that the Balinese and the Pegayaman Muslim communities live in harmony based on inter-religious and cross-ethnic social solidarity.

## CONCLUSION

The ancestors of the Pegayaman Muslim community were the Osing people from Blambangan. Their presence in Pegayaman Village is inseparable from the role of the king of Buleleng, Panji Sakti, who used them as a human resource to strengthen the power capital of the Buleleng Kingdom. The space where they are located, namely the island of Bali, is very thick with Balinese culture. This condition causes them to adapt their culture to be accepted by the Balinese ethnicity. In this way, they adopt various elements of Balinese culture, including using a naming system based on birth order as Balinese ethnic identity, namely Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut. This system is related to the teachings of Kanda Pat in Balinese society or the teachings of *sedulur papat kalima pancer* in Javanese culture. This condition resulted in the adoption this naming system, which was inseparable from various considerations, namely religious, magical, social, and cultural. This resulted in them developing a hybrid identity, combining Balinese, Javanese, and Islamic cultures. The achievement of hybridity is inseparable from the role of the Buleleng kingdom. Thus, the identity of the Pegayaman Muslim community can be referred to as a legitimate identity. This identity is significant for the Pegayaman Muslim community, strengthening our understanding of the Balinese ethnicity.

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