

Adat, People Power and Religious Values: Sources of Social Resilience from the Early to Middle 19th Century in Bali¹

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Abstract

Adat and religious values played a significant role in the rise of social movements and people power during the Dutch colonial era which is evident in the dynamics of Bali in particular. For centuries, *adat* customary traditions had been deeply rooted in Balinese communities and strongly contributed to civilization and culture. However, certain factors, such as social, economic and political disturbances have threatened the stability of Balinese communities and culture. From the local perspective of Bali, this posed a threat against the sovereignty of the kingdom of Bali, was still recognized as an autonomous territory. In light of the above issues, this article used an interdisciplinary approach to historiography in analyzing oral history and textual archives. It is hoped to offer a better understanding of how historical Balinese *adat* and religious values fostered an increase in social resilience and people power when faced with externally generated disturbances.

Keywords: *adat*; Hindu religion; social resilience; Dutch colonialism; Balinese history

1. Introduction

Due to challenges from modernization and globalization in recent times, discussions on social and cultural resilience including the concept of people power have become more significant. The Balinese and their culture have faced many social, cultural, economic and political disturbances not only from inside Balinese society, but also from outside. Bali is a part of the Indonesian state in which diversity in terms of tradition, religion, language and ethnicity is characteristic of the Indonesian modern state. Integrating a dynamic

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society is sometimes problematic. Therefore, the problem and the concepts of social resilience and people power need to be elaborated in order to be able to anticipate any disturbances in the local context, and also in the national and global context (Ardhana,2014b:55).

Until now, there are very limited studies on social resilience and people power in the context of Bali in particular and Indonesia in general. This study is significant in order to help understand how communities in Bali in particular are situated in the *adat* or customary law and Hindu religious values. There are also other ethnic groups in Indonesia that still strongly maintain their local *adat* traditions based on religious values of Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, Confucianism or an indigenous customary faith (Ardhana,2014b:57).

In Bali, for instance, since the most are Hindu, local *adat* traditions and Hindu values play a significant role, while in other areas such as in Aceh, where the majority are Muslim, local customary law and Islamic values determine the regional character. In other words, the *adat* traditions in each country or region, as well as religious values, play a dominant role in determining typology of the social resilience and the concept of people power (Ardhana,2020:21-32). The concept of social resilience is defined as the ability of a Balinese community in this case in the Jagaraga village in Buleleng, North Bali to cope with and adapt to stresses such as social, cultural, political, environmental, or economic change. There concept of people power in Jagaraga village is generally understood as a political term denoting the populist driving force of any social movement which, when lead by their king, invokes the authority of grassroots opinion. However, how can we understand the role of *adat*, religious values, social resilience and people of power in the context of Balinese people? How did they maintain and preserve the social and cultural aspects in facing disturbances in the context of internal and external threats? Answering this is important to understand the characteristics of the Balinese, who play a major role in the local and national context.

In light of the above issues, this author used an interdisciplinary approach to historiography in analyzing oral history and textual archives to address four questions. Firstly, what was the main position of the Balinese kingdom, under the ruler of Buleleng in North Bali, in terms of people power at the time of the initial Dutch invasion in 1846? Secondly, why did the Dutch conduct a military invasion of Jagaraga in northern Bali to annex the kingdom? Thirdly, what kinds of social and cultural capital bolstered social resilience in the Buleleng kingdom during battles against Dutch troops? Fourth, what kinds of values conveyed by Balinese *adat* and Hindu religious traditions contributed to social resilience in Bali?.

This article hopes to offer a better understanding of how Balinese *adat* and religious values fostered social resilience and people power when faced with externally generated disturbances in the past, as also discussed by Pageh, (2019), title, “Perang Puputan Jagaraga dalam Perspektif Bela Negara”. This knowledge could be useful for society today and in the future.

2. Literature Review

To understand Balinese cultural traditions in the context of social resilience, one should take into account the implementation of ancient local traditions. Values that have rooted in Balinese communities since the flourishing of Hindu-Javanese culture, have come to be regarded as the classical period in Indonesian history. Various scholars agree that traditional kingdoms emerged in Bali after the downfall of the great east-Javanese kingdom of Majapahit. In structural terms, Balinese kingdoms were led by a *raja* (king) of noble lineage and a *purohita* (court priest) who served as a religious adviser and ritual expert. A king was empowered to rule based on the Indic notion of *devaraja* or “godking”, as is evidenced by the title of Dewa Agoeng van Kloengkoeng for instance (see *Balische Overeenkomsten* by Korn, 1922: 4).

The king ruled the people to manifest a harmonious and peaceful life based on concepts from *weda* (books of holy revelation) contained in *purana* (Hindu literature based on classic Indian epics such as the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*). Some of these Hindu teachings were inscribed on *lontar* palm-leaf manuscripts. However, most Balinese identify as Balinese Hindu, which differs from Indian Hinduism. In his work *Pura Besakih*, Stuart-Fox ([2002] 2010: 308) describes the corpus of Balinese memoranda literature as containing ritual and legalistic directives on how Balinese rulers governed a community based on *adat* customary law. Stuart-Fox also recounts that in Balinese legend, the sage Rsi Markandeya from India performed yoga on sacred mountains in Central and East Java, and subsequently came to Bali with his *para* (followers). The foundational ritual he conducted at the Basuki site on Mount Agung became the accepted legend about the origins of the Besakih temple and also of Hindu religious ceremonies in Bali.

Some Balinese regard the Pura Basukihan as a *pura puseh* (the origin, or navel temple). Moreover, as Stuart-Fox ([2002] 2010: 308) mentions, the interpretation of the Besakih temple as a model of the “three sanctuaries” system with Pura Basukihan as the *pura puseh*, Pura Penataran Agung as the *pura desa*, and Pura Dalem Puri as the *pura dalem*; stemmed from the view of the Besakih temple as the “ultimate source of all temples throughout Bali”. Other scholars argue that the *kahyangan tiga* (three village temples) system consisting of the Pura Desa or Bale Agung for Brahma the great creator, Pura Puseh for

Wisnu the great preserver, and Pura Dalem for Çiwa the great destroyer; was introduced during the reign of Udayana–Gunapriyadharmapatni from the late 10th to early 11th century as a binding principle for every *desa pekraman* (traditional customs village) throughout Bali. In either case, clearly the Balinese were already developing distinctive practices as forms of social and cultural capital for bolstering social resilience.

The traditional Balinese polity system in precolonial times was by and large connected with the Balinese *puri* (palaces, royal houses) and the recruitment of common people as *para* (followers) was coordinated by the kings and nobility. Forms of intra-Bali alliances existed, as Clifford Geertz wrote about in his famous book *Negara: the theatre state in nineteenth-century Bali* (1980: 21, 39–44), where he mentions how and to what extent shifts in alliances between the Balinese kingdoms brought about change in the “island wide balance of power”. For instance, the Kingdom of Buleleng ruled by I Gusti Panji Sakti since 1629, was an ally of the old royal center at Gelgel, but, due to internal conflicts amongst the nobility in 1651, the power shifted to Klungkung. In 1697, under the rule of Panji Sakti, an expedition of Buleleng forces succeeded in attacking the Blambangan region of East Java (see Jonge, 1865: 97). Geertz (1980: 39) argues that all alliances eventually failed and “it was, in fact, the turn to the Dutch for military assistance by the Gianyar house in 1899 which marked the beginning of the end of the whole system”.

In 1839, nine minor kingdoms existed in Bali (see Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1973: 434), which according to the Dutch spelling were located in Boeileleng (Buleleng), Karang-Asem (Karangasem), Bangli, Kloengkoeng (Klungkung), Gianjar (Gianyar), Mengoei (Mengwi), Tabanan, Badoeng (Badung), and Pajangan (Payangan). Furthermore, Stuart-Fox ([2002] 2010: xviii, 303) argues that inter-village social and cultural relationships and regional networks amongst the traditional courts were essential elements of Balinese society, yet he also notes broader influences such as close contacts between Central Java and Bali around the ninth century. Other ‘planes of social organization’ in Bali, as Geertz (1959: 996–997) described, were descent-based; a ‘commonality of ascribed social status’ rather than achieved status. These interactions and descent group formation colored the social dynamics of the Balinese. Given this historical network system, it was no surprise that at the outbreak of the Jagaraga War in the mid-nineteenth century there were a number of interregional alliances including between the rajas of Buleleng, Karangasem, and Klungkung.

Dutch merchant seamen, whose first voyage to Bali was in 1597, noted on subsequent visits the complexities of Balinese *adat* law, local cultural traditions, and intra-Bali conflicts between royal courts but did not intervene. Perhaps the

Dutch also knew about the Portuguese failed attempt to establish a fort and trading post on Bali in 1585, having met one of the five ship-wrecked sailors who was taken into the service of the king of Gelgel and provided with a Balinese wife (see Lekkerkerker, 1920: 53). Other historical reports about the Portuguese cited in the article “An Abortive Mission Effort: The Island of Bali in 1635” by Hubert S.J. Jacobs (1984, see also Ardhana, 1991), describe their initial Christianization enterprise in Klungkung, which was rejected by the king of Gelgel. In that period, the royal court of Gelgel was at the peak of its political power along with its ruler who was considered to be a direct heir of Samprangan in Bali, and through it of the Majapahit dynasty. Some scholars suggest that the Dutch viewed the Balinese Hindu cultural traditions as unique and had a desire to preserve them, which they also hoped would help counter the threat of religious conquests.

It is useful to note, as Dutch historian J.C. van Leur (1940: 544–568) did in “*Enige Aanteekeningen betreffende de mogelijkheid der 18e eeuw als categorie in de Indische geschiedschrijving*”, that the Balinese kings maintained the sovereignty of the island on an economic and political level from the 17th till the end of the 18th century. Also, the interests of the Dutch during the *Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie* (VOC; Dutch East India Company) period from 1602 to 1799 were officially commercial and did not extend into Balinese territorial matters. While the Balinese recognized these informal trade relations, the Dutch colonial policy, if viewed from the new imperialism theory put forth by Gallagher and Robinson (1953: 13), “followed the principle of extending control informally if possible and formally if necessary ... from indirect to direct control”.

But, the Dutch perceived the increasing economic and political competition amongst European imperialists such as the British, Danes, and French in Latin America, Asia and Africa. These foreign colonial rivalries had a great impact on the political stability in Asia in general and Southeast Asia in particular. Thus, it was obvious at the end of the 19th and entering into the 20th century that the Dutch changed their political strategy from conventional free trade to a new imperialism approach in facing many issues arising from their efforts to incorporate the traditional kingdoms of Bali into the Dutch Indies.

3. Research Method

3.1 Method

The research method used in this paper is a qualitative descriptive research method with the selection of research titles and then formulating of research problems using the concept of People Power. The purpose of writing this paper is to reconstruct events in the mid-19th century in Bali about Adat and People Power systematically and objectively. This goal can be achieved

using the historical method. The historical research method is a systematic set of rules and principles for collecting historical sources effectively, evaluating them critically, and proposing a synthesis of the results achieved in written form (Abdurahman, 2007:53).

The process of collecting data is carried out using research questions that have been formulated by conducting a literature study and then analyzing them with an interdisciplinary approach, namely the Political Science approach. (Slamet, 2006:19). Literature study by reading and reviewing various references from historical documents, history books, politics, the journal of Cultural Studies, and others. The existence of these references helps to develop writing skills to a higher quality.

3.2 Theory

The theory used in this paper is the People Power Theory. People power, which involves the masses of the people as the main subject, causes this process to start in the lower classes of society. So, in people power, mass mobilization has an important role in achieving the main goal (Manan, 2020:78).

During the revolution, the phrase “People Power” or “People’s Power” was used. power can be interpreted as the peaceful overthrow of the power of the president or government through people’s demonstrations. In the history of the world revolution, people power has occurred in Germany, Georgia, Czechoslovakia, and the Philippines. During the 1965–1966 period, during the Ferdinand Marcos regime, he led a dictatorship and often took repressive actions against activists and opposition groups (Ricklefs, 2013:50).

The people’s power that occurred in Bali can be seen from the King’s leadership in Bali, which shows that the King has power, but the people still play a vital role in social resilience and strife. For example, in the events of the Puputan Badung and Puputan Margarana wars. Similarly, both men and women were important in the fight against poverty, as evidenced by the roles of figures such as Sagung Wah and I Dewa Agung Istri Kania in the Bali war.

4. Finding and Discussion

4.1 Towards the “Jagaraga War” in 1849: Contestation and Negotiation

Jagaraga Village is geographically located at an altitude of 100 to 150 meters above sea level, covers an area of about 383 hectares, and is within the Sawan administrative district of the Buleleng Regency in North Bali (Dwijaya Putra and Aditia, 2016: 333). The village is also cited as a historic battle site about 11 km east of the city of Singaraja as the capital of the Buleleng Regency. Most scholars agree that the toponym Jagaraga refers to the verb *jaga* meaning to guard or take care and the noun *raga* meaning body and soul. One possible

connotation is to take care of oneself on a scaled level, given the numerous external influences which can interfere, and to be aware of various negative possibilities.

When a community or a nation faces a threat from other nations or invaders against the sovereignty of their territory it can give rise to resistance. Forms of resistance are shaped by the development of a civilization and culture over time and reflect the dynamics of society. Southeast Asian resistance within a community or an ethnic group is well known as tribal warfare. In the precolonial and colonial periods, the ideology of a resistance movement that mobilized a community was often influenced by traditional messianism; belief in the advent of a savior that, based on the values of various religious teachings in Bali, Java and other areas of the Indonesian archipelago, was an ideal monarch who would re-establish safety and harmony. At times it may have appeared that traditional societies did not have a clear resistance system, such as when a leader or powerful local figure died at war inevitably resulting in the end of the resistance. Yet, there were certainly traditional and modern models for managing resistance.

A number of kingdoms in Bali had signed a *Lange Verklaring* (extended declaration), but it seems that the Dutch officials did not feel safe and comfortable if the kingdom was not brought directly under their rule. On the one hand the kingdom in Bali was willing to make treaties, because with autonomy it retained the matter of government, but on the other hand it seemed that the Dutch were looking for a reason to have more certain power in relation to colonial rule in the East Indies (see Dahm, 1971). The Dutch report titled “De Derde Militaire Expeditie naar het eiland Bali, in 1849”, written in 1850 by kapitein A.W.P. Weitzel (published in 1859), tells the story of how the movement started until the military expedition by the Dutch army began against North Bali.

Various efforts were made to conquer the kingdoms in Bali namely the signing of a *Korte Verklaring* (short-term declaration) which stated the recognition and willingness to be under Dutch rule. Nevertheless, consolidation between kingdoms in Bali continued in anticipation of colonial actions in Bali by Dutch imperialism. Other kingdoms in the Indonesian archipelago underwent similar colonial experiences. Dutch colonialists did not need many human resources that were expected to carry the responsibility of economic and political development. As long as there was cooperation between indigenous rulers and traditional royal governments, the Netherlands actually implemented informal and indirect control if possible, and formal and direct control if necessary (cf. Gallagher and Robinson, 1953: 13; Ardhana, 2005: 407–418). The use of indigenous energy was still expected to be used in supporting colonial economic activities in their colonies. There was still autonomy in the hands of

traditional rulers, while Dutch colonial rule observed only a growing political atmosphere. This is indicated by the existence of these aforementioned *Lange Verklaring* and *Korte Verklaring*.

This meant that the Dutch colonial government would relentlessly carry out its political interventions if informal trade relations were not directly confronted by obstacles in its colonies. This was an effort made by the Dutch government in managing its interests in the colony (Lekkerkerker, 1923). Meanwhile, political rivalries among the colonial rulers seemed to be increasingly concerned, because the target was to seize territory. The intensity of Dutch influence on the kingdoms in Bali was felt more and more deeply. This can be seen from the influences that entered in some kingdoms. There were some kingdoms that were considered to have entered the circle of Dutch interests in Bali. However not all of them recognized Dutch influence, including the kingdoms of Badung, Tabanan and Klungkung which were considered to be hostile to the Dutch in Bali.

As a sovereign kingdom such as Badung, where the relationship between the king and his people was very strong, the overthrow of Badung certainly could not have been easy. The demand for expensive compensation was certainly rejected by the government and the Dutch were preparing to send their military fleet to attack the Badung kingdom. Dutch troops began their offensive by attacking villages in North Bali. The Course of the Jagaraga War of the 19th century, has become a collective memory owned by the people of Badung until now. Not only Badung, but all Bali, became a focal point for the spirit of resistance against foreign powers who wanted to dominate them. Various efforts to remember what happened in that year have been highlighted and discussed by academics internationally.

The Balinese model of resistance needs to be studied more comprehensively as a method of *puputan* (all-out war). This resistance model becomes interesting to be studied more comprehensively, so that a better understanding of the nature and meaning of *puputan* as one of the models of total war that occurred in Bali can be understood. Of course, the spirit contained in *puputan* is expected to strengthen the lives of Balinese in particular, and Indonesia in general in strengthening national resilience and defense in the global era. This is one of Bali's contributions in seeing one form of resilience and defense. The practices of the VOC or Dutch colonial policy followed the trajectory of informal and indirect control if possible, and formal and direct control if necessary (cf. Gallagher and Robinson, 1953: 13; Ardhana, 2005: 407–418). Therefore the kingdom's political power in North Bali remained free to hold its trading activities. However, it seems that the Dutch paid close attention to the position of Singaraja or Buleleng in the context of trade dynamics in the Bali region.

Although still given freedom, this does not mean that Dutch influence did not face obstacles when trading with local residents and rulers. This is proven by the local rules in force at that time related to the regulations of *tawan karang*, also known as *kliprecht*, referring to the cargoes of stranded maritime vessels, whereby the Balinese royal house that governed a port had the rights to take possession of goods from a shipwreck.

As Pageh (2019: 2) commented, *tawan karang* (salvage rights) was a customary law that had been passed down for generations related to territorial sovereignty declared by a royal house, which was not only found in Bali but also on other islands such as by *adat* communities of Tanimbar, Maluku and Southeast Kalimantan. *Tawan karang* are *adat*-based rights that have religious and economic facets, and in this sense cannot be annulled unilaterally in an offhand manner. So, it is understandable why traditional kingdoms in Bali sought to maintain the customary law of *tawan karang* as it related to religious, economic, and political aspects of their royal region. In the 17th and 18th centuries, neither the VOC nor the Dutch colonial government considered interfering with traditional *adat* customary law. However, the Dutch colonial interests changed due to a competition with other European colonial powers. As a result, the Dutch colonial government shifted from exercising authority in the economic field to political affairs. Political change showed when the Dutch began overturning customary powers among the royal powers and the people on the coasts of North Bali.

4.2 Ideology of War and People's Recruitment

In Bali generally and North Bali in particular, the ideology of resistance stems from a religious spirit based on Hindu religious values that are rooted in long historical traditions. The ideology of resistance is reported to have had magical values that could foster the spirit of courage (*wira*, now term used to signify an Indonesian officers rank). In the recruitment of people, the kings of Karangasem, Mengwi and Tabanan were ready to help Buleleng.

This is understandable because the presence of war leader I Gusti Ketut Jelantik was known as a war expert. I Gusti Ketut Jelantik is mentioned in the work of Soehartono (see Kartodirdjo, 1973) as an archer, immune, intelligent, and charismatic expert who fulfilled the messianic figure of a "savior" in Java. Pageh (2019: 5) notes that about 2,000 spears and *kris* were readied for war. The number of people involved was enough to describe the situation as a total war. This was also indicated by the construction of fortifications against the Dutch army (Soehartono, 1973: 214). The recruitment of warriors was carried out by the kings who had influence in Bali. The recruited people's troops united against the Dutch consisting of ethnic Balinese, Malays, Bugis, and Chinese.

Pageh (2019: 1) also notes that the Jagaraga War in North Bali was a dramatic performance; an encounter between troops with modern western weapons such as canons, mortars, howitzers, and rifle fire versus traditional weapons such as *kris* daggers, *tombak* spears, bows and arrows, *cuntrik* knives, *pedang* swords, *kelewang* longswords, and *sumpitan* blowpipes filled with darts dipped in “*racun getah ancar*” poisonous milky sap from the Ancar (*Antiaris toxicaria* Lesch.) tree. As Soehartono (1973: 215) depicted the invading troops on 20 June 1849.

In total, there were 70 officers and 1,753 soldiers. They consisted of 400 Europeans, 700 *bumiputra*, 100 Africans and 582 recruited auxiliary soldiers. The expedition was under the command of Schout bij nacht (rear admiral) E.B. van den Bosch. The naval force under the Captain, Lieutenant-at-sea A.J. de Smit van den Broecke, consisted of 5 ships, 12 *kruisboot* with each ship carrying a canon. Alongside that, there were 6 *mayang* boats. The landing party under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel G. Bakker consisted of 600 sailors. They carried 34 guns.

The VOC went bankrupt, and was formally dissolved in January 1800. Its former territories were transferred to the Netherlands government. This was clearly seen when the Dutch colonial rulers under the Resident of Besuki/Commissioner for Bali and Lombok, J.F.T Mayor, came to the East Indies. The Mayor’s arrival was primarily intended to visit Bali where at that time there were known issues of indigenous rights of coral reefs that were considered to distort Dutch interests in his colony. His main task was to convey the provisions of the agreement and the threat if the Dutch demands were not met by the Buleleng government, which according to Soehartono (1973: 212 in Pageh, 2019: 4) were:

- First, implement the provisions of previous treaties between the Netherlands and The King of Buleleng on 26 November 1841 and the subsequent treaty on 8 May 1843, that the King of Buleleng and several other Balinese kingdoms became part of the Dutch Indies (see Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1973: 453)
- Second, Buleleng must compensate the ship seized by the residents of Jembrana and Sangsit.
- Third, has insulted the Dutch envoy
- Fourth, not answering the Governor-General’s letter
- Fifth, not flying the Dutch flag

The Mayor ratified the treaty on the abolition of the customary rights of coral reefs in May 1845, which was four years before the outbreak of the Jagaraga War. The ratification efforts made by the Mayor were opposed by the King of Buleleng as he did not have time to coordinate with Patih Jelantik.

It is understood that this is a significant reason why four years later the Jagaraga War broke out. Soehartono (1973: 213 in Pageh 2019: 4) recorded how Patih Jelantik reacted to the Dutch decision to violate the traditional order of the North Balinese by insulting the Dutch envoys in a meeting in the presence of the King and courtiers as follows:

“Hey you messenger of the big dog”, and he continued, “tell my words to your leader in Java and also order him to quickly attack North Bali. Get that white dog of yours. Explain that Buleleng is not afraid to fight the Dutch soldiers”. During that time the Dewa Agung did not speak a word due to his angry heart. The royal courtiers and nobles fell silent when they heard those words of Gusti Ketut Jelantik.

According to Pageh (2019: 4) the above speech is very bombastic the author claimed it was impossible for a Jelantik to put such words before a highly respected king, because of a nobleman (Patih Agung). Pageh added that harsh words would not be issued like the angry interpretations imagined by the scriptwriters in the cultural context, which were out of the cultural bonds that bound a servant of the king at the time.

On 27 June 1846, negotiations were held where the King of Karangasem and King Klungkung sent envoy I Gusti Ketut Jelantik. It seems that the Dutch returned to Batavia while the envoy I Gusti Ketut Jelantik went to Buleleng while the preparation for war continued. Jagaraga War lasted three days from the 27th to 29th June 1846. The Dutch destroyed the houses of the *laskar* people it seems that the Balinese figures of Jagaraga War had to retreat from the fierce resistance by the Dutch. The Dutch’s modern war strategy lead to victory against the people of North Bali who used traditional methods. It is no surprise that Dutch army troops easily destroyed people’s houses. The courage and spirit of the knights of Buleleng troops certainly became a focus to understand how the heroiknya Jagaraga War was taking place in North Bali (Photo 1). Although the Jagaraga forces were eventually subdued, it did not mean that the resistance had been destroyed (Soehartono, 1973: 217).



Photo 1. The Monument of Jagaraga in Buleleng (Photo document: I Ketut Ardhana, 2021).

The next situation was at the insistence of The King of Buleleng, Patih I Gusti Ketut Jelantik and a Brahmin named Ida Bagus Tamu to evacuate to the surrounding village in Jagaraga Village, namely to the fortifications that had been planned in advance in necessary efforts to save the war leadership figures of Jagaraga. The defeat of Puri Buleleng in the Jagaraga War of 1846 did not mean the victory of Dutch colonialism, as the strength of Buleleng's troops was concentrated in Fort Jagaraga.

4.3 Informal and Indirect Colonial Politics

There was an agreement between King Buleleng and the Dutch colonial government relating to the terms of the 1843 treaty, in which it was mentioned that King Buleleng became part of the Netherlands Indies. In addition, Buleleng

had to compensate the ship seized by the residents of Jembrana and Sangsit, a statement of the Dutch Indies that accused The King of Buleleng of insulting the Dutch envoy. Other accusations included not answering the letter of the Governor-General and the absence of loyalty from the King of Buleleng to fly the Dutch flag (Soehartono, 1973: 212, see also Pageh, 2019: 4).

For the Dutch colonial government the treaty was binding. But on the contrary the kingdoms of Buleleng and Karangasem were considered to violate what has been considered agreed upon. In fact, it appears that the Dutch colonial government realized the need to change its political policy in North Bali in particular and in the East Indies in general which was slowly but surely carrying out a massive expansion in the late 19th century. This Dutch colonial expansion was to end in the early 20th century when the submission of all kingdoms in the Archipelago to the Dutch Indies government occurred.

The reaction of the ruler of King Buleleng to what the Dutch wanted is certainly considered as the beginning of the non-compliance of King Buleleng towards the Dutch. For the Dutch, efforts to address the competing issues of fellow imperialists also seemed difficult to avoid. This was the heavy political atmosphere faced by the Dutch East Indies government. To realize the efforts to change the politics of Dutch imperialism from informal to direct, Governor-General Rochussen ordered an attack on the Kingdom of Buleleng for the second time on 7 March 1848. The desire to launch a policy that was transformed from informal to direct political savagery was carried out by appointing Governor General C.H.A. van der Wijck as commander of a military expedition, Lieutenant Colonel A.H.W. baron de Kock as commissioner and A.J. van der Capellen as military aide. The landing of Dutch troops at Sangsit took place on 8 June 1848. The landing of military forces, was a threat to *laskars* (freedom fighters) of Buleleng, Karangasem, and Klungkung and upset the treaty declared by the Dutch in 1846. In addition, the Dutch demanded that King of Buleleng hand over Patih I Gusti Jelantik to receive political punishment.

The Jagaraga War in 1848 began with Dutch military action conducted from Bungkulan Village and the Sangsit temple. The resistance of King of Buleleng's *laskar* was inevitable given there were casualties on the side of Bekanda, namely the deaths of Captain G.J. Donleben, Lieutenant J.C. Uhlenbeck, and 85 Dutch soldiers, as well as the wounding of 7 army officers and 98 troop members. It seems that in the Jagaraga War in 1848 was won by troops of Buleleng, Karangasem and Klungkung numbering between 7,000 to 8,000 soldiers.

Therefore, Major C. de Vos and General-Major C. van der Wijck ordered the Dutch forces to retreat to Bungkulan and Sangsit Port which was the first place of landing to carry out an attack by Dutch troops on the *laskar* of the King Buleleng. The military political policy of Dutch imperialism to implement

direct and formal power did not seem to have worked. Of course, more modern military strategies and tactics required careful preparation to launch the next military expedition in the context of the formal and direct implementation of Dutch imperialism policies in North Bali.

4.4 Application of Dutch Imperialism Politics: Formal and Direct Power

The dynamics of the implementation of Dutch political policy in the East Indies in general and in North Bali in particular required a long process to be able to carry out their wishes. This was due to the increasing rivalry between Western imperialism. Southeast Asia seems to have been a prime target especially for the Netherlands which considered increasing competition with the United Kingdom, and France as reason to expand its colony in Southeast Asia. The Dutch had noticed the importance of the Archipelago since the 17th and 18th centuries. They began slowly making treaties with local kings who at that time had their autonomy in the Archipelago. Evidence of the political defeat of Dutch imperialism in military strikes since 1846 continued in 1848, it was undesirable failure for them again. Therefore, later preparations for military expeditions were better and planned so as to achieve success in the context of policy from informal and indirect to formal and direct political policy in the Dutch Indies. To that end, a selected army included Major General A.V. Michiels, assisted by W.A.C. Ardesch, C.A. de Brauw, S. von Stampa, H.C. Staring, J. Vertholen, and Th. van Capellen along with military auditor Mr. C.J. van Haastert. Four battalions, of which the first was lead by Captain G.B. Becking and the third by Lieutenant-Colonel T. Poland, were equipped with modern weapons.

Jagaraga's war planning was thorough by the Dutch who looked at the ongoing geographical and climatic conditions and local political conditions in Bali at the time. The atmosphere of geography and climate, where efforts to launch war were carried out in the rainy season affected the condition of the people of Buleleng. Political conditions in the Netherlands began to see the loosening of the alliance of kings in Bali between the kings of Buleleng, Karangasem, and Klungkung. However, it should be noted that the total number of the Buleleng king's *laskar* army led by I Gusti Ketut Jelantik consisted of Buleleng, Karangasem and Klungkung *laskar* which amounted to between 1,200 to 2,000 soldiers. The culmination point of the attack began with the landing of Dutch troops at Sangsit Port on 28 March 1849. Then I Gusti Patih Jelantik sent an envoy to Michiels to hold negotiations on 7 April 1849, however, this effort was rejected by the Dutch.

The Kings of Buleleng , Karangasem and Klungkung, prepared around 12,000 *laskar* as a deterrent. However the demands of the Dutch who wanted the king of Buleleng to comply with the previous agreement made the outbreak

of war inevitable. At that time, Jro Jempiring appeared to lead the war, while I Gusti Patih Jelantik who seemed to be captured by the Dutch was said to have fled to Karangasem (Pageh, 2019: 8). Jro Jempiring led the war with the spirit of “war to the end”. Defeat was inevitable, because the previous leader of the army, I Gusti Patih Jelantik and his troops fled to Karangasem, so Patih I Gusti Jelantik was given the nickname “Jlantik Gingsir”, meaning always moving and moving to avoid capture from the Dutch (Widja, 1984; Pageh, 2019: 8). The Jagaraga War conducted in 1849 did not seem to reduce the spirit of resistance *laskar* of the north Balinese people to fight the Dutch.

After the defeat of Buleleng Kingdom, the modernization process was gradually carried out in the region. The raising of *puputan* all-out war spirit that was initiated against the Dutch who had modern weapons, seemed to be the spirit of resistance in Jagaraga’s war. This means that the idea and spirit of *puputan* as one way of fighting Dutch imperialism until the end fostered the spirit of courage, patriotism and heroism among the *laskar* people in North Bali and then could be seen in the character of the battles conducted in the South Bali region, such as Puputan Badung (1906) and Puputan Klungkung (1908) later.

4.5 Religious Teaching Values: Between Religious Dharma and State Dharma

The philosophy of war and resistance can be found in local Balinese terms and is known as *nindihin gumi* (defending the homeland). The concept of *puputan* that was proclaimed at the height of the Jagaraga War became evidence of how the spirit or ideology based on the Hindu philosophy of carrying out *puputan* meant a battle to the end. For Bali the term *puputan* is widely known and for areas outside Bali, the terms of resistance are also inspired by local cultural and religious values associated with the concept of messianic arrival of “saviors” into the world as resistance leaders. Philosophical values based on the spirit and personal religiosity that is sourced from Hinduism became the basis or basis of pjiwa heroism or patriotism of the people when it came to fighting against the Dutch colonialism.

In Bali, the ideology of war was based on a philosophy of death in battle, *rana swarga*. When dying in a war, one will find heaven (*swarga*). The values of Hinduism were also underpinned later when Puputan Badung broke out in South Bali in 1906 followed by Puputan Tabanan in 1908. A 1988 manuscript written by Cokorda Ngurah Agung – a descendant of the king of Badung – titled “Lintasan Babad Badung” mentioned that when Badung troops advanced to the battlefield they were sprinkled with holy water called *tirtha* alleviation that was able to thicken the spirit of heroism when dealing with the Dutch colonial army.

All across Bali at the outbreak of war, beginning with the Jagaraga War (1849) the wars were actually based on religious philosophical values that are very closely related to the values of knights known as the concept of religious dharma followed later in Bali. It is not surprising to say that the violation of the long-standing *tawan karang* customary law in North Bali not only violated sovereignty in a kingdom, but also violated the values of religious teachings. Therefore, a betrayal of trust resulted in a harsh reaction directed at the Dutch, because in the opinion of king of Buleleng if previously there was an agreement made with the Dutch, it was meant to remain a friendly agreement.

This was certainly different from the Dutch demand that the treaty was an agreement on the recognition of political rights in an effort to control the king's power and the customary provisions of traditions implemented in descending order. Thus this controversial view underlies the obligation of the King of Buleleng in carrying out religious teachings in accordance with the concept of state dharma.

4.6 Characteristics of the Universal People's Resistance: Total War

It is undeniable that the resistance of the people in general can be characterized as a total resistance, in the sense that they came to the battlefield no longer bound by worldly ties, but rather for things of a spiritual nature and religiosity based on Hinduism. This is the basis of total war resistance against forces that want to colonize them. It should be noted that when they had been inspired by such heroic values, there was no earthly bond that prevented their minds from going to war.

Moreover, inspired by the spirit of a charismatic leader, there was no holding the warriors back. At that time, the spirit of war was driven by a leader who had charisma or authority and hereditary noble values of the kingdoms in Bali. The spirit was presented by the presence of patih Jelantik leadership followed by an army of traditional Balinese soldiers who were a combination of several *laskar* and sympathizers from other kingdoms in Bali.

It can be understood, that from this aspect the kingdoms in Bali had conflicting motivations that were on the one hand sometimes against other kingdoms in Bali such as the resistance between the Badung Kingdom *laskar* against Mengwi Kingdom that occurred in the 18th century, and on the other hand the resistance was directed against the power of the Dutch colonial army as happened in the late 19th century and early 20th century.

The question is how the fighting spirit of the Jagaraga people was much encouraged by the charismatic values of the Patih Jelantik figures who were able to deal with the strength of the Dutch army? The Jagaraga War had the concept of total war. In the area of influence of the Buleleng Kingdom such

as in Jembrana they conducted war preparations by erecting strongholds and bamboo fences and making obstacles in the area that would likely be used as a fortress of Dutch defense. Furthermore, the people of North Bali were a multicultural society where there are many ethnic communities such as ethnic Bugis, ethnic Chinese (Pacinan) Kampung Tinggi and they worked together. Located around the Port of Sangsit, they built fortifications in the form of land excavations as protection. Those were hiding places as preparation for total war against the Netherlands. Although the strategy and the way it was carried out was still traditional and unbalanced, it had to deal with the Dutch army in the context of modern war.

The Dutch forces had a more modern war character where the Dutch forces consisted of artillery, cavalry, troops and were accompanied by the completeness of administrative and health staff. Judging from the spirit of the Jagaraga people's army, the Dutch used mercenaries who generally consisted of Balinese and ethnic people from outside Bali (see Pageh, 2019: 3 and cf. Sastrodiwiryono, 1994: 104).

5. Conclusion

Traditional Balinese kingdoms such as the Buleleng Kingdom in North Bali were aware of the importance of sovereignty. Although the Buleleng Kingdom had autonomy whose historical roots could be traced back to the 17th and 18th centuries, the socio-cultural, economic, political relations were still conducted with neighboring kingdoms in Bali such as the Karangasem and Klungkung Kingdoms. This relationship of interest seemed to blossom when the Jagaraga War took place between 1846, 1848 and 1849. The Jagaraga War showed how the Dutch sought to change their political policies in the colonial country of the Dutch Indies, from "informal and indirect rule as possible, and formal and direct rule if necessary". This was done in view of the increasing and intense competition in their colonies in Africa, the Americas and Asia.

Dutch concerns can be seen by the military expeditions led by Dutch imperialism against the kingdom of Buleleng in North Bali. The defeat of Puri Buleleng in the Jagaraga War of 1849 did not mean the surrender of sovereignty to Dutch colonialism, but resistance efforts were still carried out as could be seen in later years. The continued resistance and war conducted by kingdoms in Bali such as Puputan Badung continued in 1906 and Puputan Badung in 1908. With this defeat, it can be said that Bali was in an ordered state that was safe and orderly such that Dutch administrators spoke of *Pax Neerlandica* (Dutch peace).

It should be noted, however, that Balinese resistance and war did not cease. Resistance was still carried out which was interpreted by the spirit of endless war against injustice, the concept of *nidihin gumi*, national defence, religious

dharma and national dharma became the values of the character of the struggle of the people of North Bali in particular and Bali in general (see: Ardhana, 2013: 65-85). These values became a system that had character in relation to national and state life. In other words, each society has their own cultural entity that was sourced from traditional values (Parimartha, 2011: 123—138). These values had been deeply rooted in the dynamics of civilization and cultural history in the Archipelago.

The spiritual values were then reinforced by religious values. This became social and cultural capital that acquired historical relationships. All of this had developed over many centuries until the coming of modernization influences. In summary, this paper has attempted to offer a better understanding of how Balinese *adat* and religious values fostered an increase in social resilience and people power when faced with externally generated disturbances in the past. This can be taken as a useful lesson learnt for local and national efforts to sustain the dynamic adaptive capacity of *adat*-based socio-cultural, economic, political relations today and in the future.

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