

Local Wisdom As An Action Guidelines Against Dutch Colonialism In Indonesian National History

Luh Putu Sri Ariyani¹, Tuty Maryati², Anantawikrama Tungga Atmadja³

¹Library Diploma Program, Department of History, Sociology and Library, Universitas Pendidikan Ganesha, Bali, Indonesia, putu.sri@undiksha.ac.id

²History Education Program, Department of History, Sociology and Library, Universitas Pendidikan Ganesha, Bali, Indonesia, tuty.maryati@undiksha.ac.id

³Accounting Program, Faculty of Economy, Universitas Pendidikan Ganesha, Bali, Indonesia, anantawikrama_t_atmadja@undiksha.ac.id

Abstract

History is the actualization of collective thinking in a community. This thinking has a very wide and complex scope, one of which is local wisdom. Local wisdom makes ideal values so often used as an action guidelines in society not only in the present, but also in the past or in a historical event. The historian, however, cares little about it. This article aims to explain the role of local wisdom in some cases of Indonesian historical events against Dutch colonialism. Its role can take place openly or may be veiled. The research method used four steps historical research, namely, the heuristic, the internal and external criticism, the interpretation and the historiography. The results lead to a study of the role of local wisdom requires a critical historical perspective. Local wisdom is often related and / or based on religion. This has resulted in local wisdom not only lasting long, but also has a very strong thrust and prevention power that is reflected in the actions of historical agents in a historical event.

Keywords: local wisdom, Indonesian Nasional History, action guidelines, Dutch colonialism.

Introduction

Every society has local wisdom. The local wisdom has some characteristics, at *first*, the abstraction from collective experience in context interaction between human, human and natural environment with human and God, so it thinks out ecological passivity, social, and theological. *The second*, the local wisdom is formulated into standard expression, short, and interesting, and it is easy to remembered, uttered and/or practiced as action recipe in the society. *The third*, the local wisdom contains idea about the value system, so that it can be used as schemata for creating wise and wise human in order to create the theological harmony, social, and ecological. *The fourth*, The local wisdom contains functional and pragmatic truth, so as kept it up and also becomes the culture capital for a local community. *The fifth*, the local wisdom can be resourced and/or relate with the religion, until the thrust and the brake power for human action are stronger. *The sixth*, the local wisdom and social practice which involve are inherited hereditary, so they develop to be a tradition (Atmadja, Atmadja, and Maryati, 2017: 44 - 47; Soetomo,2014).

The local wisdom does not only reflect on social practice in the society now, but it can be valid on the social practice in the past into historical incidents. This thought relates with the fact that history as the incident in the past is actualization from the idea into the society (Collingwood, 2004; Reiner, 1997; Rowse, 2014) includes the local wisdom. The Local wisdom is as an action recipe, even it can be as ideology in history of nation's struggle against Dutch colonialism.

Nevertheless, the study of local wisdom's role in Indonesian history and local history has not been applied by the historian. The more thoughts which studied is western ideology, such as nationalism, patriotism, socialism, communism, democracy, etc. The study like this effect the local wisdom's role as be not valid in Indonesian history (Atmadja and Ariyani, 2019). Actually the historical evidences shows that the local wisdom's role is no less important than the role of the western ideology for moving the action of the historical actors in Indonesian history and local history in the context for doing against Dutch colonialism which was full of injustice.

From that background then the problem of the local wisdom's role in Indonesian history and Local history is not very interesting to studied, but also it is very important. The purpose is to give comprehension in more depth, board and holistic to Indonesian history and Local history. The paradigm used to study the problem is social constructivism. Referring to this paradigm then the historical occasion can be regarded as the construction from the idea which saved in the historical actors' thinking as members in the community (Kulka, 2000; Noerhadi, 2013). The local wisdom will be very rich of the value which can be functioned not only as an action guide, but it also gives meaning for the actors' action on the historical stage.

The disclosure of local wisdom behind Indonesian history and Local history can be used as an action guide for the current generation. This thinking relates with the existence of reality that the essence of the history is as the occasion or story about the occasion in the past has various functions including history as a teacher for human's life (Atmadja and Ariyani, 2019). It means that, the history is as an actualization of various thoughts includes the local wisdom contains high value that can be used as a schemata for the current generation in the life of society, state and nation.

Methodology

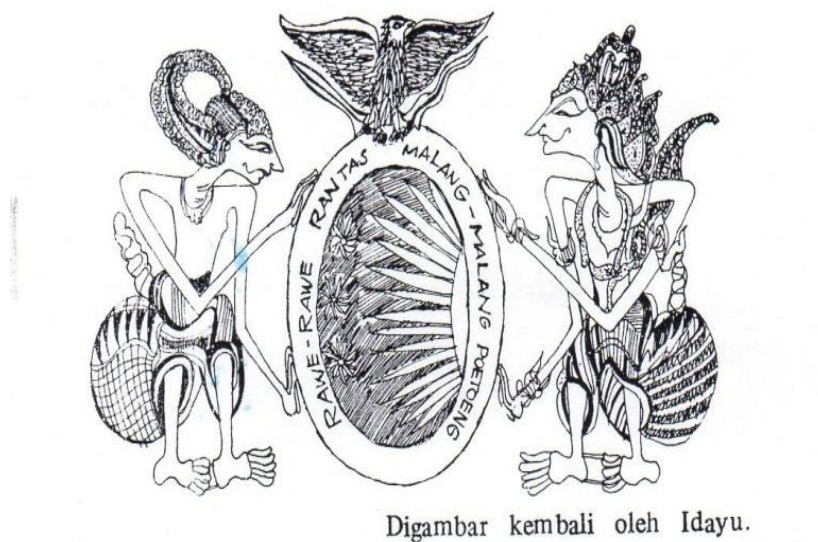
The local wisdom study behind the historical occasion needs to the research so that its explanation can be explained academically. Therefore, the research which used is historical research. The steps are, *at first*, heuristic forms historical resources collection in the written document, such as newspaper, book, religious literature, oral tradition, etc. (Vansina, 2014; Purwanto, 2014). *The second*, the internal and external criticism is used to ensure the validity of data which obtained from the historical resource. *The third*, the interpretation is in the form of interpreting the data. The interpretation of data is accompanied with the deconstruction for getting denotative and connotative meaning (Norris, 2006; Barthes, 2004, 2007). *The fourth*, Historiography is a narrative writing about actualization of the local wisdom in critical Indonesian history and Local history (Atmadja and Ariyani, 2018).

Result And Discussion

The local wisdom's role on the occasion can be observed on the various moments in National history and Local history. This idea can be observed on the following explanation.

Javanese Local Wisdom on Indische Partij

In 1911 E.F.E Douwes Dekker, Tjipto Mangunkusumo, and Suwardi Suryaningrat built political organization at first time during the national movement, namely Indische Partij (IP/*Partai India*) (Ricklefs,1994: 260). IP organization had badge as shown in picture 1.



Picture 1. De Indische Partij' badge (IP) created by Ki Hajar Dewantara is one of the founders of IP organization (Surjomiharjo, 1979).

This badge was found in Weekland Neuwe Ansterdamme on 9th of June 1917, by Suwardi Suryaningrat (Surjomihardjo, 1979). This picture can be inspired by Ki Hajar Dewantara. Because, he knew Javanese culture and really loved puppet and idolized the puppet's character, namely Krishna and Yudistira (Atmadja,2017). This badge is very interesting, other than because containing picture which refers to Hindu religious symbols, namely Arjuna and Kresna, eagle, and lotus flower, contain Javanese local wisdom, namely *rawe - rawe rantas, malang - malang putung* (means destroy all the obstacles) (Surjomihardjo, 1979). The barrier element is Dutch colonialism of Indonesia (especially Java).

Referring to Fiske (2012), this badge is the communication media in order to deliver message from communicator, namely IP organization to communicant, namely follower and/or sympathizer of IP organization. The message does not only refer to Javanese local wisdom *rawe - rawe rantas, malang - malang putung*, but it also refers to other symbols of the badge as a totality. Thus borrowing meaning of the symbol in Hindu religion (Titib, 2003; Atmadja, 2014, 2017) then it can be explained that IP organization position as a chastity (symbolized by lotus flower) and the virtue or *dharma* by strengthening the spiritual capital or the intelligence (symbolized by Arjuna and Kresna). All of these are positioned not only as holy dream because it relates with the virtue (*dharma*), but it is also sublime, so that every Indonesian is expected to reach it (symbolized by Eagle).

Dutch colonialism is as the opponent automatically positioned as the side which injured the chastity and virtue. In other words, the Dutch is the opponent of the virtue (*dharma*), the wickedness (*adharma*) or a symbol of Korawa party, and also means IP organization is the opposite, namely, Pandawa party is as defender of the virtue (*dharma*). Dutch colonizers were impossible to give freedom to Indonesian

nation, so they became a hindrance for IP organization's dream. IP organization against Dutch colonizers used motto of local wisdom *rawe - rawe rantas, malang - malang putung*. IP organization was a communicator wanted to affect the communicant, namely IP followers or native people. They were expected to act unanimously and radically against Dutch colonizers by destroying all obstacles (*rawe - rawe rantas, malang - malang putung*) to uphold *dharma (the virtue)*. This dream interfere order and security, so it is not wondering if IP organization was disbanded by the Dutch East Indies government.

Balinese Local Wisdom in *Puputan* War

The local wisdom can be also observed in *Puputan* War in Bali, among others Badung *Puputan* War. *Puputan* War means all out war or Covarrubias (2013: 36) mentions in the term of fighting until the last blood. The most famous *Puputan* war is Badung *Puputan* War. The background of Badung *Puputan* War started with shipwrecked of a Sri Komala flagged merchant ship in Sanur beach in 1904. Dutch side accused Badung society robed shipload of Sri Komala, so they suffered a loss of 3.700 ringgit silver and 2.300. The Dutch East Indies government in Batavia asked the king of Badung to pay the compensation. The king of Badung, Gusti Gde Ngurah Denpasar refused, so the Dutch blockaded the territorial water of Badung Kingdom (Purna, 2010; Ardika, Parimarta and Wirawan, 2015).

The king of Badung refusal is inseparable from *cor* swear that applied by society of Sanur village (Purna, 2010). According to Windia (2014: 115 117) *cor* swear is the way to decide the dispute where the side fight utters oath in the temple by following the pronunciation and ceremony managed in eject of *aricanani*. *Cor* swear gives legitimacy that villagers of Sanur village as the right side, so they refused Dutch colonizers' accusation as the usurper of ship that ran aground. If the oath of *cor* swear lie then they will get religious penalty among others the disease that causes death. This penalty is difficult to avoid because of the God who can do anything to human without being bound by time and space.

The Dutch side did not believe in *cor* swear because they are not Hindu, remembering the foundation of *cor* swear is Hindu religion (Windia, 2014: 115). The religion based on the belief, so it does not need to empirical evidence. This is the opposite with the Dutch people mindset that emphasize on empiricism and rationalism of the empirical and reasonable evidences (Atmadja, 2014). As a result, The Dutch side still sued the king of Badung to pay the compensation. The king of Badung really believe in *cor* swear that done by his servant (*kawula-nya*) The king of Badung sued back, namely the Dutch side had to pay the compensation of 1.500 ringgit everyday as compensation for the economic blockade carried out. Chinese and Bugis people had initiative to solve this obstacle by paying the compensation in order to prevent war. They refused war. If the war happened then they would suffer loss, because they could not trade (Suwitha, 2017; Agung, 1989). Therefore, the hidden ambition had not been guessed, namely as "savior God", so that economic and political bargaining position for king and Badung society experienced enhancement.

However Chinese and Bugis people wanted to pay the compensation, but the king of Badung refused it. The reason is not of the king of Badung did not have a lot of money, but more of the consideration in struggling justice, honest and self regard as Balinese people. The king of Badung believed that Badung society' bravery did *cor* swear is as a symbol of honest. If the king paid the compensation by using his own money and from Chinese and Bugis people assistance, then the king led position his

society were dishonest people directly or indirectly. The society belongs to the king and also they become as reflection of king. This idea appropriates with the link *kawula gusti* underlying the relation between the king and the society in Balinese people (Atmadja, 2010; Geertz, 1981). This thought implies if the king was ready to pay the compensation to The Dutch East Indies government, it means that the king does not only value his society as dishonest people, but reflected also on him as a cheat king, because the society unite with himself integrally.

The king of Badung understood that the real purpose of Dutch who did not only ask compensation, but occupied the kingdom of Badung even South Bali (Bali as whole to remember Dutch had dominated North Bali in 1849). The king's thought was true, it proved in 1906 the army of the Dutch attacked the kingdom of Badung. The kingdom of Badung gave resistance to the Dutch. The kingdom of Badung gave resistance by doing *Puputan War*. There was no certainty about how many victims of *Puputan War*. According to newspaper *Soerabajasche Handelsblad*, published in Surabaya and *Bataviasch Newsland* newspaper published in Batavia with the total of *Puputan War* victims are around 1.000 to 1.500 people (Ardika, Parimartha and Wirawan, 2015).

Referring to Korn (2017) and Purna (2010: 173174) the *Puputan war* was done because Balinese people felt urgent, actually they were true. This idea connotatively can refer to the local wisdom, namely a clumsy dog must bark (*buka cicinge kaselek pastika negor*) or a "a clumsy dog turning to bite/bark" (*buka kuluke kaselek mabalik nyegut/negor*) It means that like a dog whose life is in dangerous, then a dog must bite back or against. The form of resistance which done by Balinese people, they follow the character of a dog, namely they do not only against, but they formed *Puputan war*. The use of dog as a reasoned parable, because a dog is a pet animal, so Balinese people understand well with its characteristic.

The other local wisdom on Badung *Puputan war* borrows idea from Wirawan (1995:103) is the motto "we cannot bring injury to back to home, we would rather die in the war". It means that, we do not bring wound to home, we would rather die in the war. *De Locomotif* (December 4th in 1908) gives an explanation that the local wisdom relates with Balinese people' belief about true knight, namely "they cannot be die at their homes, that is coward, that's why there is *Puputan war* (in Wirawan, 1995: 103). This prohibition is reasonable considering that if someone brings wound to home, moreover the wound is awfully then he will troublesome his family. Nevertheless Balinese people think they would rather die in *Puputan war* than they troublesome and/or embarrass their family.

The idea of *Puputan war* relates also with the war etiquette or *dharma yudha* which made by the king of Badung. This etiquette contains various forbidden acts for the king when he wars among others, *at first, jayasalastra*, namely the king runs from the war because he is fear of death. *The second, jayakawardata*, namely the king is attacked by the enemy then the king surrenders (Cokorda Mantuk Ring Rana in Agastia, 2006: 20). This prohibition was made for the king, because the king is warlords. Nevertheless this prohibition is valid for the knight because they are the king's men. This case appropriate also with the local wisdom that mentioned as the link the king's servant *Gusti panjak* or client patrons.

How great is Balinese local wisdom and the etiquette of this war that formulated by the king, it can be observed on a young retainer action after *Puputan war*. This young retainer came back to commander of the Dutch army while he said that he had gone on the previous day, so he did not have chance for

doing *Puputan* war. He begged to be shot by the Dutch army so that he fell with other soldiers. When his demand refused, he drew his dagger and stabbed himself before he could be prevented. He passed away following his friends who passed away in *Puputan* war. (Covarrubias, 2013: 38). This occasion showed that Balinese people obey in the war etiquette, namely they would rather die than give up to the enemy.

The Local Wisdom Relate with Religion

The local wisdom has relation with religion. For example Javanese local wisdom *rawe - rawe rantas, malang - malang putung* relates with another local wisdom, namely defending (*ngalah*), searching (*ngalih*), doing berserk (*ngamuk*). Defending (*Ngalah*) means solving the problem by defending so that it does not happen conflict openly, considering that Javanese people longing harmony (Mulder, 1999). They do not only defend (*ngalah*), but they also search (*ngalih*), namely searching solution of problem that they deal with the dialogue. This thing is accompanied by effort in collecting physical strength and spiritual as the preparation if the war cannot be avoided. If defending (*ngalah*) and searching (*ngalih*) experienced the failure because the opponent does continuous emphasis, so the society becomes disharmony prolonged, then Javanese people will berserk (*ngamuk*), namely doing violence. Nevertheless it happens *rawe - rawe rantas, malang - malang putung* (Atmadja, 2017).

The Javanese local wisdom defending (*ngalah*), searching (*ngalih*), doing berserk (*ngamuk*) refers to Yudhistira, Arjuna, and Bima. Yudhistira is human symbol who always tries to solve problem by defending (*ngalah*). Arjuna is human symbol who solves the problem by searching (*ngalih*), namely trying to find the best solution while preparing himself physically and spiritually so he becomes winner outside. This case reflects on Arjuna's action as an ascetic which mentioned on Arjuna Wiwaha's verse. If defending (*ngalah*) and searching (*ngalih*) are fail then Pandawa selected another way doing berserk (*ngamuk*) which symbolized by Bima character. Bima role, namely doing berserk (*ngamuk*) in *Bratayudha* war can be related with Javanese local wisdom *rawe - rawe rantas, malang - malang putung*.

In Diponegoro war (1825- 1830) can be related with Javanese local wisdom defending (*ngalah*), searching (*ngalih*), doing berserk (*ngamuk*). This idea can be observed on Carey's explanation (2011, 2014), namely in his childhood and youth, Diponegoro lived in Tegalrejo, because he did not fit with the social, politic, and religion condition in the non Islamic Yogyakarta palace. This action can be mentioned defending (*ngalah*). Diponegoro had next step to do pilgrimage to the various place which is haunted place and/or holy. This action can be aligned with searching (*ngalih*), namely preparing himself physically and spiritually for warming with the Dutch. Searching' action can be related with Arjuna as an idol for Diponegoro. Eventually, when ready then Diponegoro went berserk (*ngamuk*), so there was the greatest war in Javanese history. Diponegoro's anger is basically reversible to Javanese local wisdom, namely (*rawe - rawe rantas, malang - malang putung*).

This pattern applies on *Puputan* war in Bali. Balinese people' bravery did *Puputan* war referring to Hindu religion. The conflict resolution through negotiation is as very important on Mahabrata, namely Kresna character as ambassador, Pandawa decided Kresna as a negotiator (Zoetmulder, 1983; Atmadja, 1987). This pattern was applied by King of Badung, namely negotiating with the Dutch in order to solve the problem accusation of confiscation Sri Komala cargo ship. The negotiation was fail because of the Dutch still sue the compensation even more than that, namely consolidating power over

Bali. The Dutch searched reason so that they could dominate Bali Island as a whole (Agung, 1989). The king of Badung was pressed, actually he was on the true position, so it happens the local wisdom like a clumsy dog must bark or like a clumsy dog turning to bite (*buka cicinge keselek pastika negor* or *buka cicinge keselek mabalik nyegut/negor*).

The king of Badung tried to sharpen the conflict against the Dutch, by the king of Badung mentioned Dutch people with label the bright skin people (*I kulit putih*) or white monkey (*I bojog putih*) (Wirawan,1995). This label relates with the local wisdom *rwa bhineda* or the binaryism. *Rwa bhineda* matches with another concept, so it created binaryism as follow as.

The Bright skin	: The stunned skin
(I kulit putih)	: (I kulit sawo matang)
The white monkey	: Not The white monkey
(I bojog putih)	: (Bukan I bojog putih)
Be dishonest/deceitful	: Be honest (loyal)
(Tidak jujur/culas)	: (Jujur (satya))
Adharma party	: Dharma party
(Partai Adharma)	: (Partai Dharma)
Korawa party	: Pandawa party
(Partai Korawa)	: (Partai Pandawa)
The opponent/them:	Friends/ Us
(Lawan/Mereka)	: (Kawan/Kita)
Destroyed	: Destroying
(Dimusnahkan)	: (Memusnahkan)

Rwa bhineda is as the local wisdom has very strong influence on Bali society. *Rwa bhineda* reflects that the king of Bandung mentioned The Dutch people as the bright skin (*I kulit putih*) does not only mean denotative that the Dutch people whose are bright skin, but borrowing connotative opinion from (Barthes 2004, 2007) relates with the effort in distinguishing the identity between them (Dutch people) and us (Balinese people). As well as connotative mention Dutch people as white monkey (*I bojog putih*), the Dutch people positioned as people whose characteristic like monkey. The characteristic, dishonest characteristic (reflects on the action sue the compensation) that means also as the follower of wickedness (*adharma*) party/ Korawa party (greedy person, knows as justifying all means for achieving the purpose). Nevertheless the Dutch people is opponent for the king of Badung (us), so they have to be destroyed for the peace of Bali Island.

This thought implies that the king of Badung, the opponent of bright skin people (*I kulit putih*) is the stunned skin people (*I kulit sawo matang*). So the mention of the Dutch people as white monkey (*I bojog putih*) means connotative that we are not white monkey (*I bojog putih*). This label means connotative, we are honest people, followers of the virtue (*dharma*) /Pandawa party. This thought cannot be separated from appreciation of the king of Bali to Mahabrata and Ramayana's epic. Both of these epics is as a mandatory reading and also the action guide for the king of Bali (Wirawan, 1995). Both of these epics also are performed in shadow puppet show, so the internalization of values which contain in these epics are getting stronger, not only for people around the palace, but also for the society of the village in order to implement noble character education (Karmini and Paramartha, 2019: 346-347; Karmini, 2020: 25 - 28).

How powerfully Mahabrata epic is in giving inspiration for *Puputan* war can be seen from the historical agent action in *Puputan* war, namely they stated themselves went to Kuruksetra, a battlefield for doing war of Bratha Yudha war (Wirawan, 1995). The use of this label signs that the war which done not only the war against the Dutch, but also the war against *adharma*. This war became more excited, considering that people in the battlefield were for defending *dharma* they will be believed in heaven. This idea relates with the study of Atmadja (2017) to Hindu religion text clearly that mentions people die in the battlefield for defending *dharma* will get rewarded in heaven.

The motif in getting heaven for people who followed *Puputan* war could be observed on their clothes worn, namely the best clothes complete with the jewelry. As well as the ceremonial knife or the spear which is used with full of gold and jewel decoration (Covarrubias, 2013: 36 – 36). This action is a symbol that they are ready for getting the death to heaven. In heaven the jewelries that they wore would follow them. This pattern is valid for Balinese people, since prehistoric times, reflects to give grave provisions to death ritual (Atmadja, Atmadja and Maryati, 2016).

The relation of *Puputan* war with Hindu religion can refer to Balinese local wisdom about the death as inevitability which formulated in the expression of the pig for *Galungan* day - the pig for *Kuningan* day (*celeng Galungan-celeng Kuningan*). This local wisdom describes the pig fate, if it is not slaughtered on *Galungan* day then the pig will be slaughtered on *Kuningan* day. The essence of the local wisdom, the pig for *Galungan* day - the pig for *Kuningan* day (*Celeng Galungan - Celeng Kuningan*) teaches Balinese people that the death is inevitability for human, the time onli is different, namely there are people die first (the pig is slaughtered on *Galungan day*) or and people die at the last (the pig is slaughtered on *Kuningan day*).

If this idea related with *Puputan* war then the death is inevitability and the different thing is only time, namely there is person died first, there too person died at last. If someone died in *Puputan* war, it means that he died first, so he will not died at any other time. Even though they died, but the death in *Puputan* war has advantages, namely the motif for defending the virtue (*dharma*) and the reward is title of hero and heaven.

Conclusion

History is an actualization of collective thinking which is valid in the community. This thought has very wide scope and complex because it covers all ideas in human mind. Considering that thing then one of the human minds is the local wisdom. The local wisdom contains ideal values even it can be as ideology which is valid for the society. Nevertheless it is not surprising if the local wisdom often used as guidance action in relation between human with human, human with the environment and human with God. This condition can take place now or in the past or even in the future.

The role of local wisdom in the past or in the historical occasion could take place openly as seen on the badge of *De Indische Partij* (IP), namely mentioning the expression *rawe - rawe, rantas, malang - malang putung* strictly. But, it can happen also that the local wisdom is covert, can be seen in Badung *Puputan* war, creating the local wisdom like a clumsy dog and it turning to bite/bark (*buka kuluke kaselek mabalik nyegut/negor*). The local wisdom often relates and/or take resource on religion. This pattern results in local wisdom not only lasting long in the tradition of society., but it has both very strong propulsion and deterrence for the action which done by the actors of the historical occasion.

References

1. Agung, Ide Anak Agung Gde. (1989). Bali Pada Abad XIX. Yogyakarta: UGM Press.
2. Ardika, I Wayan, I Gde Parimartha dan A.A. Bangus Wirawan. (2015). Sejarah Bali dari Prasejarah hingga Modern. Denpasar: Udayana University Press.
3. Atmadja, Nengah Bawa. (2010). Genealogi Keruntuhan Majapahit Islamisasi, Toleransi dan Pemertahanan Agama Hindu di Bali. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
4. Atmadja, Nengah Bawa dan Luh Putu Sri Ariyani. (2018). Filsafat Sejarah Perspektif Agama Hindu dan Pemikiran Lainnya. Singaraja: Undiksha.
5. Atmadja, Nengah Bawa, Anantawikrama Tungga Atmadja, dan Tuty Mariyati. (2015). (Ngaben + Memukur) = (Tubuh + Api) + (Uparengga + Mantra) = (Dewa Pitara + Surga): Perspektif Teori Sosial Ketubuhan. Yogyakarta: Larasan.
6. Atmadja, Nengah Bawa, Anantawikrama Tungga Atmadja, dan Tuty Mariyati. (2016). Agama Hindu, Pancasila, dan Kearifan Lokal Fondasi Pendidikan Karakter. Denpasar: Larasan.
7. Barthes, Roland. (2004). Mitologi. [Penerjemah Nurhadi dan A.S. Millah]. Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana.
8. Barthes, Roland. (2007). Petualangan Semiologi. [Penerjemah Stephanus Anwar Herminanto]. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
9. Carey, Peter. (2011). Kuasa Ramalan Pangeran Diponegoro dan Akhir Tatanan Lama di Jawa, 1785-1855, Jilid I dan 2. [Penerjemah Prakriti T. Simbolon]. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.
10. Carey, Peter. (2014). Takdir Riwayat Pangeran Diponegoro (1785-1855). (Penerjemah Th. Bambang Murtianto). Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
11. Collingwood, R.G. (2004). Filsafat Sejarah Investigasi Historis dan Akheologis. [Penerjemah Marselius Kapata]. Yogyakarta: Insight Reference.
12. Covarrubias, Miguel. (2013). Pulau Bali Temuan yang Menakjubkan. [Penerjemah Sunaryo Basuki Ks). Denpasar: Udayana University Press.
13. Fiske, John. (2012). Pengantar Ilmu Komunikasi. [Penerjemah Hapsari Dwiningtyas]. Jakarta: PT RajaGrafindo Persada.
14. Geertz, Clifford. (1981). Negara: The Teatre State ini Nineteenth-Century Bali. Princenton. New York: Prencenton University.
15. Karmini, Ni Nyoman. (2020). Pendidikan Karakter Dalam Cerita Rakyat Rajapala. Mudra Jurnal Seni Budaya: Vol. 35(1), 22-29 <https://doi.org/10.31091/mudra.v35i1.994>
16. Karmini, Ni Nyoman dan Wayan Paramartha. (2019). Nilai-nilai Pendidikan Dalam Tari Sanghyang Manik Geni Di Pura Serayu Desa Adat Cangu , Kuta Utara- Badung. Mudra Jurnal Seni Budaya: Vol. 34(3), 341-348. <https://doi.org/10.31091/mudra.v34i3.792>
17. Korn, V.E. (2017). Hukum Adat Bali (Het Adatrecht van Bali) Jilid 1. [Penerjemah Mean Joebaar dan I Nengah Merta]. Denpasar: Udayana University Press.
18. Kulka, Andre. (2000). Konstruktivisme Sosial dan Filsafat Ilmu. [Penerjemah Hari Kusharyanto]. Yogyakarta: Jendela.
19. Mulder, Niel. (1999). Agama, Hidup Sehari-Hari dan Perubahan Budaya Jawa, Muangthai, dan Filipina. Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Gramedia.
20. Noerhadi, Toeti Heraty. 2013. Aku dalam Budaya Telaah Teori dan Metodologi Filsafat Budaya. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
21. Norris, Christopher. (2006). Membongkar Teori Dekonstruksi Jacgues Derrida. [Penerjemah Inyik Ridwan Muzir]. Yogyakarta: AR-Ruzz Media.
22. Purna, I Made. (2010). “Memaknai Nilai ‘Puputan’ sebagai Ketahanan Budaya dan Era Globalisasi”. Dalam I Made Pageh dan Nengah Bawa Atmadja ed. Sejarah dan Kearifan Berbangsa Bunga Rampai Perspektif Baru Pembelajaran Sejarah. Singaraja: FIS-Undiksha. Halaman 169-188.
23. Purwanto, Bambang. (2014). “Belajar dari Afrika: Tradisi Lisan sebagai Sejarah dan Upaya Membangun Historiografi bagi Mereka yang Terbaik” dalam Jan Vansina, Tradisi Lisan sebagai Sejarah. [Penerjemah Astrid Reza dkk.]. Jakarta: Ombak. Halaman xxii-xxxv.
24. Reiner, G.J. (1997). History its Purpose and Method. Yogyakarta: PT Pustaka Pelajar.
25. Ricklefs, M.C. (1994). Sejarah Indonesia Modern. [Penerjemah Dharmono Hardjowidjono]. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
26. Rowse, A.L. (2014). The Use of History. England: Pelican Books.

27. Soethama, Arya. (2017). "Celeng Galungan-Celeng Kuningan". *Harian Nusa Tenggara*, Minggu, 12 November 2017; Halaman 1 berlanjut ke halaman 15.
28. Soetomo. (2014). *Kesejahteraan dan Upaya Mewujudkannya dalam Perspektif Masyarakat Lokal*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
29. Surjomihardjo, Abdurrachman. (1979). *Pembinaan Bangsa dan Masalah Historiografi*. Jakarta: Yayasan Idayu.
30. Suwitha, I Putu Gede. (2017). "Identity and Ethnicity of Bugis Community in Bali: An Historical Perspektif". *Paramita Historical Studies Jurnal*, Vol. 27, No. 2 - Tahun 2017. Halaman 131-153.
31. Titib, I Made. (2003). *Teologi dan Simbol-Simbol dalam Agama Hindu*. Surabaya: Paramita.
32. Vansina, Jan. (2014). *Tradisi Lisan sebagai Sejarah*. [Penerjemah Astrid Reza dkk.]. Jakarta: Ombak.
33. Wirawan, A.A. Bagus. (1995). "Puputan sebagai Swadharamaning Negara: Perspektif Sejarah". Dalam *Wayan Supatha ed. Dharma Negara dan Dharma Agama*. Denpasar: Penerbit Bali Post. Halaman 95-112).