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***SURA MAGADHA: PATRIOTISM AND NATIONALISM
OF BANJAR PEOPLE IN THE 1868 BANJAR WAR***

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Abstract

This article discusses the conflict between the people of North Bali and Dutch colonialism, especially in Banjar Village, which was known as the Banjar War which took place in 1868. The Balinese resistance war that broke out in various areas became known as puputan, which is a dictionary that means to finish and refers to the meaning that in war, self-respect must include everything, including body and soul. The main cause of this opposition started when the Dutch lowered and replaced the Banjar retainer Ida Made Rai. This research was conducted using historical methods, including heuristics, criticism, synthesis, and historiography. The results of this study found that the resistance was motivated by Dutch politics and intervention to colonize the total area of Bali, especially Buleleng and Banjar Villages. This decision has a logical crisis from the critical attitude of the Banjar people with the crisis at that time. The uniqueness of this prohibition is the critical attitude and methods of clashing as the last resort in their war which gave birth to the ideology of Sura Magadha.

Keywords: Sura Magadha, The War at Banjar on 1868, Resistance

I. INTRODUCTION

War as part of human civilization is inevitable. It is used as an instrument to achieve certain political goals that have nothing to do with the war itself. The thing that is most often the center of attention in war is the physical form of war, but the most important thing that is often missed from war is the ideological discourse that underlies the war. In many wars in the world, the ideological background is the

main reason for war actors (Prihandiki, 2018: 62). In the government system, the ideology adopted is considered the best basis for a country. On the other hand, ideologies that conflict with state ideologies are not well received. A conflict that shows a persistent symptom is an ideological conflict that cannot possibly be eliminated unless one ideology is gone.

In historical records, the resistance of the Balinese people to the Dutch from 1846

to 1908 is proof of the Balinese people's struggle and resistance against the Dutch invasion. The Buleleng War in 1846 was led by king Gusti Ngurah Made Karangasem and his governor Gusti Ketut Jelantik. Jagaraga War (1848 - 1849) involved the entire kingdom in Bali against the Dutch. The Kusamba War (1849) was a form of resistance from the Klungkung king against the Dutch. The Banjar War in 1868 was the resistance to West Buleleng against the Dutch, and in 1906 there was also a Puputan Badung war.

One of the resistance movements against the Dutch occurred in North Bali in 1868, a resistance centered in Banjar Village, as a district in Buleleng. The 1868 North Balinese people's resistance became an idiom that attracted public attention after the commemoration which was held for the first time on September 20, 2019. On the 151st anniversary of the 1868 North Balinese people's resistance which was centered in Griya Gede Banjar, Buleleng took various reports in the mass media. Media Bali Express (20 September 2019 edition) specifically puts the commemoration of the 1868 North Balinese People's Resistance in the headlines by exploring various sides about the resistance of North Bali people in 1868.

The 151st anniversary of the 1868 North Balinese people's resistance is the first anniversary of the Banjar people. It showed that there is a very long period of blank time from the process of generating collective memory of the resistance heroic history. Disconnection from the historical side and this empty period are signs that there is a process of disconnection between the inheritances of heroic values from previous generations to the current generation. The commemoration of the 1868 North Balinese people's resistance carries the theme 'Inheriting the Spirit *Sura Magadha*'. This theme surely is still unfamiliar to the public. The idiom *Sura Magadha* is considered to represent all ideas, arguments, spirit, values, and goals of the North Balinese people's resistance in

1868. *Sura Magadha* is the nickname for Banjar Village as the center of the North Balinese people's resistance to the Dutch.

II. DISCUSSION

A. 1868 Banjar War

The conquest of Buleleng by the Dutch in 1846 had not destroyed the heroic attitude and spirit of the Buleleng king and people. After the Jagaraga War, the Buleleng Kingdom was the first spearhead to dominate Bali. Pax Nerlandica must be realized by the aspirations of the Dutch colony's Minister, JC Baud. It meant that Bali, Lombok, and the eastern islands had to be completely under Batavia's control. The authority foundation had been instilled in North Bali and the colonial government bureaucracy worked together with Balinese aristocrats who were descendants of the traditional kingdom leader to then be given the authority to collect taxes and tribute from the population and farmers. In Banjar, a retainer appointed from generation to generation dominated. The retainer is named Ida Made Rai. He was appointed in 1854 when he was 17 years old. Thus, the appointment of the Buleleng King after the suppression of the Gempol rebellion was 3 years after Ida Made Rai chosen as the Banjar retainer.

However, Ida Made Rai was considered disloyal to the Dutch so that the Dutch found a way out and took advantage of the information from Ketut Liarta, the Buleleng kingdom governor who was pro to the Dutch as an informant to monitor every movement of this young retainer. Ketut Liarta said that Ida Made Rai was a gambler who was too excited in the *tajen* game. These accusations made Ida Made Rai deported to Banyuwangi for 1 year. After returning from his deportation, in April 1868 Ida Made Rai and his 800 troops entered the Singaraja city and faced the King of Buleleng to remove Ida Ketut Anom and reappoint himself as Banjar retainer. To defuse the situation, the Dutch government gave great promises and hopes that Ida Made Rai's troops would return to

Banjar. Ida Made Rai was asked to surrender, otherwise, Banjar would be attacked. Ida Made Rai never went to Singaraja again, but in Banjar, he prepared 2000 combat troops who were ready to attack Buleleng (Sastrodiwiry Soegianto. 2007: 45).

On September 18, 1868, Dutch troops landed at Temukus and Heemskerk sent envoys to Banjar to meet Ida Made Rai so that he would surrender the next day. The offer was not only rejected but I Kamasan was also arrested because he was a convict who had already been sentenced to 12 years in prison by the Buleleng Court. A delegation was sent again by the Resident to make Ida Made Rai should give up tomorrow. If this was failed then Banjar would be attacked. On 20 September 1868, Ida Made Rai did not appear and at 10.30 the Dutch troops moved from their base at Temukus to further attack Banjar. This force was led directly by Major Heemskerk and intended to stab the Banjar defense through a ravine near Dencarik. (Sastrodiwiry Soegianto. 2007: 90).

The Dutch troops got fierce resistance from the Banjar people who were completed with spears. A great battle ensued, causing Lieutenant Steigman and Nijs along with 20 Dutch soldiers to die as victims of the battle against the Banjar army. On October 3, 1868, Heemskerk launched a second attack to cover up the disgrace and shame of the first attack. Heemskerk intended to hit Banjar through Kalianget. Here Heemskerk, the Dutch commander never considered Ida Nyoman Ngurah's strategy, which had succeeded in breaking into Temukus in a sudden attack at night. The Banjar war was ended with the death of the respected Dutch intermediate officers, namely Lieutenant Steigman and De Nijs along with 20 Dutch soldiers.

The Dutch built a monument to commemorate the Banjar war leader from the Dutch side Steigman and De Nijs as a form of their respect in the Banjar war. It was located in Temukus Village and

bordering Cempaga Village. It is often called the Dutch Monument. This monument stands on an area of 1 acre and approximately 8 meters in height with a conical upward rectangular shape. It was covered with white tiles. However, around 1962 before the Trikora event, this monument was destroyed by residents because it was considered a tribute to the Dutch colonialists.

However, in 1992 this Dutch monument was finally rebuilt by the Buleleng Level II Regional Government with the intention that the historical record could not be erased. Drs. I Made Pageh M. Hum as a lecturer in history education at the Ganesha Education University said that "In 1989, in the History Department we held a group of history lovers under the coordination of our seniors on behalf of Prof. Gde Widja. Then we found the base of the Dutch Monument, we continued to identify and wrote in the Bali Post, from that idea the Buleleng government rebuilt the Dutch monument in 1992 even though with the wrong concept until now"(interview on September 13, 2019).

The function contained in the Dutch monument as a form of the Buleleng people's struggle action against Dutch colonialism. The functions of the Dutch Monument in Temukus Village for the Temukus people, Banjar district, and students of SMP Negeri 3 Banjar, are as follows (1) educational function where the Dutch monument in Temukus Village can be used as a media for education, a means of sharing knowledge (both new and old), and also a place for conducting studies (Widja, 1988: 49; Latief, 2006: 7). The educational element in question is how we imitate the historical values contained in the monument; (2) the inspirational function in question is that the monument in Temukus Village is built and is expected to be an inspiration for the Temukus people, Banjar district especially for students of SMP Negeri 3 Banjar. The figures who played a role in the Banjar war such as Ida Made Rai who was able to

defeat Lieutenant Steigman and De Nijs along with 20 of his troops could be the inspiration in a positive sense regarding his attitudes and courage; (3) the intended recreational function, namely the Dutch Monument in Temukus Village, can provide entertainment and tourism attraction because this Monument has a strategic location to be used as a historical tourist attraction for the Temukus people, Banjar district; (4) the socio-cultural function contained in the monument, that the existence of the monument is a witness to how the struggle carried out by the Temukus people, Banjar district led by Ida Made Rai in the Banjar War.

B. The ideology of *Sura Magadha*

Ideology in Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI) (2005:417) means 1). A group of systematic concepts used as the basis of opinion (incident) and provide direction and purpose for survival, 2). Way of thinking of a person or group 3). Concepts, theory, and goals constitute a socio-political program. Thompson (2007: 17) ideology is a purely descriptive term as a thinking system, belief system, and symbolic practices related to social and political action. The basis of this conception does not separate the types of action and ideological animation. However, there is an understanding that ideology is fundamentally related to the process of justifying asymmetrical power relations and related to the process of justifying domination. Takwin further (2003: 8-24) states that ideology is understood through three approaches, as follows:

1. The ideological flow approach is based on assumptions about how and from where to get knowledge
2. The ideological approach is based on the category of psychological aspects which becomes the realm of ideology;
3. The ideological approach is based on historical chronology.

The ideology in this study is a thinking system, belief system, and symbolic practices related to social and political action which served as the basis and achievement of the goals of the North Balinese resistance in 1868.

The term 'resistance' is different from the term 'war', which still has the meaning of equality between the attacker and the one being attacked. The general definition of war is an attempt to break the attack power of the enemy by breaking the strength of its troops both on land and in water. In this war, it also includes destroying the entire communications network, the repository of reconnaissance troops, preventing the opponent from gathering foodstuffs (Drafting Team, 1982: 10).

Drafting Team (1982: 7-8) stated that under the power of the Dutch Government over the kingdom in Bali, the Balinese government structure has been divided into two regions (Afdeling), namely the South Bali region and the North Bali region. More specifically, North Bali (Buleleng) was divided by the Dutch into three districts, which consisted of East Buleleng, Central Buleleng, and West Buleleng. So North Bali in this study is the resistance carried out by the Buleleng community, specifically West Buleleng (Banjar district).

In this study, the term 'resistance' was chosen because of the degree of inequality between the attacker and the attacked part. In the process of resistance in 1868, the Dutch allied themselves with the Buleleng royal troops, and troops from Banyuwangi. Meanwhile, on the other hand, Ida made Rai as the leader of the resistance was only supported by the people of West Buleleng (Banjar district). So the resistance of the North Bali people in 1868 meant an attempt to fight, fend off, and defend against the North Bali people, especially West Buleleng led by Punggawa Ida Made Rai face the Dutch invasion in 1868.

The essence of ideology in Indonesia history is a system, an instrument that becomes a unity, becomes an ideology about humans and all reality. Ideology must have an image and description of what humans are, and how they relate to the universe with fellow humans and with its creators. The ideology behind the Banjar War 1868 was *first*, *wirang* or heroic trait which became Ida Made Rai's leadership ethos at that time. This heroic character was shown when Ida Made Rai took action against the Dutch who replaced the retainer of Banjar district with the son of Buleleng who was chosen by the Dutch because it was considered a form of behavior that deviated from tradition. In essence, Ida Made Rai and the Banjar people feel innocent and there is no need for a retainer change. Even though they did not have complete and modern war equipment at that time, the courage to take resistance reflected a *wira* or hero attitude in facing threats that came from outside, including colonial threats. If we examine the attitude of Ida Made Rai at that time, it shows the outlook on life and values that he believes as a *tedung jagad*. These heroic values show that Ida Made Rai understands what is called *wira rasa* or a sense of heroism that must be ignited when facing colonialism. This ideology of *wirang* or heroism was seen at its peak when the King carried out his struggle to the death against colonialism. *The second* is Honor and Dignity. Apart from the heroism ideology, the Banjar War of 1868 could not be separated from the question of honor and dignity of the King and his people at that time. As is well known, kings in Bali have high honor in the eyes of their people. This honor and dignity can be seen culturally - the mention of Ida Made Rai as the Punggawa of the Banjar district, the way of speaking, and so on. Honor and dignity can also be seen when Ida Made Rai and Laskar Banjar chose to die rather than submit to the Dutch East Indies Government. This refusal to submit was not only a matter of principle and heroism but also defending

the honor and dignity of the current power. If we examine the attitudes of Ida Made Rai and Laskar Banjar at that time, it shows how high the honor and dignity of the King and his people were at that time. Even though they had to deal with the Dutch East Indies government, Ida Made Rai and Laskar Banjar were never afraid to have a confrontation based on the truth they believed. The honor and dignity of the people took precedence over death from war. The high value of the King's honor and dignity was shown in the form of the 1868 Banjar war *mabela pati*, against all kinds of colonialism carried out by the Dutch. That said, the price for the honor of the King and his people at that time was death. *Fourth* is conservatism. Conservatism is a political ideology, which requires tradition or culture to be preserved, maintained, and preserved. Change does not always mean progress. Therefore, the change should take place step by step, without shaking the political structure in the country or society concerned. However, usually, this ideology is only applied as the basis of certain groups, not as the basis of the state. The characteristics of the ideological teachings of conservatism emphasize royal institutions as the main force in addition to efforts to preserve traditions and habits in the order of community life. Established institutions such as the family and the state are all considered sacred. The 1868 Banjar War was also inseparable from the conservative ideology behind it. This conservative ideology intends to maintain traditional values in both the political system and government. One of these traditional values is the monarchy or royal government system, considering that before Indonesia implemented the republic system, the State was ruled by a king.

C. Patriotism dan Nationalism of Banjar People

The patriotism concept is a feeling of love for the country, loyalty to the welfare of one's nation, virtues and

patriotic actions, and a passion that inspires a person to serve the country. According to Steven Grosby, patriotism is the love that a person has for his nation. The term 'love', which is widely used, is an expression of attachment in which individuals towards their nation and patriotism have implications for a commitment to the welfare of the nation. Meanwhile, according to Anthony D. Smith, patriotism is a sense of political loyalty to the country and the embryo of their political community. Smith also quoted Maurizio Viroli, that patriotism requires shared historical experiences, as well as memories of collective achievement and sacrifice. Based on the above definitions, it can be concluded that patriotism is an expression of loyalty, love, commitment, sacrifice, and enthusiasm to defend, prosper and serve the nation which can be actualized through heroic and patriotic actions.

Then nationalism according to Ernest Renan is "*le desir de'être ensemble*" which means the desire to unite. This common desire is called nationalism, which is an understanding that inspires the majority of the population that the nation-state is ideal and is a legitimate form of the political organization while the nation is the source of all cultural energy and economic prosperity. Meanwhile, according to Hans Kohn, nationalism is an understanding that the highest individual loyalty must be submitted to the national state. Before the emergence of nationalism, people's loyalty was not directed to the nation-state, but various forms of social power, political organization or feudal lords, ideological units such as tribes or clans, city-states, kingdoms, dynasties, churches, or religious groups. Anthony D. Smith concluded that nationalism is an ideological movement to achieve and maintain autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population which is considered by some of its members to form a 'nation' actually or potentially.

Perhaps when we discuss the issue of war, moreover a major war involving nations that have separate identities as a

large social community, a pattern can be seen in the collective symptoms of individuals involved in defending their interests. This is a form of reaction or response to the situation at hand. Usually, in a war situation, forms of awareness appear to patriotic actions or attitudes.

From the initial discussion it has been described that to achieve persistence in the struggle against the Dutch, the Banjar people built a Banjar War Ideology based on the cultural values of the Buleleng people in interpreting the war against the Dutch, or by the term *Sura Magadha* and the value about what the role of the figures who become commanders in the war is. Then, the residents of Banjar Village can unite in facing the same enemy with various reactionist attitudes and actions. Attitudes and actions come from a sense of love for what is being defended. In other words, there is a sense of love for the nation in the form of patriotic

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This is in line with what Ida Made Rai did and the figures of the Banjar War by grounding the Banjar War Ideology, namely *Sura Magadha*. Then the willingness of sacrifice shown by all Banjar residents to participate in taking part in the battlefield or assisting moral and logistical support and other roles to defend their nation also includes patriotism. The patriotism of the Banjar people, which is expressed by their heroic physical actions, cannot be denied. Authentic evidence of the heroic physical action of the North Balinese people's resistance in 1868 is the establishment of the Banjar War Monument in Temukus Village and the construction of the Bali Monument in Surabaya by the Dutch.

Therefore, it can be concluded that patriotism or a sense of love for the nation is very prominent in the struggle of the Banjar people who are also raised with the spirit of the Banjar War. This attitude emerged with the awareness and individuals' identification of their love for Banjar Village in defending their nation. During the Indonesian independence period or the Transformation period, this patriotism continued to emerge in several popular upheavals. One of the most prominent periods was the period of defending independence from the threat of Dutch military aggression. The Banjar villagers answered and proved their commitment to support the vision for the Republic's integrity by being able to withstand the Dutch military's strength. Keeping in the spirit of the Banjar War, Banjar residents showed patriotism, one of which was that donations from the people such as gold, money, and crops were collected so that they were able to buy two airplanes for the Republic to help the Republic of Indonesia existence. This was a proud event for the Banjar villagers themselves and the leaders of the Republic because at that time the Banjar villagers were the most prominent in acting such heroics.

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From the definition above, then in the context of nationalism attitude within the framework of the nation-state in the Banjar Village people, it means that it refers to the attitude of wanting to unite to become the Indonesian nation at the beginning of independence. The desire to unite in the unity of the Republic of Indonesia is very strong. It is proven by the love of the nation in defending independence from Dutch military aggression. Then where did the nationalism of the Banjar villagers come from? If we look at its history again, during the independence revolution, the revolutionary movement centered on the island of Java had echoed the world as a 3rd world state power to drive out colonialism. The wave of nationalist nationalism at that time could not be stopped. The embryo of all of this stems from national organizations that further strengthen the national identity of the so-called Indonesian nation, starting from Javanese associations such as Budi Utomo, and the Indonesian association

Indische Partij to organizations such as the Indonesian Association, in which the forms of this organization or association shows that national identity is experiencing a metamorphosis towards strengthening the attitude of Indonesian nationalism.

As discussed, Griya Gede Banjar figures have a big and most influential role in the community of Banjar villagers. After the social revolution, legally, Banjar Village was an area conquered by the Dutch to become the only elite who led the future of Banjar Village residents at that time. It was interesting enough that Benedict Anderson's statement that nationalism and the nation-state must be seen from the perspective of the community, not from the side of the state. "Nationalism has historically departed from the construction of political elites who formed the Indonesian nation-state, not by local communities. Therefore, as long as nationalism in the regional perspective is not given freedom and is placed in the building of the nation-state in the sense of let them flow, let them be what they want, then during that time ethnonationalism will continue to grow and develop into sharp pebbles that destroy nationalism of Indonesia." The author strongly agrees with Anderson's statement. The failure to achieve the desire and awareness of the Banjar villagers to gain a place under the lap of the Indonesian nation is a futile attempt by the elites to unite their respective desires. It will be different if this desire accommodates all people's aspirations, is moved by the people collectively, is not contaminated by political elements by the elites, resulting in decisions that tend to be collaborative, imitative, and speculative and end up destructive. In essence, the nationalism of the Indonesian nation-state with the Banjar villagers case can be said to have been delayed because it went through a top-down process, not a bottom-up. Elite versus elite involved the people as loyal followers. However, it cannot be concluded unilaterally that the nationalism of the

Banjar villagers as individuals is dead. Nationalism will be visible from the lower currents, not the ripples of the waves above the surface.

III. CONCLUSION

Many observers have commented on the fighting spirit of the Balinese people in the resistance to the Dutch colonialism known as *puputan*. *Puputan* is a term used in the wars of the Balinese people during the Dutch colonialism, which is interpreted as an all-out effort to fight, willing to sacrifice body and soul as well as material. This persistence is also influenced by the role of a war ideology that builds the collective awareness of the Banjar people in one belief, namely the Ideology of Banjar Sura Magadha War.

Sura Magadha ideology is a compendium of the Banjar people's life principle, the sense of *jengah* that led to the resistance of the Dutch colonialism; those are *wira bhawa*, *satyaning nagari*, *mesilur prana*, and *satya ring raga*. The ideology of the *Sura Magadha* war which is the source of that strength, passion, and courage was inspired and driven by a retainer who is also a son of Banjar, namely Ida Made Rai. The role of this figure is important because it contains calls, advice, and messages of war virtue. The *Sura Magadha* war ideology also emerged during the war to defend the independence of the Republic of Indonesia from Dutch military aggression. The *Sura Magadha* war ideology with strengthening the identity and collective awareness of the Banjar people is a manifestation of a "distinct community" of the Banjar people compared to others. On the one hand, it is a historical collective consciousness of the Banjar people, but on the other hand, this consistent ideal has experienced adjustments in the vision and mission of national consolidation with the nationalists until the 1950s without eliminating their distinction or privilege in the lap of the Republic of Indonesia. Patriotism or love for the nation was very prominent in the

Banjar people and the struggle was also raised with the spirit of the *Sura Magadha* War. This attitude appears with the awareness and identification of their love for their Banjarans in defending their nation both during the Banjar War and the Transformation period. So there are many heroic stories of Banjar heroes in the past that sincerely defended the nation and religion. Meanwhile, nationalism in the framework of the nation-state in the Banjar people refers to the attitude of wanting to unite to become the nation of Indonesia in the early days of independence. Where the desire to unite in the unity of the Republic of Indonesia is very strong it is proven by the love of the nation in defending independence from Dutch military aggression. The embryo of the Banjar people's nationalism as the Indonesian nation has been awakened by the *Sura Magadha* War Ideology itself. However, this nationalism can be said to have been delayed by political considerations. However, it cannot be said that individually the Banjar people's nationalism towards the Indonesian nation has died. But it will be seen in the lower currents, not the upper currents which are laden with elite political interests.

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