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POLITICIZATION OF RELIGION IN THE ATTEMPT OF CONQUERING BALI IN *KIDUNG PAMANCANGAH* AND ITS REFLECTION ON POLITICAL PHENOMENA IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

Kidung Pamancangah is a literary work written in Middle Balinese, also known as Balinese Kawi. This text presents an important issue worthy of scholarly investigation, namely the politicization of religion in the attempt to conquer Bali. This phenomenon is relevant to examine as it demonstrates that the politicization of religion is not limited to contemporary political contexts in Indonesia, but has also occurred in earlier historical periods. This study aims to explain (1) the politicization of religion in the attempt to conquer Bali as represented in Kidung Pamancangah and (2) the politicization of religion in contemporary political phenomena in Indonesia. To explore these issues, this research employs a literary sociology approach. This study is qualitative in nature and uses a descriptive method. The findings reveal that Kidung Pamancangah contains representations of religious politicization in the attempt to conquer Bali. However, this effort ultimately failed. Practices of religious politicization similar to those depicted in the text are also evident in present-day Indonesian politics, such as during election years, village head elections, and the 2018 North Sumatra regional election. These practices have been shown to produce adverse effects. Several solutions are proposed to address these problems, including those derived from Kidung Pamancangah, such as adopting a professional attitude, accepting defeat, and refraining from imposing one's will. Such attitudes may help prevent prolonged social conflict.

Keywords: *Kidung Pamancangah; politics; politicization of religion; sociology of literature.*

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Abstrak

Kidung Pamancangah merupakan karya sastra berbahasa Bali Tengahan atau bahasa Bali Kawi. Dalam Kidung Pamancangah terdapat hal menarik untuk diteliti, yaitu adanya politisasi agama dalam upaya penaklukan Bali. Fenomena tersebut relevan untuk dikaji karena menunjukkan bahwa politisasi agama tidak hanya terjadi dalam konteks politik masa kini di Indonesia, tetapi juga telah terjadi sejak masa lampau. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan (1) politisasi agama dalam upaya penaklukan Bali pada Kidung Pamancangah dan (2) politisasi agama dalam fenomena politik di Indonesia. Untuk mengeksplorasi hal tersebut, peneliti menggunakan pendekatan sosiologi sastra. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif yang bersifat deskriptif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa dalam Kidung Pamancangah ditemukan praktik politisasi agama dalam upaya penaklukan Bali. Namun, usaha tersebut menemui kegagalan. Praktik politisasi agama seperti halnya yang terkandung di dalam naskah tersebut nyatanya juga ditemui di Indonesia dalam praktik politik di masa kini. Hal tersebut misalnya politisasi agama di tahun politik, politisasi agama dalam pemilihan kepala desa, dan politisasi agama pada pilkada Sumatra Utara tahun 2018. Berbagai politisasi agama nyatanya menimbulkan dampak negatif. Terdapat beberapa solusi untuk mengatasi permasalahan tersebut, termasuk solusi yang dapat diambil dari Kidung Pamancangah, misalnya sikap profesional, menerima atas kekalahan, dan tidak memaksakan kehendak. Sikap itu dapat menghindari masalah yang berkelanjutan.

Kata kunci: *Kidung Pamancangah*; politisasi agama; politik; sosiologi sastra.

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INTRODUCTION

Kidung Pamancangah is a literary work in *kidung* (song) genre written in Middle Balinese or Ancient Balinese language. This literary work was written by Ida Pedanda Gede Rai coming from Geria Gede Cucukan Klungkung in the Saka year 1784 (*pasir wulusa acala kuwong*) or 1862 AD (Agastia, 2016). *Kidung Pamancangah* consists of several *pupuh*s (compilations of stanzas) of *tembang Macapat* (Macapat song), *Pupuh Durma*, *Pupuh Sinom*, and *Pupuh Pangkur*. *Kidung Pamancangah* consists of Middle Balinese History, when Bali Kingdom grew, following the collapse of Majapahit Kingdom. Various issues are addressed in this *kidung*, including politicization of religion.

Politicization of religion was selected to be the topic of current research because *Kidung Pamancangah* contains politicization of religion in the attempt of conquering Bali interesting to study. The politicization of religion phenomenon also occurs in Indonesia in this modern time. Ronaldo & Darmaiza (2021: 35) explained that the

politicization of religion is an action involving thought, idea, understanding, etc., related to religion having political character rather than the pure religion. Religion can be exploited to be a means of supporting political activity. Qurtuby (2018: 43) explained that in the politicization of religion, religion is exploited for practical politic interest and certain power.

The politicization of religion phenomenon is a reality observable in Indonesian political dynamics. Qurtuby (2018: 43) also explained that in recent years, after a long hiatus, the politicization of religion, particularly the politicization of Islam has reemerged in Indonesia's public sphere. This coincided with the fall of New Order Regime, having paved the way for the return of religious actor previously suppressed or suspended during Soeharto's reign. In the politicization of religion, religion is exploited for political interest under the guise of religious affairs. Religion is used as a shield to draw people's attention and support (Lubis et al., 2024). Masykuri Abdillah in Bulqiyah & Fikroh (2024:2) explained that over the last decade, the politicization of religion has intensified and often been used as an effective strategy to draw votes and supports in either political competition or concerning a group's religious perspective. Thus, religion is apparently exploited for the sake of political interest. Politics is an attempt of accumulating power, improving power quality and quantity, overseeing and controlling power, and utilizing it to achieve the objective of power in both state and other institutions (Ambiya et al., 2025). Budiarjo in Zulfa et al., (2019:18) explained that politics is a variety of activities concerning setting up goals and executing the goals.

Politics and religion are interconnected matters. Religion is often used to support political practice, e.g. in general election. Politicians often embrace religious leaders and religious organizations in holding campaign. Jati in Moru (2022:105) explained that the relationship between religion and politics is a reciprocal one, involving the process of competing collective interests. This is as suggested by Patoni (2007) in the context of *kiai pesantren*, i.e. that *kiai pesantren* is a figure with high personal quality so that *kiai* becomes a point of reference for the community. *Kiai's* involvement in political party is a chain of *kiai's* involvement in politics in previous era. *Kiai* is an influential figure and a point of reference for the people, including in political matters. *Kiai's* political preference is usually followed by his followers. The politicization of religion can also occur through Islamization of the parties for the sake of political interest. Such strategy is beneficial for both Islam propagation and political interest.

There are several contemporary examples of the politicization of religion in Indonesia: politicization of religion occurs in West Java during Presidential Election of 2024 (Bulqiyah & Fikroh, 2024). politicization of religion in the campaign for Eramas winning in North Sumatera Regional Election of in 2018 (Siregar et al., 2022), and politicization of religious symbol in political contestation in DKI Jakarta regional election (Hamdi, 2021). In addition, based on the annual report of *Yayasan Inklusif* (Inklusive Foundation, 2015:iv), it can be explained that the politicization of religion indicates a dramatic increase trend, from 73 cases in 2023 to 134 cases in 2024. West Java was recorded as a region with highest incident. Seeing. Considering the politicization of religion phenomenon occurring in Indonesia, it will be interesting to

conduct a research on the politicization of religion in the attempt of conquering Bali contained in *Kidung Pamancangah* and its reflection on political phenomena in Indonesia. Through this research, it can be seen that the politicization of religion practice not only occurs in the present but has also emerged in the past. Religion has been apparently exploited for a group's political interest to achieve a goal. The extreme politicization of religion can result in negative impacts, e.g. people's degraded tolerance, eroded foundations of humanity, and faded unity. Therefore, the author explores the politicization of religion in *Kidung Pamancangah* and its reflection on political phenomenon in Indonesia. The author also studies negative impacts or problems resulting from the politicization of religion and suggests solution to the negative impacts or the problems.

To study the politicization of religion in the attempt of conquering Bali in *Kidung Pamancangah* and its reflection in Indonesia, the author used a literary sociology approach. This research searches for the relationship between literary work and community. Damono (1979) in Wiyatmi (2013) explained that literary sociology is a literary study approach understanding and assessing literary work by considering societal aspect. There is the relationship between literature and community, literary work as a social document is a reflection of social reality (Sujarwa, 2019; Widaswari et al., 2022). Trisnadiyah et al. (2025:2154) explained that a medium reflecting social reality and helping the readers understand various problems arising in daily life.

Literary sociology used in this research was the sociology of literary works. The sociology of literary works is an approach pertaining to the existence of the work itself, containing literary works, objectives, and other matters implied in the literary works and related to social problems (Sari et al., 2016). Wiyatmi (2013:45) explains that the sociology of literary works is a study of literary sociology studying literary works in relation to social problems.

Several previous studies are relevant to this research. The studies connecting religion with politics or on the politicization of religion have been conducted by (Kurniawan, 2018; Ridwan & Pababbari, 2015; Saputro, 2019). Saputro (2019: 119) explained that the relationship between religion and state in political activities in Indonesia has been apparent during pre-independence era until today. In line with this, Ridwan & Pababbari (2015:134) stated that the politicization of religion is a complex significant phenomenon in the context of democracy in Indonesia. Kurniawan (2018) explained that the politicization of religion exploiting ethnicity and religion sentiments is implemented for the sake of political interests. Another study on the politicization of religion in literary works has also been conducted by Nazaliya (2025), entitled the politicization of religion in the novel *Zhillul Aswad* by Najib Kilani. Nazaliya's (2025:1) study found that Kilani represented the politicization of religion in many forms: manipulation of religious doctrine, using religion for justifying violence, and consolidation of political power through religious institution.

In contrast to previous studies, this research studies the politicization of religion in the attempt of conquering Bali in *Kidung Pamancangah* and its reflection on political phenomenon in Indonesia. Thus, this research explained about (1) the politicization of religion in the attempt of conquering Bali in *Kidung Pamancangah*, and (2) the

politicization of religion in political phenomena in Indonesia. the result of current research is expected to enrich studies on literature and political phenomena in Indonesia, particularly the politicization of religion, by demonstrating the continuation of religion politicization pattern contained in contemporary literary works and political realities

METHOD

This study is a descriptive qualitative research. Data source used in this research is the text of *Kidung Pamancangah* and the literatures about the politicization of religion and the political phenomena in Indonesia. Information deriving from research articles, books, and internets are also employed to support the research. Main instrument of research is the author (researcher). Hardani et al. (2020:116) explained that the main instrument of qualitative research is the researcher himself or herself.

This research employed a literary sociology approach, the sociology of literary works. In the literary sociology approach, the author used a mirror research model. Endraswara (2011:111) explained that mirror model is a reflective research. This model raises elements serving as the reflection of life. This model can be used to connect literature with community. Thus, the connection of and the role of literature in the community can be explore more deeply.

Through reflective research model, text interpretation is carried out by identifying the parts of story in *Kidung Pamancangah* relevant to the focus of research. Those parts are story related to religion and politics or power. The data of research derived from *Kidung Pamancangah* in the form of text excerpt relevant to the topic of research. The data was then analyzed to find out the religion represented in the attempt of achieving political or power goals. Data validation was carried out through repeated textual reading and interpreting the excerpt based on the entire context of story. Interpretation was also supported by considering literature review relevant to the topic of research.

Techniques used in this research were library, reading, and recording ones. In carrying out this research, the author passed through several stages. These stages include (1) reading and translating *Kidung Pamancangah* text, (2) collecting data from *Kidung Pamancangah* text and other relevant references, (3) selecting data to be studied, (4) classifying data, (4) analyzing data, and (6) presenting result of data analysis. The result of data analysis in this research is presented in the form of descriptive account supported by relevant scientific reference.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This result and discussion section explains about (1) the politicization of religion in the attempt of conquering Bali in *Kidung Pamancangah* and (2) the politicization of religion in political phenomena in Indonesia.

The Politicization of Religion in the Attempt of Conquering Bali in Kidung Pamancangah

In *Kidung Pamancangah*, the politicization of religion is used by Javanese Envoy for the sake of conquering Bali. Javanese envoy putatively came from Demak. At that time, Majapahit's reign has weakened. Majapahit's reign was replaced by Demak. Demak sultanate is the first Islamic kingdom in Java ending the Hindu-Buddhism Kingdom's reign (Nada, 2022). Many of Majapahit's territories, including Bali, have gained their independence. If the king in Bali had converted to Islam, Bali would be expected to be re-conquered.

Bali had ever been Majapahit's territory. In 1343 AD, Majapahit Kingdom has successfully conquered Bali through various strategies designed smartly by Gadjah Mada (Pangestika et al., 2019). However, when Majapahit's reign declined – specifically following King Hayam Wuruk's death – many regions, including Bali, declared their independence. Civil war occurred to seize Majapahit's reign. Majapahit's attenuated reign enabled Demak to take over it. Sarlan (2009: 4) explained that in 1400 Caka or 1478 AD, Majapahit Kingdom fell down. At that occasion, Raden Fatah, the son of King Brawijaya (the Last King of Majapahit) was enthroned by Islamic saints (*para wali*) and Islamic scholars (*alim ulama*) to be the Sultan of Demak. It is in line with Haryani's (2018:1) explanation that Demak Kingdom was founded by Raden Fatah with the blessing and support of the nine saints (*wali sanga*) putatively not long after Majapahit's fall. The increasingly strong Demak strengthened the attempt of propagating Islam. Raden Fatah along with *para wali* and *ulama* propagated Islam.

Bali's separation from Majapahit attracted Demak's attention. From *Kidung Pamancangah*, it can be found out that there was an attempt of conquering Bali again. The attempt was made by Javanese, Demak. The Sultan of Demak, Raden Fatah, or his company from Demak came to Gelgel Palace in Bali. The company was known as Makkah Envoy. They came to Bali using a palace-oriented approach. Makkah envoy came to Gelgel during Batu Renggong's reign.

Considering the result of research, there is politicization of religion in *Kidung Pamancangah*. The politicization of religion intended is the one occurring in Islam religion. Islam is the religion of the majority of Indonesians. Islam is a religion coming to Indonesia from Middle East. Islam religion in Indonesia has visible characteristics or signs making it identifiable by only seeing Muslims in their dressing. One of the signs seen in Islam Religion is the attire worn by its adherents, the all-white one. It is mentioned in *Kidung Pamancangah* in *Pupuh Durma* (IV) stanza 9, as follows:

*Dady ana putusan kyayi Panulisan/ nurwani sang mayati/ ring enjing lumampah/
angango sarwa-petak/ tekan ing wahana putih/ sok wajanira/ ireng amasti//*

It has been decided by Kyayi Panulisan/ that is an action / to walk in the morning / wearing all-white attire / also riding white vehicle / sometime his teeth / is like black elephant//

The excerpt above, among others, proves that there was an Islam adherent who came to Bali. The excerpt indicates the presence of the respected one in Bali, Kyayi Panulisan. Kyayi Panulisan is represented to walk around in the morning wearing all-white attire. In addition, he also rode white vehicle.

From the illustration, it can be seen that Kyayi Panulisan is an Islam adherent. As aforementioned, Islam has visible characteristic, its adherents' dressing. All-white attire is also a *sunah* in Islam teaching. Thus, it can be seen that the excerpt above indicates that Islam adherents had begun to come to Bali at that time and it was the beginning of politicization of religion practice carried out by Makkah (Demak) envoys from Java Islan.

Kidung Pamancangah also tells about the war between Balinese and Javanese groups. The illustration of war can also be seen in the excerpts of *Kidung Pamancangah Pupuh Durma* (IV) stanza 72, as follows:

*Surak umwang gumenter satatabuhan/ ikang wahana padanghrik/ bangun ramya
ning prang/ embeh swara ning tuban/ kang bedil muni anitir/ akeh kawenang/
punang bala ing Bali//*

People shouting loudly while striking musical instrument/ by riding horse /
building crowd in the war/ loud voice in Tuban / the gun fires continuously
/ many wins / for Balinese group//

The excerpt above illustrates the war occurring between Balinese and Javanese groups. The excerpt depicts that the war was won by Balinese group. The excerpt can represent when the quarrel between Bali and Java (Demak) began. It can be said that the war outbreak was the continuation of previous event as explained in the previous excerpt, the emergence of an Islam adherent residing in Bali. Thus, the excerpt of *Kidung Pamancangah Pupuh Durma* (IV) verse 72 also depicts the politicization of religion carried out by Demak due to the war between the two groups; therefore, more Javanese (Demak) people began to come to Bali at that time.

Furthermore, similar excerpt is also found, depicting the arrival of Muslims in Bali. The excerpt is contained in *Kidung Pamancangah Pupuh Durma* (IV) stanzas 73-74, as follows.

*Semu kagiwang ingungseb dene wong Jawa/ para menak kweh mati/ runtik kya
Ularan/ tumandang maring harsa/ saha balasrang lumindih/ tameng lan pedang/
angiras lawan tan jerih// Maly aruket kang wira pada prawira/ tan jrih akayeng gusti/
aky along-linongan/ lwir tan natgateng bhaya/ sang mantring Jawakeh mati/ de kya
Ularan/ lwir singha anom hasti//*

A little shaky when rubbed on the ground, while Javanese people/ many noblemen died/ were angry like *ularan* (advice)/ act according to impulse / and likewise, the group made charges to defeat/ shield and blade / became dare without fear// Following the tussle between soldiers/ without fear, it was just like there was *Gusti* (God) / helped each other / as if unconcerned

about the danger/ Many Javanese soldiers died/ like *Ullaran*/ like lion and elephant//

The excerpt above represents the presence of a group of Javanese people getting involved in the war against Balinese group. The excerpt also depicts the nature of conflict between the two groups as the early form of the politicization of religion. From the excerpts above, it can be seen that Balinese group was almost defeated in the war. However, with its soldiers' bravery, they could revive, help each other, and defeated Javanese group as indicated with the death of many Javanese soldiers.

In addition to the excerpts above, there are also excerpts supporting each other and confirming the evidence related to the arrival of Javanese Muslims at Bali. The excerpt is contained in *Kidung Pamancangah Pupuh Durma* (IV) stanza 81, as follows:

Yaya rinandi eni nikang sagara/ tanpa wilangan mati/ len akeh kacurnan/ sawa aglar eng natar/ sang mantring Jawa wus enti/ wadwa wus bhrasta/ kesisan sri bhupati//

Like red cloth spread across the sea / without a fixed limit/ in contrast to many people having suffered misfortune / corpses laid scattered across the courtyard / the Javanese leader had waited/ soldiers or troops have been lost/ the King ran out of troops//

The excerpt above also provides an illustration similar to that provided by the previous excerpt. It still depicts the war between Javanese and Balinese groups. The story was the continuation of war incident aforementioned. The excerpt above depicts great loss of life in the war, likened to the red cloth spread across the sea, and indicates the incalculable number of lives lost. This great loss of life consisted of Javanese troops so that the King of Java ran out of troops.

From the excerpt, it can be seen that there was a war occurred between Javanese and Bali groups, and it was won by the Balinese. Based on the excerpt aforementioned, it can also be seen that the war was the attempt of politicizing religion taken by Java (Demak) over Balinese. However, the defeat in that war made the attempt of politicizing religion taken by Java (Demak) failed.

Javanese (Demak people)'s plan to go to Bali is recorded in *Kidung Pamancangah*. The plan was carried out as a mission to conquer Bali. It can be seen in the excerpt of *Kidung Pamancangah Pupuh Durma* (IV) stanza 107, as follows:

Sampun mangkana ėnti sukha ning citta/ nirmala kadi langit/ tan kawaran hima/ enak mangke denira/ manutakĕn kasugatin/ wus anarira/ sang hyang isang bhupati//

It is like that, waiting for the feeling of joy in the heart/ pure like the sky/ there is not a single stain at all/ you will be satisfied / following instruction/ of the appointed / Sang Hyang isang bhupati (His Divine Majesty, King Ismaya)//

From the excerpt above, it can be seen that Javanese people began to devise to instruct an envoy to go to Bali. The envoy was told that he would feel happiness later. The envoy was instructed to Islamize the King in Gelgel Palace in Bali. The envoy from

Java was told that if the King of Gelgel converted to Islam, he would feel happiness, returned to be pure, and would be satisfied because he followed God's right instruction.

In addition, there is also an excerpt of data confirming Javanese people's action in dispatching envoy to Bali. It can be seen from the excerpt of *Kidung Pamancangah Pupuh Durma* (IV) stanzas 109-110, as follows:

*Manisthamadhyottama pinangguhira/ satyabrata ring laki/ ěmbuh krĕta ning rat/
sapandiri narendra/ kang pandung sinungan bhukti/ dene alapa/ kang pisanan
sinisip// Mangkin lumrah prabhawanira sang natha/ cora bhaya awĕdi/ nir juti
marana/ murah sarwa-timulwa/ tatanduran ika wrĕdhi/ ring tĕgal sawah/ tan
anamikareki//*

Please find Manisthamadhyottama/ having ever sworn an oath to her husband/ yet whose future actions remain uncertain / even after she had been a queen / she who had forgotten her promise (evidence)/and has turned her hearth toward another/ in time, the queen's authority would become evident/ through danger looms, do not be afraid/ cast aside your fear of death/ like seeds/ of plant sown / in gardens and rice fields/ whose ultimate fate remains unseen/ /

The envoy from Demak (Java) was instructed to see the king in Bali. When he saw the king, his authority would be evident. The envoy was also told not to be afraid if the king was fearful or seemed to be fierce. The fear of death must be removed to achieve the initial objective.

The one dispatching the envoy also described the scene on the envoy's arrival in Bali. In addition, some instructions must also be done by the envoy in deciding his action. These details are found in the excerpt of *Pamancangah Pupuh Durma* (IV) stanzas 111-113, as follows:

*Kancit prapta Hyang Bodha ring Bali- rajya/ mangko sira-apapanggih/ ring sira
Hyang Siwa/ sinapa de sang paman/ prapta anakingsun iki/ sang sathapaka/ maring
prĕnahsun iki// Sumahur sang Majina singgih kang anak/ prapta mungsi sireiki/ sang
atunggu dharma/ kang anak atatanya/ punapa don ing tan apti/ paman ahoma/ tan
kontĕn nugrahani// Singgih kang anak mangke asung nugraha/ ri sang atunggu
dharma/ sandika n inanak/ winangun kang pahoman/ gĕnĕp saupakara ning/
amangun homa/ glis ning karya aradin//*

When a follower of Hyang Bodha arrived in the land of Bali later/ you would see/ a follower of Hyang Siwa/ and exchange greetings/ here comes my son/ sang Sathapaka/ before you/ / Sang Majina replied, "Yes, this is my son/ who returned from a journey/ in search of truth (*dharma*)/ the son asked/ what must I do/ Uncle Ahoma/ to remedy my lack of happiness// Yeah, my son, you shall be granted a blessing/ I await your pursuit of *dharma*/ the son obeyed/ guided by the educated (honored) one/ with all requirements met/ preparing offerings/ promptly//

Based on the excerpt above, it can be seen that the one dispatching envoy, the Javanese one, described and left a message to the envoy that when he arrived at Bali, he would see the adherents of Hyang Bodha and Hyang Siwa. The envoy was expected to greet them. The Javanese envoy came for the sake of truth. The one dispatching the envoy prayed that the envoy dispatched would receive grace. He hoped that his goal would be achieved. Demak side was waiting for the outcome of the envoy's effort. The envoy followed the command and was ready to go to Bali along with his preparation.

The story is continued with the journey of Javanese envoy to Bali until he arrived at Bali. It can be seen from the excerpt of *Kidung Pamancangah Pupuh Durma* (IV) stanza 117, as follows:

*Nguni du king satru marani Kelahan/ saka ring nusantari/ kongang sri narendra/
apadating sagara/ dadi mundur punang ari/ tan wanya muwah/ prapta dumon eng
Bali//*

Long ago/ in the land of archipelago/ there lived a Sri Narendra / who
ventured across the seas/ he retreated/ lacking the courage to proceed/ until
he finally arrived at the Island of Bali/ /

Based on the excerpt above, it can be seen that the Javanese (Demak) envoy, putatively Raden Patah or his company, went to Bali. It can be surmised that the figure who came to Bali was Raden Patah because he was called "Sri Narendra". As known, the Sultan of Demak at that time was Raden Patah. Thus, based on the excerpt, it can be seen that Raden Patah along with his company successfully arrived at Bali.

The story of the envoy when staying in Bali can be seen in the excerpt of *Kidung Pamancangah Pupuh Durma* (IV) stanza 118.

*Kang Dulang-Mangap tan kěna sinayutan/ tinut punang padati/ kawat ing kawiran/
arěp akayeng tuhan/ tan ketang dalēm ing pasir/ den lěbokěna/ akeh pějah anglangi//*

Dulang-Mangap (Gelgel Kingdom's elite troops) could not call out to one
another / followed the oxcart (pedestrians)/ with rope held by the soldier /
about to do a task for the master / unaware of being in the sand / then insert
/ many dead bodies blocking the way / /

Based on the excerpt above, it can be seen that Javanese envoy had arrived at Bali. The envoy followed the direction of pedestrians' way. The Javanese envoy intended to take action against the King of Gelgel to achieve their goal. Through the excerpt, it can also be seen that the Javanese envoy encountered obstacles in their journey. It is also mentioned that many people obstructed the envoy from meeting the King in Gelgel.

Furthermore, the Javanese envoy's attempt of seeing the King in Gelgel can also be seen in the excerpt of *Kidung Pamancangah Pupuh Durma* (IV) stanzas 119-120, as follows:

*Kang Kary agēsang olih akindayutan/ ri kiping ing padati/ sang paradhimantrya/
prasama atur sēmbah/ aminta jiwa sawet ning nirgunanira/ tan kawēnang angering//
Sukha sang nathapan karasa ring citta/ tan sangka ring awēdhi/ wet ning tan-
druhira/ angambaha sagara/ harsa sang paradhimantri/ ri swechapura/ sang kadi
Wisnu murti//*

Sang Kary lived in Akindayutan/ by the roadside frequented by oxcart (pedestrians)/ along with Sang Paradhimantrya/ he offered homage/ and sought spiritual enlightenment for the soul/never dry// Joy filled the King's heart/ removing all fear/ born of ignorance / crossing the sea/ Sang Paradhimantri's wish/ to be in Swechapura/ as the embodiment of Vishnu Murti.

From the excerpt, it can be seen that Javanese envoy eventually got their way to meet the King of Gelgel. The Javanese envoy was no longer afraid. The attempt of crossing the sea was intended to meet the King of Gelgel. Meeting the King, the envoy would realize his goal, to persuade the King to convert to Islam. That was a strategy of politicizing religion to conquer Bali region again.

The encounter between Javanese (Demak) envoy and the King of Gelgel is also depicted in *Kidung Pamancangah Pupuh Durma* (IV) stanza 121, as follows.

*Pitung dina lawsiwa kary eng Kuta/ tan kurang tadah bhukti/ wus pinanggihira/
solah ing prabhuttama/ mantuk ing Gelgel nrēpati/ tan warneng marga/ sampun
prapteng nagari//*

For seven days Kary stayed in Kuta (the royal seat)/ lacking nothing/ and met the King/ then the king went back to Gelgle Nrepati/ the details of journey are not recounted / but he had arrived in a country//

Based on the excerpt above, it can be seen that Javanese envoy had stayed for seven days in Bali. Eventually, the Javanese envoy could meet the King of Gelgel. The King had also been in Gelgel Palace. The Javanese prepared for conveying their intention of coming to the Palace.

In addition, the arrival of Javanese envoy in Gelgel Palace to meet the King can also be seen in the excerpt of *Kidung Pamancangah Pupuh Durma* (IV) stanzas 128-129, as follows.

*Mwang rajasa tan turuhi banu wedang/ runtik sri aji Bali/ winalēs ring gita/ wontēn
ksatriya prajna/ Den-Takmung kaka sireki/ sampun katulak/ sarasa ning rēřpi//
Tonēn ring uni duk sira lagi wala/ wontēn putusan saking/ Mēkah kang amawa/ gotra
lan pamarasan/ harsanira anēlami/ dadi sang natha/ -bangun panas ing ati//*

And the king did not provide enlightenment (orders)/ Sri Aji Bali became angry/ he responded with a hymn (song) again/ there was a wise knight/ not only him/ had been declined/ The content of a written letter// Be careful in your words when talking to allies/ there was an envoy from/ Makkah who brought/ his relatives and scissors/ whose intention was to approach/ the King (in power)/ warm his heart//

Based on the excerpt above, it can be seen that there was a group of people meeting the King of Bali. Some people came along with their relatives. The King of Bali showed off his authority. The Javanese envoy is called “Makkah envoy” in the *kidung*. They spoke carefully and conveyed their intention to the King. The Makkah envoy wished to approach the King and warmed the King’s heart. The heart warmth was putatively Islam teaching. They wished to ask the King of Bali to convert to Islam. The Makkah envoy came by bringing scissors.

Makkah envoy invited the King of Gelgel to discuss their wish to ask him to convert to Islam. However, the King of Gelgel gave them a challenge. The King would agree to embrace Islam when the Makkah envoy could cut the hair of the King, King Batu Renggong (the King of Gelgel). Unfortunately, the Makkah envoy did not succeed in carrying out the challenge. They failed to cut the King’s hair. It is depicted in the excerpt of *Kidung Pamancangah Pupuh Durma* (IV) stanzas 130-131, as follows:

*Kang pamarasan angrēbakēn denira/ -dalamakan ing wētis/ pēpēd rahi nika/ tan
pendah ginurida/ kang gunting ginuntingan ri/ jriji ning tangan/ dadi palas kang
gunting// Mangkana wiryaguna sri naranatha/ alawas-lawas malih/ sira sri
narendra/ mantuk sira ring taya/ amēkas putra kakalih/ lagy anwam-anwam/ durung
sumrangunrang aksi//*

He handed over the scissors (he had brought) / placed them near the King's feet / brought them close to the King's head / yet there was no change / as he kept snipping away / the fingers of his hand / grew stiff and sore // Such was the awesome power of the King / eventually / the King / returned to his place of origin / leaving instructions for his two children / to remain ever vigilant / for the task was not yet complete //

From the excerpt above, it can be seen that Makkah envoy attempted to cut the King’s hair. However, it did not change at all. Even the envoy’s hand fingers became stiff and sore for they could not cut the King’s hair successfully. That was the supernatural power the King of Gelgel had. Makkah envoy failed to meet the challenge given by Batu Renggong, the King of Gelgel. The Makkah envoy’s task was not completed yet. Eventually, the Makkah Envoy went back to Java.

Politicization of Religion in Political Phenomena in Indonesia

Politicization of religion is not a new phenomenon. Politicization of religion can also be found in *Kidung Pamancangah*. Politicization of religion in *Kidung Pamancangah* can be seen in the attempt of conquering Bali. In this text, the politicization of religion appears in the scene when Javanese (Demak) people dispatched envoy (Makkah envoy) to Bali to meet the King Batu Renggong in Gelgel Palace. The envoy was dispatched to make the King of Gelgel convert to Islam. It was a political effort. Outwardly it seemed to be purely an attempt of proselytizing religion. However, it can be interpreted as an attempt of conquering Bali. If the King of Bali converted to Islam, Bali would be expected to be conquered by Demak.

The politicization of religion phenomenon, as contained in *Kidung Pamancangah*, also occurs in Indonesia in modern era. It can influence the people’s thought and

perspective that later will benefit certain parties politically. Moreover, in the community with certain fanaticism, the politicization of religion will more easily influence their perspective. Several cases related to the politicization of religion in Indonesia are discussed below.

Politicization of Religion in Political Year

In political year, the politicization of religion often becomes a weapon used to serve the certain parties' political interest. Each political party competes for public attention and attempts to show its good image. Kurniawan (2018) explained that the politicization of religion achieved its culmination during regional election of DKI Jakarta in 2017. Since Basuki Tjahaya Purnama or Ahok ran for the Governor of DKI Jakarta, religious sentiment began to be exploited by certain parties for the sake of political interest. At that time, a case of religious disgrace occurred involving Ahok. The case made his opponent exploited religious sentiment in political competition. Kurniawan (2018) also explained that mass mobilization in the actions 411 and 212 in Jakarta is a strong evidence of the strengthened solidarity among Muslims in Jakarta, even in many regions, in responding to religious disgrace committed by Ahok.

Declaration of action #2019GantiPresiden (change president in 2019) also colored the politicization of religion in political years. The movement is not separated from the exploitation of mosque (*masjid*) to implant religious sentiment in achieving their goal (JPNN 2018) (Kurniawan, 2018). In the movement, the activity of distributing *takjil* (light food or drink consumed to break the fast) for free to Indonesia-Conscious Voluntary Community (*Komunitas Relawan Sadar Indonesia* or Korsas). The action of distributing *takjil* was carried out in Masjid Cut Mutia, located in Taman Cut Mutiah Street, Number 1, Menteng, Central Jakarta on May 24, 2018 (Antony, 2018 in Kurniawan, 2018). Such religious activities have political goals, to attract people's sympathy and vote. The activities of distributing *takjil*, communal *dhikr* (remembrance of Allah), *pengajian akbar* (large-scale Islamic religious gathering), etc., could touch emotional aspect of the people targeted. It belongs to the strategy of politicizing religion in Indonesia.

Furthermore, *umrah* activities can also be a medium for the politicization of religion in political (election) year. Kurniawan (2018) mentioned that the *umrah* is political *umrah*. On June 2018, Amien Rais, Prabowo Subianto, and two PKS elites carried out *umrah*. Many people said that the *umrah* was political one. Amien Rais also admitted that it was true (Kurniawan, 2018).

Kurniawan (2018) explained that political *umrah* activity can be categorized into the politicization of religion because some religious practices are utilized in political effort, one of which is *umrah*, for building political image. *Umrah* activity can create good image. It is, of course, influential in political interest. If a good image can be expressed to the community, it would be expected to influence the community's perspective. If so, it will be expected to benefit a party politically. Those are the politicization of religion practice in the political years existing in Indonesia.

Politicization of Religion in the Election of Village Head

Not only has the politicization of religion occurred in big parties. But the political activities at village level also indicated the presence of the politicization of religion. The election of village heads is a political activity at village level. The politicization of religion practice in the activity of electing village head occurred, among others, in Laut Dendang Village, Percut Sei Tuan Sub District, Deli Serdang Regency, North Sumatera. The politicization of religion in Laut Dendang Village was driven by the activity of electing village head (Hutasuhut, 2018). In the self-promotion effort, village head candidates would campaign by politicizing religion. It was intended to attract people's sympathy. People's sympathy could make the village head candidates elected.

To promote themselves, the village head candidates also utilized anything related to religion to draw sympathy. The village head candidates visit the prominent figures, such as religious leaders, community leaders, and head of organization. It was intended to persuade them to instruct their subordinates or neighbors surrounding to elect the village head candidates. On the other hand, the village head candidates could also repair the religious building, such as Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*). It was also intended to draw sympathy.

The politicization of religion occurs due to the village head candidates' ambition and lack of self-confidence. The village head candidates were lacking self-confidence that they deserve to be elected. The attempt of politicizing religion was taken because the village head candidates were afraid of being failed. Therefore, it was taken as an attempt of making them elected.

Politicization of Religion in North Sumatera Regional Election in 2018

General election is an appropriate time to implement political practice for many parties or institutions with political background. Many strategies will be taken by those participating in general election activity to be the winner. The strategy taken by political parties to win the election is, among others, the politicization of religion. The example of election containing the politicization of religion case was the election of North Sumatera regional leader in 2018. In the simultaneous regional election held on June 27, 2018, North Sumatera was one of regions holding the election of governor and deputy of governor. North Sumatera Election was won by the pair Edy Rahmayadi and Musa Rajekshah (Eramas) with ballot number one, defeating the pair Djarot Saiful Hidayat and Sihar Sitorus (Djoss) with ballot number two.

The North Sumatera regional election won by the pair Edy Rahmayadi and Musa Rajekshah had sparked various negative issues. Pasaribu & Prayogi (2018) explained that considering its demographic specification, Eramas' winning regions have majority of muslim populations, while Djoss won in the region having majority of Christian (both Catholic and Protestant) populations. In addition, Pasaribu & Prayogi (2018) also stated that Eramas was constructed by many local media as the leader candidates that would represent Muslims. The example of Islamic image constructed was the actions of providing vehicles for cleaning mosques and prayer rooms (*masjid*

and *musala*), visiting *Pesantren*, participating in *shubuh* congregational prayers, visiting the grave of Islam early propagators in Barus, attending women's religious study, and listening to sermons by Ustadz Abdul Somad.

There is another case where the victory of Edy Rahmayadi and Musa Rajekshah was accompanied by allegation of the politicization of religion. Pasaribu & Prayogi (2018) explained that Eramas, on the other hand, also benefited from holding ballot number one (1), because raising index finger, signifying that "number one is Eramas", also symbolizes *Tauhid* (the oneness of God (Allah)) for Muslims. This gave rise to the logical conclusion that Eramas must be supported by Muslims. Another cases explained by Pasaribu & Prayogi (2018) is the appearance of banners prohibiting people from electing the non-Muslim leader in several major thoroughfares of Medan City and in Masjid Al Jihad, exactly beside the Governor's office. Explicitly, the banner did not refer to two parties in North Sumatera regional election so that no legal action was taken by Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu). However, the banner prohibiting the election of non-Muslim leader correlated with the Regional Election of DKI in 2017. The pair number two, Djarot was indeed a Muslim, but Djarot was associated with Ahok. Moreover, his deputy candidate, Sihar, was non-Muslim.

Many cases of the politicization of religion aforementioned, of course, exert negative impact. The politicization of religion can result in negative impact or social problem. In social life, each individual should be aware that difference is an integral part of community. No community actually has similarities in all aspects. If each individual does not understand it, the social conflict will be inevitable.

The negative impact of the politicization of religion, moreover the extreme or the excessive one, includes degraded tolerance within society, eroded foundations of humanity, and faded unity. First, politicization can make the tolerance within community degraded. When some members of community has had tendency or fanaticism against certain political party, their concern for those having dissenting opinion will decrease, fade, or even they will make them enemy. Such members of community as if have forgotten their identity as social creature because they have been influenced by the politicization of religion. They would no longer care about the importance of tolerance. They want all groups have the same opinion or vote. The worse impact is that even they can take any way to realize their wish, such as anarchy. Second, politicization can erode the foundations of humanity. Qurtuby (2018) explained that the extreme politicization of religion can make the community ignore the importance of humanity and fraternity values. People having been affected strongly by the politicization of religion, moreover the radical one, will forget humanity values. Humans will be brutal and unethical when they seek to impose their will. Humans can impose their will arbitrarily. Third, the politicization of religion can result in negative impact, the faded unity. Because tolerance and humanity feeling have degraded, in turn unity will fade. The most dangerous thing is the appearance of split. Humans will no longer care about unity. What they want is the same opinion or vote. The faded unity also means the fragile community relation. Qurtuby (2018) also explained that the politicization of religion exerts an impact on the fragile relation

between communities and religious communities. Those are several negative impacts or problems resulting from the politicization of religion.

The politicization of religion case increases in number over times with every political activity. The negative impact of the politicization of religion cannot be underestimated as it will impact the state life considerably. The real case occurring related to the politicization of religion needs a solution. Achmad (2018) explained that there are some solutions to strengthen religious, nation, and state lives in this digital era. The first solution is to counter hate speech with peace speech. It is crucial to flood the mass media landscape with news emphasizing the importance of unity, harmony, fraternity, and prioritization of national development. The second is to give re-education about Islam Rahmah particularly to the low educated people. As information recipients, the low educated segment of community is a “floating” mass important to be empowered continuously to make them more conscious of the difference between hoax and fact contents. The third is to implement digital literacy program since early age. It is important for the digital technology to be managed actually by capable and credible human resources. Do not let digital creativity be dominated by those spreading hatred, slander, and discord. The fourth is to enforce the law firmly to everyone, including those producing, disseminating, or propagating religion content containing hoax, hate speech, mutiny, and slander.

Kidung Pamancangah also contains implicit solution to avoid the problems resulting from the politicization of religion. This *kidung* depicts attitudes of professionalism, receiving defeat, and not imposing the will. Those attitudes can avoid continuous problem. The three attitudes can be implemented to avoid the problems likely resulting from the politicization of religion.

The solution above can be taken by everyone, including community and government. The solution can be done to address the worsening politicization of religion in Indonesia. As known, digital media affects the politicization of religion very significantly. It is because the politicization of religion occurs recently also appears in digital media, e.g. the movement of hash-tag #2019gantipresiden (change the president). The solution is expected to be applied by all parties to prevent the politicization of religion from occurring.

Discussion about the politicization of religion containing in *Kidung Pamancangah* and contemporary phenomena in Indonesia indicate that religion can be exploited by some parties as one of legitimacy sources in power relation. In *Kidung Pamancangah*, religion is also related to the dynamics of power in its time. Meanwhile, in the context of Indonesian politics today, symbol, discourse, and identity of religiosity are often exploited in various political processes, such as in the campaign, constructing leadership image, and mobilizing mass support. Although the two contexts, the story of *Kidung Pamancangah* and contemporary phenomena in Indonesia, are in different social and political systems, this comparison indicates the presence of relatively similar pattern in the use of religion as the source of legitimacy in the power practice.

CONCLUSION

The politicization of religion has been found since a long time ago until today. In *Kidung Pamancangah* there is a politicization of religion practice as an attempt of conquering Bali. It was intended as the attempt of persuading the King of Gelgel to convert to Islam. But, the attempt failed. The politicization of religion was also found in political practice in Indonesia in the present. It is carried out to achieve a party's political goal. The example of the politicization of religion in Indonesia includes that occurring in political year, that in village head election, and that in North Sumatera Regional Election in 2018. The politicization of religion results in negative impacts or problems within community, including degrade tolerance, eroded foundations of humanity, and faded unity. The solution to address the problem includes countering hate speech with peace speech, reeducating the people about Islam Rahmah, implementing digital literacy program since early age, and enforcing the law. In *Kidung Pamancangah*, there is a solution, through having attitudes of professionalism, receiving defeat, and not imposing the will. The solution can be taken by everyone to prevent the split from occurring.

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