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BALINESE *BABAD* AS HISTORICAL SOURCES: A REINTERPRETATION OF THE FALL OF GÈLGÈL

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the centralized Balinese kingdom of Gèlgèl, which according to Balinese tradition had held sway since the fourteenth century, was overthrown. It was gradually replaced in the course of the eighteenth century by a number of smaller, independent kingdoms. This period of Balinese history, which saw the end of the old political order and the beginning of a new one, has received little attention from scholars. The only detailed study of Bali in the period before 1700 has been Berg's investigation of the history of the Balinese kingdom of Gèlgèl in his dissertation *De Middeljavaansche Historische Traditie* (1927). In his reconstruction of the rise and fall of Gèlgèl, Berg made use of both Dutch and Balinese sources. However, he relied on the Balinese accounts only where no Dutch sources were available, that is, for the period before 1600. For the history of seventeenth-century Gèlgèl, he accepted only those parts of the Balinese writings that could be verified in Dutch sources and dismissed any conflicting evidence from the Balinese reports as unreliable.

Since Berg's study, most accounts of this period of Balinese history have relied more on his assessment of the Gèlgèl period than on any further consideration of Balinese sources.¹ However, a fresh look at these Balinese sources, some of which were unavailable to Berg in 1927, provides new insights into the circumstances surrounding the fall of Gèlgèl in the late seventeenth century. This article considers both Balinese and contemporary Dutch accounts of Bali in the seventeenth century. It aims to show that a closer reading of Balinese sources allows of a more adequate description

¹ Even where Berg himself expressed caution, his tentative conclusions, and particularly his chronology, have passed into the realm of 'fact' in most discussions of the Balinese past. See, for example, Hanna 1976; Geertz 1980; Hinzler 1976; 1986; Vickers 1989.

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of the earlier period of Balinese history before 1700, particularly of the events which led to the rise of the new political and social order of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The article consists of three sections, beginning with an examination of the nature of the Balinese historical sources for this period of Balinese history. The evidence for the fall of Gèlgèl is then re-examined in the light of further information provided by a closer reading of the Balinese *babad* sources and, finally, an interpretation of the collapse of this illustrious dynasty that differs from that formulated by Berg is proposed.

The Nature of Balinese Babad Literature

Genealogical chronicles and dynastic histories are found throughout the Indonesian archipelago in both oral and written forms. In Bali, as in Java, these genealogical texts are known as *babad*. The study of Balinese *babad* literature is one of the most neglected areas of Balinese studies. Since Berg's pioneering work on Balinese *babad* in the early part of the twentieth century (1927, 1929, 1932), Balinese historical writings have remained largely unstudied by Western scholars. Although on Bali itself considerable interest is shown in these historical works, and a number of *babad* and *geguritan* dealing with historical topics have been published, often with an Indonesian translation, over the last twenty years, the only extensive study of a Balinese *babad* work is Worsley's edition of the *Babad Buleleng* (1972). More recently, however, anthropologists and historians have begun to make considerable use of Balinese historical writings in multidisciplinary studies (Vickers 1986; Guermonprez 1987; Stuart-Fox 1987; Schulte Nordholt 1988).

The neglect of Balinese *babad* writings by Western scholars, both philologists and historians, can be attributed to a number of factors. When Western study of Bali began at the beginning of the nineteenth century, early Dutch scholarly interest centred on the description of the life and culture of the Balinese and the recording of their social order and administrative structure. Bali was seen as a repository of the high culture of Hindu Java that had vanished from Java itself in the face of the spread of Islam. Bali's own literary products and textual traditions were considered to be little more than the faded vestiges of what had once been the glory of Javanese literature, and philologists too focused their efforts on the Old Javanese classics that had been preserved in Bali.

Nor did historians show much interest in the study of Balinese history or its historical writings. Despite Friederich's (1959:28) optimistic opinion in the mid-nineteenth century that the *babad* texts of the Balinese princely families 'would certainly spread much light on the history of Bali, if carefully compared with each other', little use has been made of them and their comparative study has scarcely begun. Balinese *babad* have generally been considered to be historically unreliable, or to belong rather more to the realm of myth and legend than to the realm of history or historiography.

Thus, although the importance of the use of indigenous sources particularly for the understanding of the history of ideas and for an understanding of indigenous perceptions of the past has generally been acknowledged (Ricklefs 1972, 1974, 1987; Vickers 1990), it is the more prevalent judgements of Friederich's nineteenth-century contemporaries concerning the worthlessness of indigenous views of the past that echo and re-echo throughout the discussion of Balinese historical writings. Berg himself remained unconvinced of the historical value of Balinese works (1938:126-7). Worsley (1972:vi) has characterized Balinese *babad* as essentially 'ahistorical' and as 'having more in common with myth, legend and parable than with history'. Ricklefs (1981:52) goes further in declaring them 'so-mythological and devoid of chronological order that they are of little value as sources of political history', while anthropologists such as Boon (1977:70) and Geertz (1980:161) see them as devices for the enhancement of the status of the family by which they would be most often consulted and therefore subject to continual 'reinterpretation'.

A major problem confronting those who wish to study Balinese *babad* is the lack of an adequate definition of what actually constitutes a *babad* in the Balinese context. Western perceptions of both the nature and the usefulness of Balinese *babad* have inherited much from the discussion of their Javanese counterparts. Despite their common name, works designated *babad* in Javanese tradition and those similarly labelled in the Balinese tradition do not on the whole share the same characteristics. Even the name *babad* for these Balinese works dealing with the past appears to be a fairly recent phenomenon. The authors of these works do not themselves designate their writings as *babad*, although a number of Balinese historical writings are listed as *babad* in catalogues of Balinese manuscripts (Brandes 1901-1926; Pigeaud 1967-1970; 1980), as well as on the cover leaves and transcriptions of recently produced copies.²

Balinese *babad* differ in content, form and function from their Javanese counterparts. Javanese *babad* are generally written in verse form, deal with a single event or series of events of limited duration, and are concerned with reporting a particular view of those events. Although there are some examples of Balinese historical works that are written in verse form, such as the *Babad Bla-batuh* (Berg 1932) and *Kidung Pamañcangah* (Berg 1929), most Balinese *babad* are written in prose. The majority of them are dynastic genealogies which record the history of the family concerned from the time of its origins, often over a period of hundreds of years. Many

² Brandes' catalogue indicates that van der Tuuk collected a number of Balinese *babad*. Van der Tuuk himself, however, made little use of *babad* works in the compilation of his dictionary (1897-1912), listing only one work, the *Babad Sakra*. For *babad* (1897-1912, 4:1058) he gives the meaning 'intestine'. Hinzler (1976: 42) gives a present-day explanation of the term *babad*. According to her informant, *babad* means 'fishing net' and by extension, "'lines" (nets) binding generations and families with each other and which elucidates their historical background'.

show evidence of multiple authorship. Although the study of Javanese *babad* undoubtedly has lessons for the Balinese context, Balinese *babad* and Javanese *babad* are products of different textual traditions and concerns. What is true of Javanese *babad* will thus not necessarily apply to the Balinese works. Much of the discussion of Javanese *babad* has centred around the debate concerning the reliability of indigenous historical writings. More recently, arguments have been put forward for a careful consideration of the nature and function of Javanese *babad*, in particular the need to consider them as literary works (see for example Ricklefs 1974, 1979; Day 1978:367-70; Kumar 1984; Teeuw 1984; Ras 1986).

Questions of reliability, form and function have still to be addressed in the Balinese case. Only one study of a Balinese *babad*, Worsley's study of the *Babad Buleleng* (1972), attempts to discuss a Balinese *babad* as an integrated work. Worsley argues for the consideration of the *Babad Buleleng* from the standpoint of literary analysis, in which historical fact might sometimes be used to explain inconsistencies in the *babad* narrative. Worsley provides valuable insights into the literary nature of the *Babad Buleleng*. Nevertheless, the question of the form and function of Balinese *babad* requires further research. A work written in verse form, with its formal restraints on language use, clearly signals the writer's intention to produce a work of literature. The composition of a prose work, such as the *Babad Buleleng*, suggests a somewhat different purpose, particularly as the Balinese themselves clearly distinguish *babad* as 'history' (Hinzler 1976). It is largely a spurious undertaking to seek to separate 'fact' from 'fiction' or 'history' from 'literature' in Balinese *babad*. Each *babad* work must be examined individually, and each work can be viewed from a number of perspectives, including the historical one. Any comprehensive discussion of Balinese *babad* works will obviously require both historical and literary analysis. However, the literary analysis of the works discussed here is beyond the scope of this article, which deals only with one side of the question — the historical dimension.

Balinese Sources for the Fall of Gèlgèl

There are a number of Balinese works, both prose and poetry, that deal with the history of Gèlgèl. For the study of this period, it is necessary to distinguish between two groups of Balinese historical sources, both of which are called *babad*, but which are somewhat different in nature. To the first group belong prose works such the *Pamañcangah*, *Babad Dalem* and *Usana Bali*, works which deal with Bali's common heritage as a unitary state until the collapse of the Gèlgèl dynasty at the end of the seventeenth century. These works contain a variety of origin stories and details of a number of illustrious ancestors on whom most of the later *babad* depend to establish their legitimacy.

The second group of Balinese *babad* comprises the dynastic genealogies of a number of important Balinese families. They are concerned largely

with the documentation of individual genealogical ties and thus are of a different character from the core works that record Bali's history before 1700. The majority of Balinese *babad* works belong to this group. They reflect the nineteenth-century political situation of the smaller Balinese kingdoms and mainly document the events of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, most of these later *babad* also include a fragment of one of the core prose accounts which traces the particular ruling family's genealogical claims back, via Gèlgèl, to the legendary splendour represented by the fourteenth-century Javanese kingdom of Majapahit.

Core Works: The Pamañcangah and the Babad Dalem

For the later Gèlgèl period there are two main Balinese sources, the *Pamañcangah* and the *Babad Dalem*.³ These works comprise a combination of inherited tradition and folklore, narrative passages and incomplete genealogical lists of the rulers of Bali from the fourteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century.⁴ In content the *Pamañcangah* and the *Babad Dalem* are largely concerned with a perceived golden age when the entire island of Bali was united under one ruler. Much of the information they contain, particularly about the earlier period, is legendary in character. However, some of the later events recorded in them, which relate to the history of seventeenth-century Gèlgèl, can be verified in other sources.⁵

These prose accounts of Gèlgèl are not just concerned with the ruling family itself but detail the antecedents of the holders of various hereditary

³ There are a number of different Balinese works that are known as *Babad Dalem*, although this title is usually qualified with the name of the particular descent group to which the writing refers (see Pigeaud 1980:272, s.v. *babad*). For the purposes of this article, the title *Babad Dalem* will be used to refer to the account of the history of the rulers of Gèlgèl, from the time of the Majapahit conquest of Bali under *patih* Gajah Mada in the fourteenth century until its fall during the reign of Di Madé at the end of the seventeenth century (see also Wana *et al.* 1986). The manuscript which forms the basis of this discussion is HKS 2935 (fol. 1-76a), a manuscript from Klungkung. There are a number of other extant manuscripts of the *Babad Dalem*. A number of these, including HKS 2935, also contain a second work which follows on chronologically from the last moments of the Gèlgèl dynasty and details the genealogical history of the hereditary successors to the dynasty, the Déwa Agung of Klungkung (fol. 76b-115a, see Creese forthcoming). This history of the kingdom of Klungkung in the period from the eighteenth to the twentieth century also occurs separately under the title *Babad Ksatriya*. It seems most appropriate, however, to consider the two to be separate works and to reserve the title *Babad Dalem* for the work dealing with the Gèlgèl period.

⁴ It seems probable that the *Pamañcangah* and *Babad Dalem* are actually copies or slightly different versions of the same work. Worsley (1972:15-6) quotes some sections of the *Pamañcangah* text used by Berg (LOR 5054) which have been incorporated in the *Babad Buleleng*. Identical passages are also found in similarly numbered folios in most manuscripts of the *Babad Dalem* that I have been able to consult. The precise relationship between the *Pamañcangah* and *Babad Dalem*, however, must await further investigation. For the purposes of the present article they are treated as individual works.

⁵ In this they are similar to the earlier sections of the *Babad Tanah Jawi* identified by Ras (1986:253-4). Nowhere do they take on the characteristics of a real chronicle or detailed report of the later sections of the *Babad Tanah Jawi*.

offices and titles, from whom later important Balinese families sprang. These stories of the origin of the later eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Balinese political and social order are known in more or less the same version throughout Bali and can therefore be regarded as 'core' to a later tradition. It is difficult, however, to assess whether the textual works themselves were known throughout Bali or whether it is only the traditions surrounding the fall of Gèlgèl that form part of the common heritage of the later Balinese kingdoms, which traditions also circulated orally and through artistic performances.

It seems likely that both the *Pamañcangah* and the *Babad Dalem* were composed at the time of the fragmentation of the kingdom of Gèlgèl into the smaller kingdoms, that is, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. As such they represent the oldest Balinese textual records of the past. It is difficult, however, to ascertain the exact time of composition of either of these works. The oldest known manuscripts of the *Babad Dalem* date from 1805 and 1812 (Stuart-Fox 1987:313 and 562-3, note 27). The *Pamañcangah* also appears to have been written in the eighteenth century. In his study of the Gèlgèl period, Berg made use of a *kidung* version of the *Pamañcangah*, the *Kidung Pamañcangah* (Berg 1929). On the basis of a chronogram at the beginning of this work, Damais (1963:135-6) calculates a date of 1819 for the composition of the *Kidung Pamañcangah*, which is offered in homage to Wiryātmaja or Wiryā Putra (c. 1809-1849), the fifth Déwa Agung of Klungkung (Vickers 1982, 1989). The *Kidung Pamañcangah* appears to have had the prose *Pamañcangah* as its source, and thus the prose *Pamañcangah* must date from before 1819.

Although textual evidence for the time of composition of these prose works leads back only as far as the beginning of the nineteenth century, it seems probable that both the *Pamañcangah* and the *Babad Dalem*, or at least parts of them, date from a considerably earlier time. Rather than a single recording or retrospective account of events, they appear to have been composed or perhaps re-composed over long periods of time, a characteristic feature of genealogical accounts throughout Indonesia. The abrupt, open-ended conclusions to both these *babad* works, neither of which records events beyond the collapse of the Gèlgèl dynasty at the end of the seventeenth century, suggest that they were written close to the time of the events that they record and were meant to be continued at a later stage perhaps when current events had themselves passed into 'history'. Only a detailed study of each of these works will reveal their textual history and allow a more accurate assessment of their time of composition to be made.

Nineteenth-Century Genealogical Accounts

The kingdom of Gèlgèl was of crucial importance in the later history of many of the Balinese kingdoms. As the centralized and powerful political centre of a unified Balinese realm, its ties to the Javanese kingdom of

Majapahit became the symbol of proper social and political order in the eighteenth century. Just how far the symbol was at any time a reality remains problematic. Certainly by the mid-eighteenth century the kings of Gèlgèl and their hereditary successors, the Déwa Agung of Klungkung, had come to represent the apex of Balinese social, if not political, order. Works like the *Pamañcangah* and *Babad Dalem*, which record the golden age of Gèlgèl, also assumed considerable importance in this later period.

The picture of Gèlgèl painted in the *Babad Dalem*, in particular that of the circumstances of its decline, has made its way, in various minor and major details, into the genealogical accounts contained in the *babad* of Balinese families that seek to trace their lines of descent back to Majapahit via Klungkung and Gèlgèl. Claimants to the throne in the later Balinese kingdoms often sought to validate their claims by stressing their descent from Majapahit through the illustrious ancestors known from the core works.⁶ The closer those ties could be to the principal ruling family of Gèlgèl, and later Klungkung, the more secure the position of the new ruler. Corroborative evidence for late seventeenth-century Balinese history can thus be found in several nineteenth-century *babad* works from different parts of Bali, namely the *Babad Kṣatriya*, *Babad Mengwi*, *Babad Arya Tabanan*, *Babad Kṣatriya Taman Bali*, *Babad Pasek*, *Babad Blabatuh* and *Babad Buleleng*.⁷ Even though most of them, at least in their extant form, appear to date from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the later *babad* agree in most respects with the picture of the fall of Gèlgèl recorded in the *Babad Dalem* and *Pamañcangah*.⁸

It can hardly be a coincidence that nearly all of the Balinese ruling families, many of whom were rivals, were moved to commit to writing, or perhaps simply to update, their genealogical records towards the end of the nineteenth century. This spate of *babad* writing throughout Bali may have had its genesis in the period of significant political and social change in the mid- to late nineteenth century, when Balinese contact with Dutch colonial officials intensified. During this period, which began after the military expeditions of 1846-1849 and culminated in the *puputan* of 1906-1908, an extra dimension was added to the ongoing internal rivalry and constant warfare that had existed between the Balinese ruling families

⁶ Hinzler (1986:159). Schulte Nordholt (1986:11-15; 1988:26-9) discusses the importance of Majapahit for the emerging kingdom of Mengwi in the first half of the eighteenth century. Vickers (1986:274-87) also places considerable importance on the ideal of Majapahit in the development of Balinese literary genres.

⁷ Several of these *babad* have been published in Bali in the last two decades, and many more transcriptions of *babad* texts in private collections have been made available through the transliteration project instigated by Hooykaas. References to the *babad* cited here can be found in the bibliography.

⁸ Berg (1932:vi-vii) concludes that the *Babad Blabatuh* dates from after 1868, while Worsley (1972:84) suggests that the *Babad Buleleng* must have been written after 1872 and the *Babad Arya Tabanan* after 1912. The *Babad Kṣatriya* also appears to date from about 1870, although one *Babad Kṣatriya* manuscript, HKS 2935, has a colophon dated 1918.

for centuries — that of rival rulers competing further for status in the face of increasing Dutch colonial government control of Bali. The compilation of genealogies and the documentation of status appears to have been one response to this new threat.

On one level these late nineteenth-century *babad* writings do seek to legitimize the present state of their authors' nineteenth-century world with tales of magically powerful figures and weapons from the past, which may more properly be assigned to the mythological domain.

The invention of illustrious ancestors and family ties is not unknown in the Balinese *babad* tradition.⁹ Yet important figures and events in the history of the Balinese ruling families are scattered among the intricate genealogical lists, including references to rulers and events from the golden age of Gèlgèl. These narrative events depict moments of dynastic importance or crisis, and their very retention over a number of generations in the collective memory of a number of rival families indicates that they are central to the Balinese perceptions of the past throughout the island.

In present-day Bali, the main function of *babad* appears to be a religious one, in which the most important element is ancestor veneration (Hinzler 1976:47; Rubinstein 1988:96). This veneration of ancestors is the means by which the living are linked to the dead. Although most of these later Balinese *babad* appear to have been written many years after the events with which they are concerned, the religious significance of ancestral ties inherent in the *babad* genealogies allows for an accurate, retrospective account to be drawn up long after living memory may have been expected to falter. Moreover, *babad* authors or compilers undoubtedly drew on a number of sources, both written and oral, in an ongoing and continuous process of record-keeping, earlier versions of which are presumably no longer available.

Although inconsistencies and conflicts in *babad* texts sometimes make it difficult to reconcile all the 'facts', assessments of the Balinese view of their own past as 'unreliable' are too negative. Balinese *babad* traditions can be of considerable value as sources of Balinese history, particularly in the period prior to the end of the eighteenth century, for which other sources are so few.¹⁰

The Fall of Gèlgèl According to Balinese Sources

Few verifiable facts emerge for the history of the illustrious dynasty of Gèlgèl, which, according to Balinese tradition, held sway from the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries. For the period before 1700, the available sources are few, comprising only the information contained in the

⁹ See Appendix 2 which outlines the genealogical ties to Saganing recorded in one version of the *Babad Dalem* that comes from Sidemen.

¹⁰ See for example Schulte Nordholt (1988) for a discussion of eighteenth-century Mengwi, and Creese (forthcoming) for a discussion of the early eighteenth-century history of Klungkung.

Pamañcangah and *Babad Dalem* and a limited number of Dutch reports. The interpretation of much of the history of the Gèlgèl period must, therefore, remain rather tentative. The history of Gèlgèl, as recorded in the *Babad Dalem*, agrees on the whole with the picture of the Balinese past, based on the prose and *kidung* versions of the *Pamañcangah*, outlined by Berg (1927). Like the *Pamañcangah*, the *Babad Dalem* records a number of kings of Gèlgèl (see Figure 1). However, this succession of only six rulers does not represent the entire story, for the genealogical lists of the kings of Samprangan and Gèlgèl contain too few names to stretch back from the end of the seventeenth century to the conquest of Bali by Majapahit, which, according to the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (49,4), took place in 1343. The *Babad Dalem* records that after the return of Gajah Mada to Java a period of unrest followed, until the first of the rulers of (Samprangan-) Gèlgèl, Kṛṣṇa Kapakisan, was appointed to govern Bali under Majapahit's hegemony. It was Kapakisan's second son, I Déwa Ketut or Smara Kapakisan, who is said to have attended the great council in Majapahit called by Hayam Wuruk (1350-89) and who was responsible for moving the capital from Samprangan to Gèlgèl. According to Balinese accounts, his successor was the legendary sixteenth-century ruler, Baturènggong. It therefore seems probable that either the memory of some rulers has not been preserved or that a number of historical figures have telescoped to produce the great rulers of whom legends abound.¹¹ Although inscriptions indicate that Bali was under direct Javanese rule for much of the fourteenth century, the Balinese textual sources preserve no record of this Javanese domination. Detailed accounts of the rulers of Gèlgèl in the *Babad Dalem* are confined to the later rulers — Baturènggong, his sons, Bekung and Saganing, and his grandson, Di Madé, after whose death the dynasty finally came to an end.

All the Balinese accounts record that the overthrow of the Gèlgèl dynasty took place during the reign of Di Madé. Rather than the violent contest of strength that is usually depicted in Western sources, the fall of Gèlgèl in the Balinese view appears to have involved a gradual process of shifting loyalties away from the ruling prince, Di Madé, to the *patih*, Anglurah Agung. According to the *Babad Dalem* (74b-75b), Di Madé was ousted from his palace in Gèlgèl by the Anglurah Agung some time before his death. At that time many of his followers left him to return to their own homes, taking with them their powerful, sacred heirlooms and leaving the king defenceless. It was then possible for him to be defeated and he moved to Guliyang with his sons and those of his followers who had remained loyal to him. The Anglurah Agung, who in later *babad* accounts is called

¹¹ However, Schulte Nordholt (1986:11, 51, note 11) cites a *Babad Bhoemi* which states that the first Dalem of Gèlgèl did not come to Bali until *śaka* 1378 = 1456 A.D.

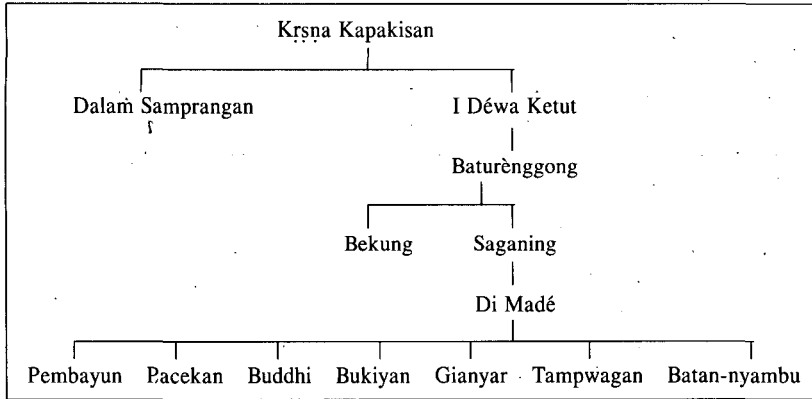


Figure 1. Rulers of Gèlgèl according to the *Babad Dalem* (HKS 2935).

Agung Maruti, then assumed power in Gèlgèl.¹²

The *Babad Dalem* (63a) records that Di Madé had eight sons: I Déwa Pembayun, I Déwa Pacekan, I Déwa Buddhi, I Déwa Bukiyan, I Déwa Gianyar, I Déwa Tampwagan and I Déwa Batan-nyambu. On his death, two of his sons emerged as contenders for the throne. The nobles were then divided into two camps, one group allying themselves with the Déwa Pembayun, and the other with the younger son, the Agung Jambé of later traditions but who, in the *Babad Dalem* itself, is only identified as the son whose mother came from Badung. It is unlikely that this younger son can be positively identified with any of the sons of Di Madé who are listed earlier in the *Babad Dalem*. According to the *Babad Dalem*, Jambé eventually sought refuge in Sidemen (Singharsa), while the Déwa Pembayun remained in his father's palace at Guliayang. In most of the later *babad* accounts both sons are said to have moved to Sidemen. At the instigation of the Anglurah of Sidemen, the nobles, notably Pañji Sakti of Bulèlèng and the lord of Badung, later launched an attack on Anglurah Agung (Maruti) in Gèlgèl and reclaimed the throne on behalf of the younger son (Agung Jambé).

In the *Babad Dalem* itself, no names are given for the figures involved in the conflict in which the usurping minister, Anglurah Agung, was defeated. It is only in the later accounts that he is identified as Agung Maruti from Karangasem and Di Madé's two sons as Déwa Pembayun and Déwa Agung Jambé.¹³ In the *Babad Dalem*, as in the *Pamañcangah*, the

¹² The account of the collapse of Gèlgèl as recorded in the *Babad Dalem* (HKS 2935:74b-75b) is given with a translation in Appendix 1.

¹³ These names occur in most of the later accounts, including *Babad Kṣatriya* (103ab), *Babad Blabatuḥ*, *Babad Arya Tabanan*, *Babad Mengwi* (10ab), *Babad Pasek* (85-86b), *Babad Kṣatriya Taman Bali* (32a), *Babad Dukuh Suladri* (3b-5b), *Pamañcangah Nāliyan* (67ab), and *Babad Buleleng* (23-25).

flight of Di Madé's sons and the overthrow of Maruti are separated from the preceding description of Di Madé's reign by a number of other stories. Berg (1927:165), who was somewhat sceptical about the reliability of the *Pamañcangah* account of the fall of Gèlgèl, suggested that this final section of the work detailing the defeat of Di Madé and the rise to power of Agung Maruti was an independent story which had been added on to the *Pamañcangah* proper. While these reports of the last days of Gèlgèl may have been added to an already existing work at a later stage, perhaps to provide a link to the later inclusion of the genealogical history of the Klungkung dynasty as detailed in the *Babad Kṣatriya*, digressions to other stories and family histories are characteristic of the entire *Babad Dalem*. Even if these accounts were added to an earlier *Babad Dalem* or *Pamañcangah* at a later stage, it must have been at a different, probably somewhat earlier time than the later nineteenth-century *babad* traditon in which Maruti and Jambé are specifically named as the central figures in the Balinese accounts of the fall of Gèlgèl.¹⁴

The Fall of Gèlgèl According to Western Sources

During the nineteenth century, Western writings about Bali began to proliferate. In addition to documenting the contemporary political situation, a number of these Western writers sought to record Balinese history. Their reports were confined largely to the events of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁵ It was not until Berg's study, *De Middelfjavaansche Historische Traditie* (1927), however, that the Balinese accounts of the Gèlgèl period came under close scrutiny. From his consideration of Dutch and Balinese sources, Berg concluded that the overthrow of Gèlgèl took place in 1651, when the ruling king, whom he identified as Di Madé, died and the usurper, Gusti Agung Maruti, seized power in Gèlgèl. After an interval of some years, the dynasty was re-established at Klungkung, a little to the north of the former capital.

Berg's identification of Di Madé as the king of 1651 was based largely on his interpretation of a number of Dutch reports from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Berg drew on four isolated pieces of information concerning Bali from these Dutch sources. The first of these was the report of the first Dutch visitors to Bali in 1597 that, at the time of their visit, the Balinese king and his entourage were at Kuta to launch

¹⁴ It is perhaps to the early nineteenth-century *Kidung Pamañcangah* that this tradition can be traced. Immediately following the mention of the death of Di Madé and the name of his elder son, Pembayun, in Canto VII, 10, the younger prince's uncle, Jambé Pulé of Badung, is also named. It seems possible that later *babad* compilers have taken the name Jambé from this reference in the *kidung*. The death of Jambé Pulé is recorded in the battle to regain the throne of Gèlgèl/Klungkung in the *Babad Dalem* (76a). The names Jambé and Maruti of the later tradition will be used in this discussion in order to avoid any confusion with the number of similarly titled officials.

¹⁵ Most notably Crawford (1820), van Eck (1878-80) and Friederich (1959). Vickers (1989:77-133) gives a chronological overview of the history of Western writings on Bali.

a military expedition against the Javanese of Pasuruhan. The Dutch were also informed that there had been a revolt against the king about twelve years earlier, that is, in approximately 1585 (Lintgensz 1856). Berg's second piece of information came from the report of a visit to Bali in 1638 by the Dutch missionary, Heurnius. Heurnius reported that during his visit the question of the succession was to the fore, as the king's son had already died. His grandson, who was about sixteen years old, had emerged as one of the contenders to the throne (Leupe 1855). Thirdly, Dutch sources recorded that in 1651, when Jacob Bacharach visited Bali, the old king had just died and the succession was once again in dispute. As the final relevant piece of information from Dutch sources, Berg noted that in 1665-6 letters were sent to the VOC from a certain Gusti Agung, who designated himself ruler of Gèlgèl.

Turning to the Balinese sources, Berg noted that the *Pamañcangah* contained a chronogram which recorded the revolt of a certain Pandé Bhaşa against Bekung. The chronogram gave the year of his revolt as 1581 A.D.¹⁶ On the basis of this chronogram, Berg equated Pandé Bhaşa's revolt with the conflict that the Dutch reported had taken place about twelve years before their arrival, that is, in approximately 1585. From this Berg concluded that it was Bekung who must have been the Balinese king encountered by the first Dutch expedition in 1597.

Berg's entire chronology of Gèlgèl in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as his interpretation of the fall of Gèlgèl, hinged on his acceptance of the 1581 chronogram, which also occurs in the *Babad Dalem*, and on his identification of the figure of Bekung as the Balinese ruler with whom the Dutch first made contact in 1597.

Not all Balinese traditions appear to ascribe to Bekung the central role given to him by the *Kidung Pamañcangah* and *Babad Dalem*. He is not mentioned among the kings of Bali in the *Usana Bali* nor amongst the rulers of Gèlgèl to whom *meru* are dedicated in the Padharman Dalem Gèlgèl at Pura Besakih (Stuart-Fox 1987:147). Moreover, in accepting the 1581 chronogram, Berg was forced to reject as 'completely worthless' another chronogram in the *Pamañcangah*, which recorded an earlier revolt against Bekung, that of Batan Jruk. The year referred to in this chronogram

¹⁶ Berg (1927:36, 155-6). The chronogram reads *sawang śunya pañca dewa* (= 1501-3 A.D.). Berg (1927:36) was uncertain about the value of *sawang*. He suggested it might have a value of either 1, 2 or 3. The HKS Balinese transcriptions of the *Babad Dalem*, which also usually include the numeric value of the chronograms, however, all give 1500 *śaka*, suggesting that *sawang*, at least in present-day Bali, has a value of 0. The year 1500 itself can also perhaps be considered to be mythological. Javanese tradition in the *Pararaton* assigns the mythologically powerful year of 1400 *śaka* to the fall of Majapahit (see Ricklefs 1974:179). Another Balinese work, the *Babad Gumi* (Kirtya 808), gives the year 1586 for Pande's revolt.

śaka?

is uncertain. Berg read it as 1496 A.D. but it can also be interpreted variously as 1484, 1546 or 1556 A.D.¹⁷

From this starting-point, Berg drew a number of conclusions about the history of the Gèlgèl dynasty in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Berg suggested that if, in 1597, the Balinese king whom he believed to be Bekung was about forty years old, then he must have succeeded his father, Baturènggong, in the middle of the sixteenth century.¹⁸ Berg was thus able to fix Baturènggong's reign in the early part of the sixteenth century. According to nearly all the Balinese texts, at the time of his father's death Bekung was still a boy and for a period of some years came under the regentship of his uncles. He later abdicated and was succeeded by his brother Saganing, whose reign was both prosperous and long and who, in turn, was succeeded by his son, Di Madé. Berg concluded that if Bekung were alive at the time of the first Dutch visit to Bali in 1597, then the last of the Gèlgèl rulers, Di Madé, should be identified with the king visited by the missionary Heurnius in 1638. Berg also considered the same Di Madé to be the old king who, according to Dutch reports, had just died at the time of Jacob Bacharach's embassy to Bali in 1651. Finally, he accepted Lekkerkerker's suggestion that the usurper, Gusti Agung Maruti, was the Gusti Agung who designated himself ruler of Gèlgèl and sought a treaty with the company in 1665-66.¹⁹ From this, Berg concluded that the later re-taking of the throne by Agung Jambé against Maruti and the establishment of the Klungkung dynasty took place sometime after 1666.

Beyond recording the story of the fall of Gèlgèl as related in the *Pamañcangah*, however, Berg did not deal specifically with late seventeenth-century Bali. He noted that the whole account of this period might have been a later addition to the *Pamañcangah*. He conceded that there were considerable problems with the details of Di Madé's reign as set out in the

¹⁷ Berg gives the reading *brahmana ñaritawang kawahan wani* for the chronogram in the *Pamañcangah*. He interprets it as 1418 *śaka* or 1496 A.D. Berg gives *ñaritawang* a value of 1. Words concerned with speech, however, are usually given a value of either 6 or 7 rather than 1, giving the year 1546 or 1556 A.D. (1468 or 1478 *śaka*) (see Creese 1981:35, footnote 35-6). The year 1478 *śaka*/1556 A.D. is also the year of Batan Jruk's revolt according to a different chronogram (*naga aswa yuga ning rat*) contained in the *Babad Dalem A* account (Warna *et al.* 1986:31). The *Pamañcangah* reading *ñaritawang* is probably corrupt. Most HKS transcriptions of the *Babad Dalem*, as well as the *Babad Mengwi*, give the reading *brahmana ring tawang kawahan wani*, which is equivalent to 1407 *śaka* or 1485 A.D. Berg notes that van der Tuuk made a note on the *Pamañcangah* manuscript that this chronogram should be 1507 *śaka* or 1585 A.D., suggesting that van der Tuuk may have attributed a value of 5 rather than 4 to *kawahan* and the Balinese value of 7 to *brahmana* rather than the Javanese value of 8.

¹⁸ Vickers (1987:37; 1989:51-2), citing De Graaf (1941:359), identifies Saganing as the Balinese ruler whom the Dutch encountered in 1597. However, neither De Graaf nor his sources (Crawfurd 1820:517 vol. II; Erkelens 1897:84) mention by name the Balinese king of 1624 with whom Alauddin of Makassar made his treaty. There appears to be no evidence to support a positive identification of the Balinese ruler of 1597.

¹⁹ Lekkerkerker 1926:330, note 1: 'de Coninck ofte gebieder van de Zuytsyde van het eyland genaemt Gusty Agon gebieder over Gilgil ende leggende plaetsen'.

Pamañcangah, with what had happened to his under-age sons, as well as with the identity of the first Déwa Agung of Klungkung. He suggested that the first Déwa Agung of Klungkung came to power sometime after 1666. However, since it was known from Heurnius' report that the king's grandson had been sixteen or seventeen in 1638, he would have been forty or more by 1665-66 and could not, therefore, have been Di Madé's son, the (young) prince who, according to the later Balinese accounts, overthrew Maruti and later re-established the dynasty at Klungkung. Berg concluded that this prince must have been one of Di Madé's great-grandsons, whose immediate ancestors had not been sufficiently distinguished to be included in the *Pamañcangah* account. He left the problems unresolved. However, despite the inconsistencies and unanswered questions acknowledged by Berg himself in his analysis of this period of Gèlgèl history (1927:158-165), neither his chronology of the rulers of Gèlgèl nor his interpretation of the year 1651 as the year in which Gèlgèl fell have ever really been questioned. His conclusions underpin all later discussion of Balinese history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Over twenty years after Berg completed his study, De Graaf (1949) considered in more detail the question of the re-establishment of the dynasty at Klungkung. Availing himself of both Balinese and Dutch sources, he concluded that Agung Maruti's defeat took place in 1686 or 1687 A.D.²⁰ In 1686, after an interval of twenty years, correspondence was again exchanged between the VOC and the Anglurah Agung of Gèlgèl. In 1687, however, the Dutch received a reply to their letter to the Anglurah Agung, not from the Anglurah Agung himself, but from the Déwa Agung at Klungkung, indicating that the reins of government had changed hands during this time. Noting parenthetically that, because of the number of years that had elapsed since the Company's earlier correspondence with the Gusti (Anglurah) Agung in 1665-66, the Anglurah Agung of 1686 may have been Maruti's successor, De Graaf accepted Berg's interpretation of the fall of Gèlgèl.

A Reinterpretation of the Fall of Gèlgèl

A fresh look at both the Dutch and the Balinese sources suggests that Berg's assessment of the Gèlgèl period, and in particular the date of its fall, may have been wrong. Reliable evidence for the dating of the earlier Gèlgèl rulers, particularly for Di Madé's sixteenth- and seventeenth-century predecessors, is hard to find. Only three kings, two of whom were brothers, are mentioned in Balinese sources for a period of over one hundred years, namely Baturènggong, Bekung and Saganing. The most illustrious of these ancestors was Baturènggong, whose reign was reportedly a golden age of literary activity and saw the arrival of Nirartha in Bali.

²⁰ One version of the *Babad Gumi* (Kirtya 808) gives the year 1605 *śaka* or 1683 A.D. as the year of Jambé's accession to the throne.

Under Baturènggong's sons, Bekung and Saganing, Bali's power began to decline both internally and externally. Bekung's reign, in particular, was characterized by a number of rebellions. As was noted above, it is on the basis of the 1581 chronogram referring to one such revolt that Berg places Baturènggong's reign in the period 1521-1580, and the priest Nirartha's arrival in 1550.²¹

De Graaf's conclusion that it was in 1687 that the Déwa Agung was re-established at Klungkung seems fairly convincing. If the establishment of the Klungkung dynasty at the end of the seventeenth century, which can also be verified in Dutch records, is taken as a starting-point, a tentative path can be mapped backwards through the seventeenth century. A different interpretation of the fall of Gèlgèl and the rise of Klungkung then emerges, which can also be more easily reconciled with Balinese traditions.

It seems unlikely that the king who died in 1651 was, as Berg suggests, Di Madé. There is no firm evidence in the Balinese sources for the unexplained gap of over thirty years between Di Madé's death in 1651 and the rise of Klungkung in 1686-7, which both Berg and De Graaf propose to fill by a number of 'missing' generations whose memories have not been preserved in the Balinese accounts. Although a period of rule by the Anglurah Agung (Maruti) of some years is indicated, this period would only have been long enough for Di Madé's sons to grow from childhood to adulthood, perhaps no more than ten years. According to the *Babad Dalem*, one of Di Madé's sons succeeded to the throne and resided at Guliayang for some time after his father's death, while Agung Maruti held power in Gèlgèl itself.²² In the *Babad Dalem* he is referred to as Pembayun.

²¹ Although Nirartha was probably an historical figure, the evidence for his arrival in Bali in the sixteenth century is also somewhat problematic. Of the works ascribed to him that are still extant, none actually mention his name as author. The *Usana Bali*, which actually appears to have been written in the eighteenth century (Hinzler 1986:137), gives his name as Nirarthaka and the *Añang Nirartha* as Nilartha. The use of negative epithets with *nir-* in the opening and closing stanzas of Balinese *kakawin* is relatively common (Creese 1981:33-4). The use of such epithets is usually ambiguous and most can be read either as personal names or as descriptions. Vickers (1989:218, note 18) concludes that he came to Bali before 1537, on the basis of the colophon of a manuscript of the *Sumanasāntaka* (LOr 5015) which bears a *śaka* date equivalent to 1537 and is said to be the work of one who is called Nirartha (*aparab ning nirartha*). Creese (1981:35-6) also suggests a somewhat earlier date for Nirartha's arrival in Bali, on the basis of the reading of the second *Pamañcangah* chronogram (see note 17 above). Both Nirartha and Baturènggong may have lived in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries, if it is assumed that it is the memory of a number of rulers between these truly legendary figures and their later seventeenth-century successors, Bekung and Di Madé, that the Balinese textual tradition has lost.

²² The *Babad Blabatu* mentions two reigning kings, both called Pembayun, after Di Madé. However, as Schulte Nordholt (1986:53, note 22) notes, the *Babad Blabatu* equates a new ruler with each event surrounding the history of the family's sacred *kris* and hence the number of rulers in this work tends to be somewhat inflated. The tradition that Di Madé's sons were only boys when their father died also seems to be confined to the *Kidung Pamañcangah*, which specifically refers to the *raden cili* or 'young princes'.

Vickers (1989:56 and 219, note 33), however, ascribes the fall of Gèlgèl to the reign of Déwa Pacekan, who is named as another of Di Madé's sons in the *Babad Dalem* (see Figure 1). Déwa Pacekan does not emerge as one of the contenders for the throne in the *babad* accounts. Nevertheless, he may have been an historical figure. He is known from the *Babad Gumi*, which records his death in 1650, and his memory is also safeguarded as the last of the deified rulers honoured at the Padharman Dalem Gèlgèl at Besakih (Stuart-Fox 1987:147). It is possible that Déwa Pacekan should be equated with the Déwa Pembayun of the *Babad Dalem*.²³

Rather than a hypothetical gap in the Balinese sources at this point, it is the accuracy of the *Pamañcangah* and *Babad Dalem* chronograms for Bekung's reign that should probably be questioned.²⁴ It is true that all the Balinese sources place Bekung's reign in the second half of the sixteenth century. However, it is difficult to determine which of the chronogram dates, if any, should be accepted. The interpretation of chronograms, which appear to act as reference points in Balinese texts, is always problematic, since dates given for the same event in different works are often contradictory.²⁵ They therefore provide little conclusive proof of the actual dates of particular events. Moreover, what little is known from seventeenth-century Dutch sources can be more easily reconciled with the events of Bekung's reign as described in the *Pamañcangah* and *Babad Dalem* than with what is known of Di Madé's reign from these Balinese traditions. If Bekung's reign is re-assigned to the first half of the seventeenth century, then Di Madé's reign must also be attributed to a somewhat later period than that proposed by Berg. We will now examine the evidence for the reigns of Bekung and Di Madé in more detail.

From Dutch sources it is known that when the first Dutch visitors came to Bali in 1597, the king and his entourage were at Kuta to equip an expedition to Java against Pasuruhan. Because the *Pamañcangah* attri-

²³ The reliability of the *Babad Gumi* dates has not been established. Vickers' interpretation, and the year 1650 for the death of the last of the Gèlgèl rulers, whether this be Di Madé or Pacekan, still leave a period of thirty-six years between the fall of Gèlgèl and the rise of Klungkung for which Balinese tradition records no memories.

²⁴ However, as has been noted already, there is a 'gap', and a considerable one, in the number of earlier fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Gèlgèl rulers (see Schulte Nordholt 1986:11, 51; 1988:19). It seems less likely that such a hiatus would occur in the record of events that took place closer to the time of the composition of the *Pamañcangah* and *Babad Dalem*.

²⁵ See note 17 above. A few further examples can be given here. The *Babad Dalem B* in Warnat *et al.* (1986:94) records that Saganing died in 1665 A.D. and Bekung a few years earlier, although, as this version gives the year of Baturènggong's death as 1550, Bekung would have been more than one hundred years old when he died. A manuscript of the *Balirajya* (HKS 3779) gives the following regnal years: Baturènggong 1461-1650; Bekung 1550-1580; Saganing 1580-1665; Di Madé 1665-1685. According to the *Babad Gumi*, on the other hand, Déwa Saganing died in 1623, and I Déwa Pembayun and I Déwa Ketut in 1632, while the year of Di Madé's death is given as 1638. Nevertheless, chronograms, where they can be checked, appear to be reliable within a range of about 30-50 years.

butes just such an expedition to Bekung, Berg concluded that Dutch and Balinese sources were in agreement for the details of Bekung's reign. For Di Madé's reign, however, Berg noted considerable conflict between the Dutch and the Balinese evidence. He dismissed as unreliable the *Pamañcangah* reports of Di Madé's supposedly peaceful reign, because Dutch sources clearly attested to a time of considerable conflict between Bali and Mataram over Blambangan in the period from 1633-1639. Nevertheless, the *Pamañcangah* indicates that the peace and prosperity of Di Madé's reign were sometimes disturbed, for it also describes a council held by Di Madé to organize another attack against Mataram. Berg judged this proposed expedition to Blambangan to be nothing more than a literary repetition of the expedition ascribed to Bekung.

Blambangan apparently was the site of continual conflict between the Balinese and Javanese over a period of several centuries. Dutch records show that the Balinese rulers were involved in the area, sometimes as overlords, from the middle of the sixteenth century until well into the eighteenth century. The 1597 expedition against Pasuruhan, which Berg assumes was undertaken by Bekung, could have taken place during the reign of one of Bekung's predecessors, and those of the period from 1633 to 1639 can instead be attributed to Bekung. A period of relative peace, such as the *Pamañcangah* attributes to Di Madé, may have ensued in the period after 1640. Even Di Madé's proposed expedition to Pasuruhan, reported in the Balinese texts, may be able to be verified from outside sources. It was not until the 1670s that Blambangan, at least temporarily, achieved independence from both Mataram and Bali (Kumar 1976:356-7). Military aid may have been sought by Blambangan and rendered by the ruler of Gèlgèl during the later period proposed here for Di Madé's reign, 1656-1665.

It is not only on the question of seventeenth-century Gèlgèl's external affairs that it is difficult to accept Berg's interpretation of the sources. The king described in Heurnius' report of 1638, with whom Berg equates Di Madé, can also be more readily identified with the figure of Bekung than with that of Di Madé. Certainly, the Di Madé depicted in the *Babad Dalem* and in the *Pamañcangah*, who has eight sons, two of whom had equal claims to the succession, cannot have been the king of Heurnius' report, whose son(s), in 1638, had already died and whose grandson was preparing to take up the battle for succession. In the Balinese accounts, Bekung was succeeded by his younger brother, Saganing, rather than by a member of his immediate family, a picture that accords with the disputed succession reported by Heurnius in 1638. Moreover, although Berg identified both the king of 1638 and the king of 1651 as Di Madé, it is possible that the old king of 1638 was Bekung, while the king of 1651 may have been his brother Saganing, who by that time would also presumably have been quite old. It seems probable that Di Madé came to power some time between 1651, when the death of the old king was reported, and 1656,

when VOC sources mention a new Balinese king ('*nieuwe Conick te Bali*', Schulte Nordholt 1988:20). The new ruler, who appears to have taken some time to establish his claim to the throne, was then ousted by Anglurah Agung Gusti Maruti in 1665.

According to the account of the fall of Gèlgèl in the *Babad Dalem*, Di Madé's reign was brief and apparently not without its conflicts. As the son of a younger son, his claim to the throne may have been somewhat tenuous, as indicated by the Dutch reports of disputed succession in both 1638 and 1651 and by the interval of five years before mention is made of a new Balinese ruler in 1656. Both the *Pamañcangah* and *Babad Dalem* report that the Anglurah Agung rose up in revolt against Di Madé some time before his death and forced him to move to Guliyang. This revolt against Di Madé appears to have taken place before 1665. In all probability it was instigated by the Gusti Agung who is known from Dutch records to be the ruler in 1665-6.²⁶ Thus, Di Madé's flight to Guliyang must have taken place at that time. Di Madé's reign would therefore be divided into two periods, the first as ruler of Gèlgèl, from approximately 1656 until 1665, beginning after the death of the old king, who, as we have suggested above, may have been Saganing, and a second period when he was forced to live at Guliyang after his defeat by the Gusti Agung. There is no indication of how long Di Madé may have maintained his court at Guliyang afterwards. The exact details surrounding the fall of the Gèlgèl dynasty remain uncertain. A more thorough investigation of the sources than has been possible here may yet uncover further data. Nevertheless, the Balinese sources clearly indicate that the power of the Gèlgèl dynasty came to an end during Di Madé's reign and not, as Berg suggests, at the time of his death. The consideration of both the Dutch and the Balinese sources suggests that, although the year 1665 may have marked the end of the power of Gèlgèl, its ruler, Di Madé, lived for some time in another court centre at Guliyang. All the Balinese *babad* accounts, except one version of the *Babad Dalem* which appears to be of recent origin, agree that Di Madé had two eligible

²⁶ The identity of the Gusti Agung of 1665-6, with whom Berg and De Graaf identify Agung Maruti, remains problematic. It is not certain if this Gusti Agung and the Anglurah Agung who, in 1686, after an interval of twenty years, again began corresponding with the VOC and who, shortly afterwards, was defeated by the new Déwa Agung of Klungkung, are the same person, although such an interpretation is possible. In the Balinese accounts of the fall of Gèlgèl and the re-establishment of the dynasty at Klungkung in the *Pamañcangah* and *Babad Dalem*, Maruti is referred to only by his title Anglurah Agung. The Balinese texts do not make it clear if Jambé's conflict was with the same Gusti Agung who had ousted Di Madé from his throne and usurped the position of his heirs.

successors, and that it was the younger of these who re-established the dynasty at Klungkung in 1686 or 1687.²⁷

CONCLUSIONS

A reconsideration of the Balinese accounts of the fall of Gèlgèl and rise of Klungkung makes it doubtful that it was Di Madé who was the ruler of Gèlgèl in either 1638 or 1651. However, the king referred to in the seventeenth-century Dutch reports may have been respectively Di Madé's predecessors, his uncle, Bekung, and his father, Saganing. Thus the year 1656 would have marked the beginning rather than the end of Di Madé's reign. He appears to have been ousted from his palace some time before his death, probably before 1665-6, and to have resided for some time afterwards at Guliyang. On his death, one of his sons appears to have succeeded him at Guliyang, while the other took refuge in Sidemen. In later traditions, both of these sons appear to have been minors at the time of Di Madé's death. Finally, in 1686-7, after an interval of some years, the younger son, Agung Jambé, with the help of various Balinese nobles, overthrew the Anglurah Agung (Maruti) who had seized power in Gèlgèl, and re-established the dynasty at Klungkung. A later date for Di Madé's reign is more easily reconciled with both the 1687 date for the re-establishment of the dynasty at Klungkung and the events attributed to the reigns of both Bekung and Di Madé in the Balinese sources.

The image of Balinese kingship in the seventeenth century that emerges in the *babad* texts is not a picture of orderly rule and succession from one generation to the next, nor of a central, powerful ruler under whom the island was united. As in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although the right to rule appears to have been hereditary, dependent on the status of the mother, and to have passed from time to time from one sibling to another, the authority of the ruler seems to have been under constant threat both from members of his own family and from external forces.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries power does not appear to have rested centrally in Gèlgèl's successor, Klungkung, but to have been shared by a number of princes who were usually related by birth or marriage, although nominal allegiance continued to be paid to the Déwa Agung of Klungkung as paramount ruler. From time to time individuals became powerful enough to extend their rule over neighbouring areas. It

²⁷ This is the *Babad Dalem* A version of the Warna edition (1986), which comes from Sidemen and, hence, gives a prominent place to Sidemen and its genealogical links to the ruling family of Gèlgèl. This version of the *Babad Dalem*, which has a colophon dated 1942, displays an almost Western interest in chronological sequence and dating. It seeks to establish firmly the links between Sidemen and the Gèlgèl rulers and provides an interesting example of the 'reinterpretation' of genealogical ties. It differs from all other accounts by placing Maruti's revolt at the end of Saganing's reign. According to this account, on the latter's death, Maruti conspired to depose his elder son, Pembahyun, and to place the more easily influenced Di Madé on the throne. The content of this version is summarized in Appendix 2.

is not possible to determine whether the same was true of the earlier Gèlgèl period. However, the *babad* evidence suggests that much of the seventeenth century, certainly from the time Bekung came to the throne, was also characterized by continual revolts and uprisings. The traditional picture of a mighty and unified kingdom in Gèlgèl at the end of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century may thus be more one of imagined past glory and prosperity than the reality as portrayed by the Balinese sources. Nevertheless, many of the details for the period of Balinese history covered by the *Babad Dalem* remain obscure, and the conclusions reached here must be considered provisional.

APPENDIX 1: The fall of Gèlgèl according to the Babad Dalem (HKS 2935)²⁸

(74b) Kawekas-wekasan rug nagarane ring Gèlgèl, lali ring pasawitan para Anglurah mwang para-manca, padha angungsi kawulane sadesa-deso. Atinggal ring Gèlgèl. Kyayi Pungakan metu saking Padukuhan adesa ring Mina Nyalyan. Anggawa kris haran Ki Lobar. Sami amawa kaliliran, metu saking Dalem ing kuna. Wetu Dalem kiniter olih Anglurah Agung, kang akarang ring Gèlgèl, Ler ing pasar. Awastha ring Karang Kapatihan. Den ing kang apatih langghana ring Dalem. Ana para pungakan mwang para Anglurah. Kang kari ana ring Sweca Linggarsa-pura. Ana kawula ring desa para-deso, kena padha giniring. Tan dados matutulung maring Gèlgèl. Karan ing para-pungakan (75a) mwang para-anglurah, tekan ing bala. Kang tumut manjing ring pura, kang kari tresna ring Dalem. Neher binebeng olih satru.

Wus kasuwen wus mangkana raju kena mlecca Dalem saking dalem pura. Pinendhak olih ing wong Kilyan ing Toya-bubuh. Awetu prang kidul ing pura ring Gèlgèl. Tumuli Dalem apura ring Gulyang. Kawula tumut sami umiring. Becik menak tekan ing kawula wong tigangatus. Wus samangkana lebar Dalem mantuk ing swargga. Rinawos olih para-punggawa, den ing putra Dalem amijil. Akanti saking Pungakan Dén Bancingah. Krawos wekasane kuciwa kang putra kakalih mijil saking kahottaman istrine. Padha dereng rumawos. Kang karosigar tumut ring putra Dalem mijil saking Badung. Keni pajengengan ing pinalayokaken [variant: pinalaywaken] olih ing (75b) para-pungakan. Mwang para-anglurah. Mwang tumbak, mamas, talempék, tekan ing cendhek. Telas pagagawane saking Gèlgèl. Ana kari kris pajenengan Ki Tandha Langlang ring Gulyang. Karan ing Dalem ring pradeseng Singharsa, ring bhumi Malayu.

Lurah Singharsa eling mangadalem. Wus samangkana tur kasuwen,

²⁸ The transliterated text of HKS 2935 is reproduced here without emendation. The punctuation of the various transliterations of the *Babad Dalem* appears to be somewhat arbitrary, and to differ from text to text, indicating that this punctuation is the work of individual transcribers rather than an integral part of the *lontar* manuscripts from which the copies were made. Therefore the translation given here does not always reflect the punctuation of HKS 2935.

pecak punggawa saking Gèlgèl. Kang tumut umiring Dalem agenu-rasa ring Lurah Singharsa. Wus pasthi pagenune Lurah Singharsa ana aweh bhawa-rasa. Ring para-manca ring Ler gunung, mwang ring Badung. Apang padha mangwirangang Dalem. Den ing Lurah Agung agawe rusake ring Gèlgèl. Tumuli den pasthi samadaya amondhok ring Panasan. Wong Singharsa amarani ring Lor ing Sweca-Linggarsa-pura ring nagareng Smara-wijaya, tekan ing ring Sumpulan. Tumuli kawes Dawan, mwang Sumpulan, mwang Panesan-aji. Jumeneng Dalem ring Dawan. Kyayi Paketan rumaksa Dalem. Paprange saking Badung. Kawes lilih ring kikisik ing Andoga. Atyanta ramen ing prang. Karusak pejah (76a) Kyayi Jambé Pule, den ing ingamuk olih ing wong Gèlgèl. Apan wus kawon Jumpai ika. Karan ing mangkana wong Gèlgèl telas angepung wong Ler Gunung ika. Ring Panesan-aji atyanta ramen ing yuddha. Long linongan pejah papatihe Kyayi Panji-sakti saking Ler Gunung. Kyayi Lurah Singharsa awangun kiki abubulu. Sinungga tekan ing pager mwang balumbang. Ring kidul ing Smarawijaya. Ana Dalem jumeneng ring Smarajaya, saking pakaryane Kyayi Nglurah Singharsa. Wong angiring saking Gèlgèl. Sinung unggwan angider ing pura ika. Tur ingempu olih prasanake Kyayi Dawuh. Ahunggan ring kutha ika ring Pamregan. Kang angiring tumut kakiter ing Sweca-Linggarsa-pura. Sinung ingandika munggwing surat 'PIYAGEM'.

Eventually Gèlgèl was destroyed. The *anglurah* and *mañca* forgot to whom they owed their loyalty and sought out their own subjects in their own districts. They all left Gèlgèl. The *pungakan* from Padukuhan (= Dén Bañcingah) went to the village of Nyalian, taking with him the *kris* Ki Lobar. All the officials likewise took away the royal palladia given to them by kings in days gone by. Then the king was captured by the Anglurah Agung who resided in Gèlgèl, north of the market in the place called Krang Kapatihan. It was he, the patih, who opposed the king. There were some *anglurah* and *pungakan* who stayed in Gèlgèl (Swecalinggarsapura), and there were people from the villages who were held back and were unable to go (to give aid) to Gèlgèl. The *anglurah* and *pungakan* and the army who were in the palace and were loyal to the king were all captured by the enemy. After some time the king fled from the palace. He was met by his people west of Toyabubuh. Fighting broke out to the south of the palace in Gèlgèl. And so the king established a palace at Guliyang, together with those who had come with him, aristocrats and subjects, three hundred in all. Eventually the king died and went to heaven.

The *punggawa* deliberated because there was amongst the king's heirs a son [Pembayun], who had assisted Dén Bañcingah. Finally they concluded that this son would defeat [his rival]. Both [the possible successors] were sons of high mothers. So it was not yet determined [who should rule]. There were 150 who took the side of the prince whose mother came from Badung, and so those 150 went away, the *pungakan* and *anglurah* carrying

with them their weapons — javelins, lances, pikes, and short spears — all that had been taken from Gèlgèl. Only the sacred weapon Ki Tandha Langlang was left in Guliayang. The prince [Jambé] then went to live in Singharsa in the region of Malayu. The Anglurah Singharsa remembered who was his lord.

A long time after that, a former *punggawa* in Gèlgèl who had accompanied the prince held discussions with the Anglurah of Singharsa. After obtaining his agreement a message was sent out to all the *mañica* in Ler Gunung and Badung to avenge the prince. The Anglurah Agung in Gèlgèl would be destroyed. And so it was agreed to set up camp in Panasan. The people of Singharsa went to the north of Gèlgèl, from the city of Smarawijaya (Klungkung) to Sumpulan. Then Dawan, Sumpulan and Panesanaji were subjugated and the prince occupied Dawan. Kyayi Paketan protected the prince. The Badung forces were defeated and retreated to Andoga. The battle was ferocious. Jambé Pule was killed by the fierce fighting of the forces of Gèlgèl and Jumpai was taken. And the Gèlgèl troops then attacked the Bulèlèng forces. At Panesanaji the fighting raged. Many killed or were killed. The *patih* of Pañji Sakti from Ler Gunung was killed. The Anglurah of Singharsa formed a defence with bamboo stakes and ditches to the south of Smarawijaya. The prince then occupied Smarajaya because of the actions of the Anglurah of Singharsa. Those who had gone with him from Gèlgèl were given residences around the palace. The prince was cared for by the members of the family of Kyayi Dawuh, who were given homes in the town at Pamregan. And all those who were loyal and had gone with him from Gèlgèl were given grants as is recorded in the royal charters.

APPENDIX 2: The fall of Gèlgèl according to the Babad Dalem A

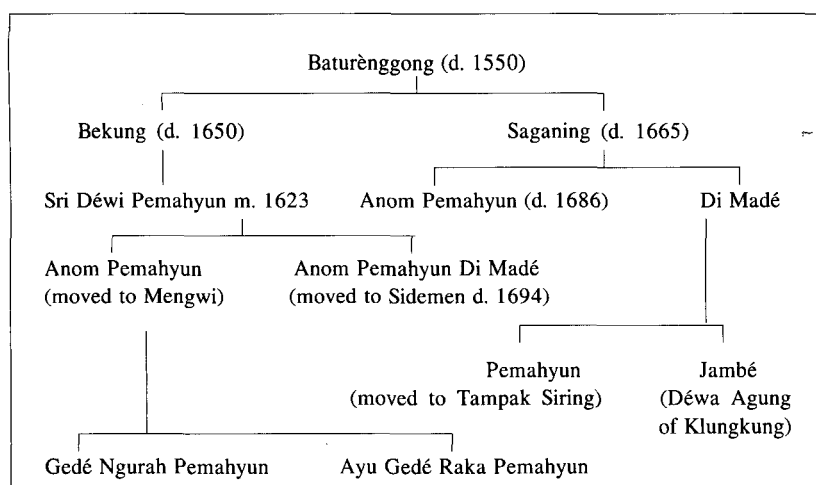


Figure 2. Rulers of Gèlgèl according to the Babad Dalem A.

The manuscript of the *Babad Dalem A* comes from Jero Kanginan in Sidemen (Warna *et al.* 1986:vii). According to this account, Bekung abdicated in favour of his brother Saganing and moved away to Purasi. His daughter, Sri Dewi Pemahyun, in 1623 had married I Déwa Anom Pemahyun (also called Déwa Anom Kaler), Saganing's elder son. They had two sons, I Déwa Anom Pemahyun (who went to Mengwi) and I Déwa Anom Pemahyun Di Madé. Bekung himself died in 1650. Before his death he stated that his grandsons were to rule Bali. The elder son, I Déwa Anom Pemahyun, went away to become ruler of Mengwi in 1658, and the younger one, I Déwa Anom Pemahyun Di Madé, was promised to the lords of Sidemen as ruler and married the Anglurah's daughter, I Gusti Sapuh Jagat. This younger son later accompanied his father to Purasi after Maruti conspired to place his uncle, Di Madé, on the throne. Saganing's second son, Di Madé, then became ruler of Gèlgèl with Maruti as his patih. This Di Madé also had two sons, I Déwa Pemahyun, who went to Tampak Siring, and Agung Jambé, the prince who re-established the dynasty in Klungkung. Maruti's purpose in deposing the first Déwa Anom Pemahyun was that Di Madé was easily influenced. Di Madé's reign was peaceful and prosperous. Eventually his nobles began to desert him and he moved away to Guliyang with his sons. Maruti then was in full control. On the death of Di Madé, the nobles deliberated and chose his second son, Agung Jambé, as successor. It was he who with the lords of Sidemen, Bulèlèng and Badung overthrew Maruti in 1704.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

HKS Hooykaas – Ketut Sangka Collection, see Pigeaud 1980:6-7

LOR Codex Orientalis of the Leiden University Library

VOC Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie.

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