

**CANDRASANGKALA:
THE BALINESE ART OF DATING EVENTS.**

HANS HÄGERDAL
hans.hagerdal@vxu.se

Department of Humanities
University of Växjö
Sweden
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Introduction	2
Babad Gumi	13
Babad Bhumi	42
Korn 1	74
Korn 2	93
Korn 3	100
Korn 4	105
Korn 5	113
Babad Tusan	132
Tattwa Batur Kalawasan	140
Pangrincik Babad	147
Sara Samuscaya Pakenca	156
Anjang Nirartha	164
Pasangkalan	167
Pawawatekan	182
Postscript: Pasangkalan	198
Genealogies	201
Unpublished sources	204
Literature	206

INTRODUCTION

Elements of Balinese historiography.

History has deep roots on Bali, however one defines the word. To be more exact, Bali has a wider scope of historiographical continuity than anywhere else in Southeast Asia except for Vietnam and perhaps Burma. Pending some previous scholarly statements regarding the Balinese perception of time and the historical past, that are found in the anthropological literature about the island, such a statement may seem rather rash. However, it remains an astonishing fact. On Balinese soil historical texts were preserved and cherished; they informed ever new generations about ancient kingdoms far back in time, to the Javanese dynasties of Airlangga and Ken Angrok up to a thousand years ago. Certainly, these dynasties were mainly non-Balinese, but this is irrelevant for the self-perception of the Balinese elite groups, who found inspiration and *raison d'être* from tales of ancient Javanese realms. As against this, the genuinely historical memory barely goes back before the 13th century in Thailand, the 14th century in Laos and Cambodia, and the 15th century in the Malay world. Historical traditions from Java, Aceh, South Sulawesi and Maluku cease to be merely legends and start to take on a somewhat more plausible shape in about the 15th or 16th century. For remoter times we are confined to the results of modern archaeologists and epigraphists – and in the case of Java to the works preserved on Bali through the centuries.

Nevertheless, indigenous Balinese sources that allegedly chronicle the past are difficult to work with, for several reasons. They presuppose a rather intimate knowledge of the cultural context in order to be appreciated, and there are important intertextual considerations that must be made before one can think of using them for historical reconstruction. Pre-modern Balinese authors who set out to describe persons and events were often Brahmana literati with a truly deep fund of knowledge of the Hindu-Javanese civilization that was considered to be the basis of Bali-ness (Creese 1991a; Creese 1991b; Rubinstein 2000:37). They could also be members of the other high castes, Ksatria or Wesia (Berg 1932). In either case, their obsession with Indic and Javanese models of kingship, ritual and ethics put its mark on what they wrote. A founder king of a Balinese kingdom – a Dewa Ketut of Gelgel, a Gusti Panji Sakti of Buleleng, a Gusti Agung Sakti of Mengwi – had to be pressed into a Indianized mould of kingship (Worsley 1972:43). His establishment of a proper court, his management of proper ritual paraphernalia, and the expansion of his power over the surrounding lands, all formed part of this, irrespective of the more complicated historical realities. Lost wars could be suppressed in these accounts, or they could be reduced to incidents, or explained through a mythologized forged chain of causality. Important protagonists of a dynastic realm could be suppressed as irrelevant for the purpose of the historian, who on the other hand could note down accurately every child of every granduncle of the present ruling member of the dynasty (Vickers 1989:69-71).

The texts that purported to tell of past lives of a dynasty or important family are called *babad*. The word literally means “opening up”, “clearing”, which gives connotations to the process of elucidating and uncovering the origins of a particular family. The *babad* usually have a marked genealogical concern, and parts of them may consist of catalogues of family members. The narrative parts of these texts are frequently concerned with origins. They tell of the founding of a polity, of the pseudo-historical origins of heirloom objects and family ceremonies, of the reasons for the social position of a descent group in current Balinese society, etc. (Hinzler 1976). All this seems to speak against a chronicling of historical facts in a Western sense. Events without relevance for the family are left out, and facts may be rearranged to suit the ideal picture of the past that the *babad* tries to depict. All this has given the Balinese brand of historiography a doubtful reputation in Western writings on Bali; in spite of their great literary and cultural interest they make a bewildering impression on a conventional historian (Ricklefs 1981:52). Nevertheless, the *babad* are rather varied in their scope and reliability. While some of them seem to be well informed, others stuff various kinds of stories and persons into a garbled account (Schulte Nordholt 1992; Schulte Nordholt 1996:26). For example, the Klungkung chronicle *Babad Ksatria*, written by a learned court Brahmana in the second half of the 19th century, presents a reasonably well-structured although very selective account of the Klungkung kingdom. This account contrasts sharply with the *Babad Blahbatuh*, compiled by a minor aristocrat in 1868, which brings in pieces of information from various corners and forges a chronologically confused account which expands the number of generations in the genealogy considerably (Warna 1986; Berg 1932).

But apart from that it is also important to note that Balinese history writing, as the experience of the past, included other genres than the *babads*. To write about dramatic events in the classical Javanese world, which had taken place before the coming of Islam, required the poetic form of the *kidung*. In verbose songs like *Kidung Harsawijaya*, *Kidung Sunda* and *Kidung Rangga Lawe* Balinese poets expanded core stories found in Old Javanese historical texts, filling out the original stories with fictive speeches and descriptions. Dramatic historical events that lay closer in time, perhaps even within the lifetime of the author, could take the form of *geguritan*, songs that described the tragic qualities of the fall of a dynasty or aristocrat.

None of these genres were particularly concerned with the exact dates for events, or with the arrangement of events in a precise chronological chain. On the contrary, comparisons with external (mostly European) sources amply show that the historians of Bali forged their own chain of causality from events that in themselves might very well be historical (cf. Vickers 1990; Schulte Nordholt 1992). Rather few dates are found in the pre-modern *babad* texts, and those who are there seem to be of varying reliability. For the twentieth-century Balinese who were confronted with Dutch and post-independence Indonesian history writing, this was probably seen as a something of a problem. Figures who were revered as major rulers, priests and literati were not chronologically anchored in the same way as the grand figures of Indonesia-wide history – Gajah Mada, Sultan Agung, Hasanuddin etc. In some modern Balinese *babad* texts this handicap has been redeemed by the forging of new dates, which have often found their way into historical literature in Bahasa Indonesia, and even occasionally in Western academic texts (cf. Putra 1991).

There was nevertheless a further genre of history writing that covered exactly this dating aspect. If there were no dates in most Balinese historical texts it was not because such did not exist. Rather, we have once again to review the Balinese attitude to genres of texts. Different aspects of the past were accorded to different kinds of text. A dynastic origin-story was confined to a babad, an episode of ancient history to a kidung, and a dramatic modern episode to a geguritan (Vickers 1990). And series of exact dates that had been preserved were included in particular compendiums or lists (sometimes called “babad” though they do not actually belong to this genre). The years were indicated with words possessing a numerical value. Such dates are called chronograms or *candrasangkala*. They could not be used extensively in the babad since the aim of the latter was not to present a chronologically determined series of events. But they could certainly be placed at the end, or sometimes in the midst of, a narrative text. For example, the *Pamancangah Karangasem*, a genealogical register of the East Balinese Karangasem dynasty, ends with such a series of dates, which in themselves have little relevance to the rest of the text. Other series could be appended to, for example, law-texts or legendary accounts. It is precisely these compendiums that will constitute the object of the present study.

The material.

For this study fourteen lists have been studied and translated. All of them are found in the collections of the Dutch Asianist stronghold of Leiden, either in the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV) or in the Department of Eastern Letters at the University Library. Twelve are available in transcriptions to the Latin alphabet while two have been transcribed from the Balinese aksara alphabet. The inquiries I have made on Bali itself about possible further lists have so far led to no result. There seems to be very little interest for these compendiums today among the Balinese themselves.

Among these fourteen items not one seems to be younger than the early 1920s. At that time the Dutch colonial official Victor E. Korn, famous for his work on Balinese adat law (Korn 1932), collected all kinds of materials on things Balinese. To these belonged the *Babad Bhumi*, a legendary tale of ancient Bali that included 145 dates of events, and furthermore five lists which I have called *Korn 1-5* in this book for the sake of convenience. One of the lists, *Korn 4*, is dated 1843 according to the Saka era prevalent on pre-modern Bali, which is equivalent to 1921 AD. Another one, *Korn 5*, takes events up to the year 1918, when the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies paid a visit to the island. As for the others, the *Babad Bhumi* includes dates up to 1858 A.D. (should probably be 1868), *Korn 1* up to 1872, *Korn 2* up to 1884 and *Korn 3* up to 1598. Korn wrote an article ‘Balische chronogrammen’ in the Dutch colonial journal *Indische Gids* in 1922, where he discussed the scope of Balinese dating via chronogram words. In this text he made some use of the lists he had found.

Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk was, in an earlier generation, another keen collector of Balinese texts. In contrast with Korn his interests were those of a philologist and literary

scholar. During his long stay in Bali, from 1870 to 1894, he collected several hundreds of Old Javanese and Balinese palm-leaf manuscripts that were brought to the Netherlands after his death. Among these are found a few of the compendiums studied in this book, namely the *Pangrincik Babad*, *Pasasangkalan* and *Pawawatekan*. The former text includes dates up to 1620, the second up to 1711, and the latter up to 1693. Whether these end dates approach the time of writing is an open question, but we do have the date of decease of Van der Tuuk in 1894 as a *terminus ante quem*.

The precise circumstances under which the other five texts found their way to the archives are unknown to the present author. The *Babad Gumi*, *Sara Samuscaya Pakenca* and the prototype of the list in the *Anjang Nirartha* seem to have existed at least in the 19th century, and the former two were known by the philologist C.C. Berg, probably in the inter-war period. The time of collection of the *Babad Tusan* and *Tattwa Batur Kalawasan* has not been ascertained. Further questions about the dating of these various texts will be discussed later in this book.

The lists are quite different in scope. Most of them do not care to present events in strict chronological order, but make a rather chaotic impression. A closer look reveals, however, that the order of the entries is partly similar from text to text, something that may give some hints of the text genealogy. Some of the lists, on the other hand, follow the thread in more or less strict chronological order. The entries of the various lists are mostly quite lapidary, and only indicate the event alluded to in a few words. Some of the more modern dates, from about the 17th century, have slightly fuller information and even at times include the exact month and day of an event.

What does it tell us?

These fourteen lists display an interest for providing dates, an interest that belongs to a rather different category than the writing of *babad*, *kidung*, *gaguritan* etc. But the question remains: do they tell us anything we did not know before of Balinese history? Were there any incentives of preserving genuine dates over the centuries or are they to be seen from a more sociological perspective, embodying a human wish to illustrate the dramatic changes of the world over time? As a matter of fact, as I will show, both stances apply to the material. There are sequences of dates that clearly mirror a genuine interest to arrange available dates in a faithful way. But there are also examples of invention, where names of people and places culled from various literary texts are arranged and provided with fictitious calendric dates.

In the process of determining the origins of these dates we are in principle confined to two methods: one inductive and one deductive. In the former case, we may compare the Balinese dates with external materials, in the first hand Dutch sources from the VOC and post-VOC periods, but also with Portuguese, Javanese, Malay and Makassarese texts. This is easily done for the period since the beginning of colonial penetration (say, mid-19th century) but is more problematic for the earlier periods, when the external interest

for Bali was selective and piecemeal. Let us see a few examples of inductive validating of dates, taken from the text *Pangrincik Babad*.

<i>Balinese date</i>	<i>External data</i>
Defeat of Balambangan, 1598	Balambangan is defeated by Pasuruan shortly after February 1597 (Dutch account)
A comet is visible, 1618	Three comets appear in the sky in late 1618 (European astronomical observations)
Bayan on Lombok is attacked, 1619	Makassarese forces subdue Sumbawa in 1619, marching from the East to the West (Makassarese chronicles)
Commotion in the country, 1620	In 1620 the Balinese king complains of internal rebels and Makassarese threats against Lombok (VOC reports)

Another method is to compare the dates with the picture of the past provided by the babad texts that as we have seen belong to quite another genre. One may also draw conclusions from the coherence of the dates found in different lists. When, for example, two independent texts give information on a war that a Balinese lord waged on Lombok in 1645 one may expect that there is something in these statements, and this is further confirmed by a contemporary VOC source from early 1646, that alludes to the same war (Hägerdal 1998:70-5). Most examples, of course, are much less obvious.

Then, what about the deductive way of judging these dates? In certain cases we have a unique opportunity to judge the genuineness of the dates, namely when they contain exact calendrical elements. Since the Balinese system of time reckoning contains two different subsystems, the moon-based *sasih* calendar and the 210-days *pawukon* cycle, an exact fit between data given according to these two subsystems indicates that the date is based on a genuine observation. An example taken from the list *Korn I* may illustrate this.

Ash-rain from the volcano Batur, killing lots of people, on the day Sukra Pon, the week Prangbakat, the 8th day of the waxing moon, in the 8th month, in the Saka year “pandita awani angge bumi”.

Pandita awani angge bumi has the numerical value 7-1-6-1, i.e. 1617.

The Saka calendar starts at 78 A.D., giving us the year c. March 1695-March 1696.

Sukra (Friday) combined with Pon (the third day in the five days week) and Prangbakat (the 24th of the 30 Balinese weeks) falls on 10 February 1696.

The 8th month normally occurs in January-February, sometimes in February-March, starting the day after the igniting of the moon.

The 8th day after the igniting corresponds to 10 February 1696. The date is therefore internally coherent and must be accepted as based on a real observation.

Then, can we be confident that an entry in the list is historically correct in any case where there are inductive or deductive evidence? Apparently we can not. There are several traps that must be considered before we can venture to use the materials for a historical reconstruction. To begin with, there is some evidence that the *candrasangkala*, the combinations of words representing numerical values, could be borrowed in order to denote new events. This is the case with the chronogram “kaya tulup guna ning wong” that means 3-9-3-1, or in other words 1471 A.D. It occurs in a copperplate inscription from Selat (Goris 1954 I:46), but is also used by the compilers of two of our lists. They combine it either with the “defeat of Kapal” or “the defeat of Gerih”. The exact dates that can be validated through an analysis of the calendric elements are apparently genuine in themselves. The Balinese literati before the 20th century did probably not have the means or incentive to “forge” internally consistent dates that lay far back in time. But here, too, it is not excluded that they picked dates from colophons of manuscripts or other sources and gave the texts a new or partly new content. An example of this is perhaps the description of a volcanic eruption of the mountain Gunung Agung on 6 February 1711, that occurs in the two closely related texts *Korn 1* and *Pasasangkalan*. The *Pasasangkalan* entry is relatively short and probably accurate, while the parallel entry in *Korn 1* is more verbose, including some unlikely or exaggerated statements that may have been added later.

But we also have to take some care when observing conjunctions between Balinese dates and external data, at least when the latter have reached modern textbooks. In one of the latest of our lists, *Korn 5*, one entry informs us that the Dewa Agung (the Balinese paramount king) passed away in the year 1651, which, if meaning a Saka year, would correspond to 1729 A.D. Here, however, the author of the list, who wrote in or after 1918, has quite possibly taken the information from a Dutch text or informer. That a Balinese ruler passed away at approximately the same time as the Dutch envoy Jacob Bacharach visited the island in 1651 was well known through the writings of Rutger van Eck (1878-80), Cornelis Lekkerkerker (1920) and others. Even lists that evidently existed in the 19th century could conceivably have been influenced by learned contacts with Westerners – one may mention the great literary scholar Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk, who stayed on Bali from 1870 to 1894 and entertained close relations with Brahmana scholars. We also see that a few lists betray knowledge of the Western calendar, as they occasionally confuse the Saka era with the Christian era.

With all these reservations, it remains that many dates surely go back to genuine annotations made at the time of the event. In many cases where we can check the dates against Dutch and other external materials, this material was only worked out in Western scholarly texts far into the 20th century, or even remains unpublished. In such cases, especially when the Balinese entries are provided with internally consistent calendric elements, they must be accepted as historically accurate or at least contemporary with the events they describe.

The historical scope.

Two important questions remain to be answered. First, how old are the individual lists? And second, how far back does the “historical” material go? As could be expected, these enquiries can only be tentatively answered. In principle, a terminus post quem is provided by the latest date in the list, while a terminus ante quem is the date when a particular text has been collected or donated to a library. In some cases, however, the text is dated through a colophon or *pangelingeling* (commemorative note) that is added at the end of the list. That would give us the following picture.

Text	Latest date	Colophon	Inclusion in collection
Babad Gumi	1692	1710-11	c. 1930?
Babad Bhumi	1858		before 1922
Korn 1	1872		between 1870-94 (?)
Korn 2	1884		c. 1920s
Korn 3	1588		c. 1920s
Korn 4	1800	1921	c. 1920s
Korn 5	1918		c. 1920s
Babad Tusan	1645		before 1973
Tattwa Batur Kalawasan	1805		before 1930
Pangrincik Babad	1620		between 1870-94
Sara Samuscaya Pakenca	1890		interwar period
Anjang Nirartha	1855		?
Pasasangkalan	1711		between 1870-94
Pawawatekan	1693		between 1870-94

As we see the problems are considerable; for example, the *Pangrincik Babad* could conceivably have been authored at any time within a 250-years span. The most interesting observation, perhaps, concerns the *Babad Gumi* where the appended *pangelingeling* indicates an exact date, 21 October 1710. It describes a volcanic eruption of the *Gunung Agung* in 1710-11 that is confirmed by other lists. This commemorative note thereby combines the thread of dramatic historical events with the current experience of the natural disaster. From that point of view it would seem that the *Babad Gumi* is actually compiled about 1711, though we can not completely exclude a later hand. One may also suspect that a few other lists, such as the *Babad Tusan* and *Pangrincik Babad*, are rather early, though once again it is difficult to be definite on this point without resorting to speculation.

But it is possible to go a little bit further by comparing the lists. The order of the entries in some of the lists is partly the same, so it is obvious that they build on each other or have a common source. The most complete collection of early dates, up to the early 17th

century, seems to be the *Pangrincik Babad*. To the extent that we can talk about an urtext – or ur-list – this compilation is probably close to it, and it seems to have influenced *Korn 3*, *Babad Tusan* and *Tattwa Batur Kalawasan*, and possibly some other lists as well. We can also see that the *Babad Gumi* has influenced *Sara Samuscaya Pakenca*, and that the *Pawawatekan* has influenced *Korn 4*.

The issue of dating and interdependence of the text is obviously relevant for our second question, about the historical character of the dates. But the most important thing here is to search for inductive evidence for their historicity. For this purpose it is convenient to divide the various kinds of dates in the following groups.

1. Early dates, of the first Saka centuries. These dates detail the establishment of famous shrines and geographical features such as mountains and oceans. All this must be considered mythical although the dates give interesting hints at the ritual geography of pre-modern Bali.
2. “Ancient” dates, from about the 10th and 11th Saka centuries, likewise mentioning various ritual places. As will be discussed, there are indications that certain entries may not be completely fictitious.
3. “Medieval” dates, describing various Javanese heroes, kings and shrines from about the 12th to 15th Saka centuries. These dates are drawn from various Old Javanese texts, and some of them clearly have a historical background.
4. Dates mentioning dramatic events on Bali and, in a few cases, Java, from the late 14th to the early 16th Saka century – more or less from 1469 to 1598. The style is extremely lapidary but the material may very well be based on sound information; a few of the dates can be confirmed from external sources.
5. Various events of the late Gelgel period, covering the 17th century A.D. up to 1686. Compared with the former group it gives slightly fuller information, and many events can be substantiated from external sources.
6. Events from the Klungkung and early colonial period, from 1686 until the early decades of the 20th century, mostly describing political events and natural calamities. Wherever we possess external data the events appear to be roughly historical, though not always exactly dated.

Of the dates with internally consistent calendric elements the earliest one is from 1642, which therefore probably contains genuine information. From the 17th century and later we possess numbers of dates which can be thus validated. But as seen above from the example of the *Pangrincik Babad*, comparisons with European and Indonesian sources clearly show that the historical element goes back at least to the late 16th century. The earliest confirmed date is the defeat of the East Javanese kingdom of Balambangan at the hands of the bellicose Pasisir town Pasuruhan in 1597 or 1598 – a Javanese affair but still one that was of close concern to Bali. Going further back in time the lack of comparative

materials makes things less certain, but several events seem to fit in with the accounts of the narrative babad texts, in particular the state chronicle *Babad Dalem*. An event in 1538, the defeat of Pasuruan, is unexpectedly confirmed or at least paralleled by a Javanese year-list – there are otherwise no real conjunctions between Balinese and Javanese lists. Several events of the pre-1400 period are taken from the Old Javanese historical texts *Pararaton* and *Nagarakertagama* that were preserved and cherished by Balinese literati; they are probably correct or at least based on real events. But it is possible to go even one step back in time. A chronogram occurring in several lists has it that a shrine was erected at Buruan (Darma) in present-day Gianyar in 1007. This seems to parallel the consecration of the grave of the queen Gunapriya Dharmapatni, mother of the famous Javanese king Airlangga, in Buruan at about the same time (Poesponegoro & Notosusanto 1993:299; Goris 1954 I:46).

On the basis of such conjunctions it is possible to argue very broadly that the dates are to a large extent historical, i.e. referring to actual events, from the late 16th century, but that some earlier dates (apart from those borrowed from Old Javanese sources) seem to have been correctly preserved as well. For the late Gelgel period and after they are therefore an important complement to the other types of materials at hand, even with due regard to the traps mentioned above. They may anchor events in time that are spoken of in the babad, and sometimes provide them with important additional information. They may also help explain events casually mentioned in colonial Dutch texts in a new way. Of course these possibilities should not be exaggerated, regarding the rather brief and fragmentary information that the dates contain, but it is clear that they are an inevitable part of a historical reconstruction of Balinese politics.

There are a few black holes in the history of Bali, and the question inevitably arises whether the candrasangkala lists have anything to contribute in filling these out. Perhaps the most intriguing question is what happened between the onset of Majapahit influence in 1343 and the full flourishing of the Balinese kingdom that the Dutch met at their first visit to the Indies, in 1597. The indigenous babad make a highly bewildering impression, as they allege to cover the period 1350-1550 in just three generations. The kingdom of Gelgel is said to have been founded by Dewa Ketut in the age of the Majapahit ruler Hayam Wuruk (1350-89) – and the same Dewa Ketut is later on stated to have survived the fall of Majapahit in c. 1520! This apparent anachronism has led one scholar (C.C. Berg 1927) to conclude that Gelgel was actually founded in the 14th century, and that the genealogy of rulers was abbreviated in later historiography. Another scholar (H. Schulte Nordholt 1996) argued that the aristocratic genealogies did not go back any further than the 16th century. Consequently the Gelgel kingdom arose much later than Berg thought. Such as they are, the chronograms seem to support the view of Schulte Nordholt rather than Berg. Some events that the babad associate with the earliest history of Gelgel are dated in the late 15th and early 16th century in the various lists of dates. It is an open question how much trust should be put in this, but at least the order of the dates of the period 1469-1598 tally rather well with the relative chronology laid down in the narrative babad.

The cultural background of the lists.

In which context did the lists arise? The accuracy of some early dates shows that the process of list compiling must have started in c. 1600 at the very latest. It is not likely that exact dates can be preserved by oral tradition, and one has to assume that they were noted down on lontar leaves from the very beginning. Some of them may have been culled from colophons and pangelingeling, but most of them seem to have another background. It might be useful to take a look at the rise of annalistic texts in Europe in the Middle Ages. The origins of Western annals lay in the calendars kept by the Christian monasteries. For the religious establishment it was of utmost importance to have the various holy days properly fixed – Easter, Pentacost etc. This proved conducive to the keeping of almanacs and year-books, where there was also room for notes on memorable events. By the time these annotations developed into real annals. Since the various monasteries in Europe stood in continuous interaction with each other, annalistic data contained in one book was often taken over by other annalistic texts (Breisach 1994:101). Part of this pattern may be valid for Bali as well. Early-modern Bali did not have any monasteries in a European sense, but it had a cadre of highly skilled Brahmana for whom the determining of holy days and rituals to be held were likewise of paramount importance. At least the dates from the 17th century onwards are not just concerned with warfare and political events, but also with natural calamities, building activities, conflagrations, etc. – things that were not of dynastic importance but important enough for the local society at the time.

It is also important to note the parallels with the other Archipelago civilisations. Reliable diary notes were preserved in South Sulawesi, and their lapidary style is reminiscent of the Balinese candrasangkala (Ligtvoet 1880). The most obvious case, however, is the body of Javanese year-lists preserved by early-modern tradition, approximately at the same time as the Balinese lists flourished (Raffles II 1817; Ricklefs 1978). These lists display a remarkable similarity with the Balinese ones in the way that the lists were constructed. Up to about 1500 there are lots of mythologised and legendary dates that bear no resemblance whatsoever with the data culled from Old Javanese historical texts or inscriptions. Later, in about the 16th century, there is plenty of lapidary information on warfare, with a minimum of details given. Later still, from the 17th century, we find slightly fuller information on dynastic events and acts of warfare. Pending these close parallels one would expect that the Balinese and Javanese literati stood in some contact to each other. But in spite of that we find almost no traces of influence of one body of lists upon the other. Virtually the only date that occurs in both a Javanese and a Balinese list is the defeat of Pasuruan at the hand of unknown enemies in 1538. Not even the purported fall of the Majapahit in 1478 that figures so prominently in the early-modern Javanese tradition is known to Bali, in spite of the importance of Majapahit in the Balinese worldview. The Balinese lists instead provide the dates 1178, 1288, 1550 or 1759 (!). Thus it would seem that the very concept of the lists of dates is due to cultural contacts, perhaps dating back to the time of Majapahit suzerainty over Bali, but that there was no interest to borrow dates.

BABAD GUMI (LOr 10.548).

This text originally belongs to the Kirtya Library in Singaraja (item No. 808). In Leiden it is found in two romanized copies: LOr 9472 and LOr 10.548. The latter version, which is used here, was transcribed into the Latin alphabet by Soegiarto (about 1930?). It is perhaps the most interesting of the various lists of dates. It presents 76 chronograms ranging from the mythical establishment of the Tusan sanctuary to the apparently historical construction of a watering place in the late 17th century. Unlike most of the lists it is strictly chronologically arranged. It can be conveniently divided into six parts. The first part (Nos. 1-8) represent mythical history, the second (Nos. 9-13) consists of early but perhaps partly historical dates, the third (Nos. 14-18) deals with Majapahit history, and is at least partly derived from Old Javanese “historical” texts, the fourth (Nos. 16-34) deals with historical or semi-historical events in the Samprangan-Gelgel period, the fifth (Nos. 35-42) describes dynastic affairs in the late Gelgel period, and the sixth (Nos. 43-76) gives a detailed enumeration of dramatic events in East Bali up to 1692. The text must have been in existence already in the 19th century, and very probably in the 18th. That can be concluded for two major reasons. First, the *Babad Gumi* has influenced some other texts written in the late 19th and early 20th century. The *Pamancangah Karangasem* (Coll. Berg 118:3), a genealogical record from the rule of Gusti Gede Jelantik (r. 1890-1908), includes a short table of dates up to the year 1900, which in its essentials is borrowed from another table (also found in Coll. Berg 118:3) which is included in a manuscript of the *Sara Samuscaya Pakenca* and lists dates up to the year 1890. The first part of the *Sara Samuscaya Pakenca* list clearly consists of excerpts from the *Babad Gumi*, which is consequently older than that. A second reason is the panglingeling, commemorative note, which is found at the end of the *Babad Gumi*. It mentions an eruption of the Gunung Agung afflicting a number of villages in East Bali, at a date identified as late '32 to early '33 according to the Saka calendar. This would correspond to '10-'11 A.D. In this panglingeling is included an exact calendaric date according to the sasih and the pawukon system. The date can be reduced to 21 October 1710 and it therefore indicates that the volcanic activity started in late 1710 and continued until 1711. The text was then probably compiled in or around 1711. The information about a volcanic eruption may be compared with other texts, *Pasasangkalan* (Collection C.C. Berg 3, Leiden) and *Korn I* (Collection V.E. Korn 435:240, KITLV), which mention hot liquid streams erupting from the Gunung Agung in Saka 1632-33 (1710-11 A.D.) and afflicting partly the same villages. It seems clear that the same event is described - at any rate, no violent eruptions of the Gunung Agung are known between 1843 and 1963.

Awighnam astu.

7. Babad duk wahu anjeneng Tusan, pucang bolong, 99.

The time when Tusan is established, 177 A.D.

*The *Babad Gumi*, like most of the lists of candrasangkalas, contains a number of dates on the establishment of various ritually important places in the early years of the Saka era. These dates, of course, are in themselves mythical, but give interesting hints of the ritual landscape of pre-colonial Bali. Tusan is situated west of Gelgel-Klungkung. At the place there is a temple, Pura Kentel Gumi, “Temple of the Congealing Earth”, around which the mystical and political forces of the Balinese realm are thought to rotate (Oey 1990:167-68). In one version, this shrine (actually a complex of three shrines) was constructed by Mpu Kuturan, who flourished in the age of Airlangga (11th century), while a local purana text says that the first king who was established on Bali in the Majapahit era gave orders to construct the complex, which was undertaken under the supervision of the aristocrat Arya Kenceng (Soebandi 1983:51). It is stunning that several lists start with this particular date, clearly demonstrating the importance of the Tusan sanctuary. Cf. Babad Bhumi:36; Babad Bhumi:95; Korn 2:14; Korn 3:2; Korn 5:10; Babad Tusan:1; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:1; Pangrincik Babad:1; Pawawatekan:18.

8. Babad duk wahu anjeneng Batur, geseng sasih wak, 110.

The time when Batur is established, 188 A.D.

*Batur is a volcano and an important sanctuary said to be the focal point of irrigation networks of the island. It is headed by a Sudra priest. A duality of sorts may be discerned between Batur and Besakih at Gunung Agung, the supreme temple of Balinese kingship (Lansing 1991). Cf. Babad Bhumi:38; Babad Bhumi:96; Korn 3:4; Korn 4:2; Korn 5:11; Babad Tusan:2; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:3; Pangrincik Babad:3; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:1; Pawawatekan:11; Pawawatekan:17.

9. Babad duk wahu anjeneng Gunung Agung, wak sasih wak, 111.

The time when Gunung Agung is established, 189.

*The highest mountain on Bali. According to the mythical account *Usana Bali* (written in the 18th century?), a part of the Javanese Gunung Smeru (identified with the central world mountain Mahameru) was broken off by the gods and established as Gunung Agung. The state chronicle *Babad Dalem* (early 18th century?) depicts a close relationship between the Bali-wide Gelgel kingdom (c. 1500-1686) and the Gunung Agung; an Indian priest sees the face of the supreme god at a visit to the mountain, which turns out to have the likeness of the founder of Gelgel, Dewa Ketut (Berg 1927:128-29). Cf. Babad Bhumi:37; Babad Bhumi:97; Korn 2:13; Korn 3:3; Korn 4:3; Korn 5:12; Babad Tusan:3; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:2; Pangrincik Babad:2; Pangrincik Babad:51; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:2; Pawawatekan:5.

10. Babad duk wahu njeneng Candidasa, tampak ing wong tunggal, 112.

The time when Candidasa is established, 190.

*Candidasa is in South Karangasem, at the Labuhan Amuk Bay, on the main road

between Klungkung and Amlapura. It originally consisted of two small temples consecrated to Siwa and Hariti. According to modern belief, the construction of the complex was supervised by Saivite and Buddhist sages, associated with the ancient Balinese king Jayapangus (fl. 1178-81), and the date of construction is given as 1112 (1190 A.D.) (Soebandi 1983:27-30). So perhaps modern tradition just added one digit in the year. Cf. Babad Bhumi 39; Babad Bhumi:98; Korn 4:4; Korn 5:18; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:4; Pangrincik Babad 4; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:3; Pawawatekan:19.

11. Babad duk Sagara Rupek, sagara nanggung bhumi, 124.

The time of the Bali Strait, 202.

*There exist various legends to the effect that Bali once was connected with Java but subsequently was separated by the Bali Strait. The time and circumstances for this differ. This candrasangkala must ultimately have been inspired by a similar one found in the Old Javanese panegyric poem *Nagarakertagama* (*Desawarnana*), which was written in 1365. This text says that the island of Madura had once been geographically united with Java, but had been separated in the year “samudra nanggung bhumi” (124 = 202 A.D.) (Robson 1995:34). Cf. Babad Bhumi:100; Korn 2:16; Korn 3:7; Korn 4:9; Korn 5:14; Babad Tusan:37; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:8; Pangrincik Babad:10; Pawawatekan:6.

12. Babad duk kawon Bali, bhuta anggandong wong, 125.

The time of defeat of Bali, 203.

*This might allude to the conquest of Bali by the Javanese empire Majapahit, an event that, according to the *Nagarakertagama*, occurred in 1265 (1343 A.D.), with the chronogram word for “six” dropped. Cf. Babad Bhumi:41; Korn 2:32; Korn 3:23; Korn 3:15; Korn 4:14; Korn 5:15; Babad Tusan:11; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:14; Pangrincik Babad:14; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:4; Pawawatekan:4; Pawawatekan:26; Pawawatekan:60.

13. Babad duk wahu anjeneng Gunung Mahameru, wlut angleng ing sela, 19.

The time when Gunung Mahameru is established, 97.

*The chronogram should rather be interpreted as 193 (271 A.D.) as seen in other year-lists. Mahameru is the central mountain of the world in Hindu mythology, associated with Siwa. It was believed on Bali that the mountain was transferred to Java when Hinduism was introduced there - it is the same as Gunung Smeru in East Java. Parts of it were furthermore removed to Bali and Lombok, where they became Gunung Agung and Gunung Rinjani, respectively - from that point of view, entry No. 3 above is wrongly placed. There was still a Hindu priest at the shrine of Gunung Smeru in the early 18th century, when the *Babad Gumi* was probably compiled (Schulte Nordholt 1996:32). Cf. Babad Bhumi:101; Korn 2:31; Korn 3:13; Korn 4:12; Korn 5:16; Babad Tusan:9; Tattwa

Batur Kalawasan:12; Pangrincik Babad:6; Pasasangkalan:77; Pawawatekan:24.

14. Babad rabut Gunung Tunggul, brahmana ngemben pustaka, 52.

The rabut [magic place] of Gunung Tunggul, 130.

*The chronogram and the numbers do not seem to correspond - should it be 528 (606 A.D.)? An important sanctuary at a mountain called Bukit Tunggul is mentioned in ancient Balinese inscriptions from 914, 1115 and c.1150. The deity of this place was Bhatara Bukit Tunggul. Roelof Goris has tentatively identified the mountain with Gunung Sinunggal at Tetajun in Buleleng (Goris 1954:228). Cf. Korn 1:48; Pasasangkalan:70; Pawawatekan:47.

15. Babad Yeh Unda mangalih maring Sampalan, kali angalih jurang, 924.

The river Unda is moving in the direction of Sampalan, 1002.

*Unda is an important river flowing through kabupaten Klungkung, just east of Klungkung and Gelgel. Sampalan is a desa in the same kabupaten. Cf. Korn 2:12; Korn 3:5; Korn 4:8; Korn 5:23; Babad Tusan:5; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:7; Pangrincik Babad:7; Pawawatekan:21.

16. Babad duk nagara wahu anjeneng, gajah angapit lawwang, 928.

The time of establishment of the negara [realm], 1006.

*Various other lists mention Blahbatuh, a place in Gianyar, under this year. It seems to be somehow related with the event described below (No. 11). Cf. Babad Bhumi:103; Korn 3:11; Korn 4:10; Korn 5:24; Babad Tusan:7; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:10; Pangrincik Babad:11; Pawawatekan:14.

17. Babad Dharma wahu anjeneng, lawang angapit lawang 929.

The Dharma shrine being established, 1007.

*A well-known chronogram of Balinese history, occurring already in 15th century inscriptions. From the epigraphical records we know of a Javanese princess called Gunapriya Dharmapatni, who married the Balinese king Udayana in the late 10th century and became the mother of Airlangga, Marakata and Anakwungsu. Udayana and his wife are known to have ruled together on the island from before 989 until after 1001; in 1011 Udayana appears in an inscription as the sole ruler. At her death somewhere between these two dates Gunapriya Dharmapatni was buried in Buruan (Dharma). What is described in the Babad Gumi entry is therefore probably the consecration of a shrine dedicated to the deceased queen (Poesponegoro & Notosuanto 1993:298-99). All this, of course, is extremely interesting, since it implies that historical events dating several centuries back in time could be preserved by Balinese tradition under certain

circumstances. Also interesting is that one reading of the epigraphic record suggests that the Javanese king Dharmawamsa (Gunapriya Dharmapatni's brother?) succumbed to an enemy attack in about the same time, c. 1006, turning the prince Airlangga into a refugee. Is there a connection here with the decease of the queen? Cf. Korn 2:17; Korn 3:8; Korn 5:25; Babad Tusan:6; Babad Tusan:31; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:9; Pangrincik Babad:5; Pangrincik Babad:50; Pawawatekan:10; Pawawatekan:22.

18. Babad duk meru ring Besakih, tinunjel dening wong edan, sabda tunggal pati ning wong, 1011.

The time when the meru [roof] of Besakih is burnt down by crazy people, 1089.

*Pura Besakih, at the slope of Gunung Agung, is the greatest and most prestigious of all the Balinese temples, closely associated with state power. Nevertheless it has an obscure history. According to a modern tradition the temple was built by a king called Wira Dalem Kesari, who is often identified with the first historical king of Bali, Kesari (fl. 913-14). However, there are also traditional accounts that date this Wira Dalem Kesari after the age of the famous Balinese sage Kuturan (first half of the 11th century), in other words close to the date of this entry (Stuart Fox 1987; Stuart Fox 1991). Cf. Korn 2:20; Korn 4:23; Korn 5:26; Pangrincik Babad:19; Pawawatekan:36.

19. Babad Labwanjong, rasa rasa kaya wani, 1166.

The ships' harbour, 1244.

*It seems that the chronogram *rasa rasa kaya wani* should rather be interpreted as 1366 (1444 A.D.). It is not clear whether we have to do with a real place name, Labwanjong, or just a "harbour for the ships" – it is anyway not to be found on modern maps. One may compare the date in *Babad Bhumi*:43: the defeat of Balabanjong 1466 (1544 A.D.). The latter name may have to do with Belahanjong at Sanur in South Bali, where an inscription of Kesari, the first historical king of Bali, has been found. "Labwanjong" might be a corruption of Balabanjong. Cf. Korn 2:7; Korn 5:29; Pawawatekan:33.

20. Babad duk pegat Jawa lawan Bali, patinira Sang Aji Bali, bhujanggana, bhuta gana paksa tunggal, 1265.

Time of a break between Java and Bali, death of the king of Bali, and of the bhujangga priests, 1343.

*The date and the event are found in the *Nagarakertagama (Desawarnana)*, the well-known poetic text of Prapanca, which was known and preserved on Bali; "Further, in the Saka year "arrows-seasons-eyes-navel" (1265) the king of Bali was evil and base – He was attacked with an army, broken and completely crushed; every kind of evildoer was fearful, and made off quickly" (Robson 1995:59). Thus, the old Balinese royal regime, which had its centre in the Pejeng-Bedaulu area, was eliminated through an

invasion by the major Javanese empire of Majapahit. Very likely the *Nagarakertagama* is the direct or indirect source of this entry. The mention of a “break” may hint at the myth that Bali and Java once were geographically connected, but were later divided. In a Javanese list of dates this break is dated in Saka 1204, 1282 A.D. (Raffles 1817 II:232). Cf. Korn 1:68; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:5; Pasasangkalan:3.

21. Babad duk Sirah Patih Gajah-Mada ring Wila-Tikta, rasa brahmana lara ning wong, 1286.

Time of the patih Gajah Mada of Majapahit, 1364.

*The chief minister Gajah Mada was the main political force in Majapahit in the mid-14th century, and was responsible for the so-called conquest of Bali in 1343. According to the *Nagarakertagama*, 1364 was the year of his death (Robson 1995:76). Once again, the *Nagarakertagama* seems to be the source of this piece of information. The *Pararaton*, the other major historical text of Majapahit, contains the faulty date 1368 for the decease of the famous chief minister (Brandes 1920:159). Cf. Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:6.

22. Babad duk patinira Bhattara Wkasing Wkasing Sukha, wong anyar anawut wulan, 1321.

Time of death of Bhattara Wekasing Wekasing Sukha, 1399.

*The *Pararaton*, written on Java or Bali between 1481 and 1600, states that a prince called Wekasing Suka died in this year (Brandes 1920:176). There is no mention of him having any relation with Bali. Most probably, there is confusion here with the Majapahit ruler Ayam Wuruk, who passed away in 1311 (1389 A.D.). He was also known as Wekasing Suka, and figures under this name in, for example, the Old Javanese text *Arjunawijaya* (Supomo 1977:182). The *Pararaton* was well known on Bali, and is surely the source of this entry. Cf. Korn 1:61; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:7; Pasasangkalan:85.

23. Babad duk wahana Kidung Ranti, lawwang tunggal kaya bhumi, 1319.

Time of the conveyance of the Kidung Ranti, 1397.

*The kidung was a literary genre probably developed in Java in Majapahit times and later cultivated further on Bali (Robson 1979). No further information on this particular kidung can be found.

24. Babad pasadran agung, wlatete kaya watu, 1333.

Great tax, 1411.

*Pasadran is a kind of tax mentioned in an Old Javanese inscription from 1391,

although the nature of it is unclear. That we come across this concept in a late Balinese text again testifies to the rather wide pool of knowledge to which our author had access. If the tax was associated with the particular year 1391 one may even ask if the Saka year 1333 could be a corruption of 1313 (1391 A.D.).

25. Babad duk Bali aprang, purusa nulup guna ning wong, 1391.

The time of Bali waging war, 1469.

*This date inaugurates a series of dates concerned with “early modern” Balinese history, up to the early seventeenth century, which are found in most of the lists. The dates before 1538 can not really be substantiated from non-Balinese sources, but in most cases they may be connected with events spoken of in the narrative babads and other traditions. There is a possibility that a new royal regime arose on Bali in about this time, in the closing decades of the Majapahit period, as an offshoot of the line of regents in Balambangan (Hägerdal 1995:106-7). According to a copy of an edict seen by the Dutch scholar Victor Korn (1932:25), the Majapahit governor (adipati) in 1468 was Sang Arya Gajah Wengker, while an (admittedly somewhat doubtful) edict from 1471 (LOR 17.652) mentions a king called Ratu Pakisan. The latter person is represented as coming from Majapahit and having been established as king on the island. If these sources were genuine they would seem to indicate a shift of regime about this time. Cf. Korn 2:1; Korn 3:25; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:8; Pawawatekan:28.

Babad kawon Kaphal, rupa liman kawaha wani, 1481.

26. Defeat of Kapal, 1559.

*Kapal is on one hand a desa in the old Mengwi kingdom, and on the other the name of the palace of the chief minister of the Gelgel kingdom, situated close to the royal palace of Gelgel. Today it is inhabited by Sudra kin groups who once moved from the old royal seat of Samprangan to Gelgel together with the king, whom they served as soldiers (Worsley 1984:65). The 18th century state chronicle *Babad Dalem* mentions that a chief minister called Batan Jeruk staged a revolt against the child king of Gelgel, Dalem Bekung, which was suppressed by loyal noblemen (Warna 1986:85). Most of the lists of dates (Babad Bhumi:106, etc.) mention this event under the year 1558, which is close to the above date - actually close enough to advance the supposition that the same event is alluded to. As for the chronologically inconsequent position of this entry (after 1469, before 1502), it may be observed that another list, *Korn 2:2*, places the defeat of Kapal at 1471. At this point starts a long series of chronograms referring to defeats of various places, on or outside Bali, in the late 15th to late 16th century. Some additional data on similar events are provided by other year-lists (see below). As will be seen, two of these chronograms can be substantiated by non-Balinese sources, so it is possible that some other might have a historical background as well. The list has a clear parallel in the Javanese yearlists studied by Raffles, Hageman, De Graaf and Ricklefs: first a number of mythical dates, followed by a number of defeats of various places, followed by more substantial information on political events and natural calamities. Cf. Korn 2:2; Korn

3:12; Korn 4:11; Korn 5:39; Babad Tusan:8; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:11; Pangrincik Babad:12; Pawawatekan:23; Pawawatekan:29.

27. Babad duk kawon Tatarukan, catur bhuja warna ning wong, 1424.

Time of defeat of Tatarukan, 1502.

*Some other lists have Tarukan rather than Tatarukan, and the date 1522 rather than 1502. “Bhuja” is mentioned by Korn (1922:668) as having the value of 2 as well as 4. According to the *Babad Dalem*, Dalem Tarukan is the second son of the immigrant king Sri Aji Kresna Kepakisan. He turns mad, however, and marries off his sister with a horse (or someone called “Kuda”). No more is heard of him in this chronicle, which mentions his younger brother Sri Smara Kepakisan alias Dewa Ketut as the first king of Gelgel (Warna 1986:67; Berg 1927:123-24). Ample information on Dalem Tarukan is given by a complex of texts called *Babad Pulasari*, the oldest of which was written or rather re-copied in 1840. In these texts Tarukan is neither mad nor does he arrange an equine marriage. He is claimed here as the ancestor of the Pulasari clan. He is attacked by his elder brother Dalem Samprangan, the paramount king, and is forced to flee from place to place. He finally dies a natural death and is cremated in the Pura Tampuagan, close to Bangli. His sons later fight against Dalem (Dewa) Ketut of Gelgel and are likewise defeated. In the local genealogies Dalem Tarukan supposedly flourished about 15-16 generations before present. Samprangan’s attack on Tarukan might be the event alluded to in the chronogram. A temple was built in the 1990s by Dalem Tarukan’s descendants at the place where his old palace was supposedly situated, north of Pejeng in the kabupaten of Gianyar. Indeed, old brick and pottery was found there, indicating that the Tarukan palace had actually existed. The legends of Tarukan seem to reflect the demise of the old political navel of South Bali, the area around Pejeng, and the rise of new power-centres at the end of the Majapahit era. Cf. Korn 2:5; Korn 3:18; Korn 4:18; Korn 5:34; Babad Tusan:15; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:18; Pawawatekan:31.

28. Babad kawon Banyu Anyar, sangha wani kawahan watu, 1419.

Defeat of Banyu Anyar, 1497.

*Banyu Anyar is identified with Toya Anyar (Tianyar) on the northeast coast of Bali in the text Babad Tusan (:34) - toya and banyu both mean “water”. Likewise the royal Karangasem genealogies make mention of a prince who was called Gusti Wayan Banyu Anyar since his mother came from Toya Anyar. According to the Babad Dalem, Sirarya Gajah Para became the local ruler of Tianyar when Sri Aji Kresna Kepakisan came to Bali; this place was defeated with the help of the three Wesias Tan Kawur, Tan Kober and Tan Mundur (Warna 1986:63). According to the *Babad Arya Gajah Para* (Katalogus Lontar, No. 9) Sri Dalem of Samprangan ordered the two brothers Arya Gajah Para and Arya Getas to take up a position in Toya Anyar. As the grandsons of Arya Gajah Para flourished at the time of the famous Brahmin Nirartha (mid 16th century), the date 1497 for the subduing of this place seems reasonable. Cf. Korn 2:4; Korn 4:5; Korn 5:33; Babad Tusan:34; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:5; Pangrincik Babad:8.

29. Babad kawon Jambrana, brahmana kawahan warna sasih, 1448.

Defeat of Jembrana, 1526.

*A date found in the great majority of the year-lists. According to Jembrana tradition a certain Dalem Pacangkalan ruled in Negara-Jembrana in the early Gelgel period, while two brothers of his, who were twins, ruled in Bakungan. When Dalem Pacangkalan tried to enforce the rulership of the entire Jembrana region for himself, he was attacked and killed by one of his Bakungan brothers. The surviving brothers subsequently killed each other due to a fatal misunderstanding (Van Eck 1879:104-5; Soebandi 1998:131). It is possible that these struggles have something to do with the above date. Cf. Babad Bhumi:40; Korn 2:8; Korn 3:10; Korn 4:7; Korn 5:36; Babad Tusan:4; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:6; Pangrincik Babad:9; Pawawatekan:20; Pawawatekan:34.

30. Babad kawon Pasdahan, geseng rasa kawahan wani, 1460.

Defeat of Pasuruhan 1538.

*This event is fully confirmed from Javanese sources. In the *Babad ing Sengkala* studied by Merle Ricklefs (Modern Javanese Tradition, 1978), there is mention of a number of “defeats” of various places on Java in the 16th century, presumably at the hands of the major political powers Demak, Pajang and Mataram. One entry mentions the defeat of a place called Pasedhahan in this same year 1538. Pasedhahan is the High Javanese form of Pasuruan, the well-known town at the north coast of East Java. It seems evident that the two entries have a common source, but we are in no position to tell the nature of this source. There are hardly any other traces of influence on Balinese candrasangkalas from early-modern Javanese historiography (See however Korn 5:1, below). *Babad ing Sengkala* is a singularly early specimen of Islamic Javanese chronicle-writing, as its first version seems to have been written down in the 1670s, more than a century after the purported event. Is the common source the historical event in itself? Cf. Korn 2:9.

31. Babad kawon Banyu Anyar ne kawuriyan, cara nenem catur ulan, 1461.

The defeat of Banyu Anyar is seen, 1539.

*According to the *Babad Arya Gajah Para* (Katalogus Lontar, No. 9), two grandsons of the immigrant lord Arya Gajah Para of Toya Anyar turned enemies and fought each other. The king sent the two lords Abyan Tubuh and Pagatepan to separate them, but before they had reached Toya Anyar, the combattant brothers had killed each other. A relative of the same generation entertained contacts with the Brahmin Nirartha, known to have flourished in 1537, so the chronogram may very well have to do with the fraternal struggle related by the chronicle. Cf. Pangrincik Babad:18.

32. Babad duk Yeh Jina abebet, rasa rasa kawahan bhumi, 1466.

Time of the Jina River flowing over, 1544.

*The Jina is flowing through the kabupaten of Klungkung. In legend the river got its name from Chinese kepeng money (money = jina) which was thrown in it after the funerary ceremonies carried out by the sons of the prince Dalem Tarukan for their father. Because of this wasteful behaviour the descent of Tarukan were cursed until the seventh generation. One may compare the information in Korn 2:16 about a flood at Banyu Anyar in 1545, which might imply heavy raining at this time. Nevertheless, the information is not verified by climatologic data: tree-rings from timber preserved in Central-East Java on the contrary seem to show that 1544-45 were the driest years of the decade (Lamb II 1977:603). In the other lists of candrasangkala (except the *Pawawatekan*), there is mention of Jina but not of a flood, which the compiler may have added from inference. There might also be a problem in transferring data about Java to the Balinese weather situation. Cf. Korn 3:21; Korn 4:25; Korn 5:37; Babad Tusan:20; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:22; Pangrincik Babad:21; Pawawatekan:38.

27. Babad kawon Patembokan, brahmana retu anjala ulan, 1468.

Defeat of Patembokan, 1546.

*A place-name unknown to modern maps. It has been suggested by some Balinese informers that it is to be identified with Tembok in Buleleng. Cf. Babad Bhumi:42; Korn 2:20; Korn 3:16; Korn 4:15; Korn 5:38; Babad Tusan:12; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:15; Pangrincik Babad:15; Pawawatekan:27.

28. Babad kawon Balambangan, nora tinghal bhuta tunggal, 1520.

Defeat of Balambangan, 1598.

*This is the first of the dates that can be positively proved to be correct (within a year or so) by comparison with European materials. The Muslim lord of Pasuruan entered a war with Balambangan-Panarukan in late 1596. When the Dutch visited Bali in February 1597 a large expedition was being collected by the Gelgel king in order to help the Hindu lord of Balambangan. The expedition must apparently have been abortive, as we hear in another Dutch report from early 1601 that the Pasuruan army had taken Balambangan some years ago and exterminated the royal family there. According to this report, the Pasuruan king was now the ruler of Joartan, Surabaya, Pasuruan and Balambangan, and the close relation between Surabaya and Pasuruan at the time is confirmed by Javanese tradition. Godinho de Eredia, writing in about 1599-1600, confirms the Muslim conquest by stating that the small Christian colony in Panarukan had recently been destroyed. Two other year-lists (Korn 3:22 and Pawawatekan:39) add the information that the defeat of Balambangan was effected by the people of Pasdahan-Pasuruan. One of these sources, the *Pawawatekan*:39, actually says that the defeat took place in 1597. Whatever the case, the date 1598 must be exact within a year or so. The

Javanese chronicle *Babad ing Sengkala* mentions the defeat of “Macapura” (Macanpura?) in 1598, which is perhaps to be connected with Macanputih, the capital of Balambangan when the chronicle was first compiled (in the 1670s). Two years later, in 1600, there is mention in the same chronicle of a march against Pasuruan via Siguruh (the still Hindu inland area south of the eastern Pasisir). There is no hint of the identity of the invaders, but one possibility would be that the Balinese expedition to Pasuruan is meant. The *Babad Dalem* tells a similar story where the nobleman Jelantik plays a heroic role. As the military commander serving under the Gelgel king he led a large expedition that intended to support Balambangan against the enmity of Pasuruan. Sailing to Panarukan he marched into the territory of Pasuruan. There, however, the enterprise ended in a severe defeat for the Balinese, and Jelantik was killed (Warna 1986:92-93; Berg 1927:153-54). Cf. Babad Bhumi:46; Korn 3:22; Korn 4:26; Korn 5:45; Babad Tusan:21; Babad Tusan:38; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:23; Pangrincik Babad:22; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:9; Pawawatekan:39.

29. Babad duk tumpur, warna mangalih bhuta tunggal, 1524.

Time of [epidemic?] disaster, 1602.

*The information is too unspecified to enable us to draw conclusions on the nature and background of this disease or disaster, but the early 17th century must indeed have brought hard times to the region. Iberian sources speak about an outbreak of beriberi in Eastern Indonesia in 1603 (Jacobs II 1980:628). Could the rice-growing Balinese society have been affected seriously by this malnutrition disease? Dendro-chronological data from Central-East Java show the years 1601 and 1603 to have been very dry (Reid 1993:292; Lamb II 1977:603). Data from the mainland confirm this; a Laotian annal records that there was no rain in 1603 (Pavie 1898:98). The disastrous conditions in parts of mainland Southeast Asia at that time, with the fall of the first Burmese Toungoo empire, may also have been conducive to the spread of epidemics. Cf. Babad Bhumi:58; Korn 4:35; Korn 5:46; Babad Tusan:26; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:30; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:10.

30. Babad duk rundah Pinatih, rsi rwa bayu ning wong, 1527.

Time of collapse of Pinatih, 1605.

*The event seems to be described in the *Babad Dalem*. The lord of Pinatih rose against the king of Gelgel, Dalem Seganing, collecting large forces. The king’s chief minister Kiyayi Agung persuaded him to lay down the arms and he was then exiled (Warna 1986:94; Berg 1927:156-57). Cf. Babad Bhumi:59; Korn 4:36; Korn 5:48; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:31; Pangrincik Babad:33.

31. Babad duk edeh, nora gina bhuta sasih, 1530.

Time of measles, 1608.

*There may have been a measles-like epidemic at about this time. A sickness said to be measles ravaged Korea in 1613, though it may actually have been scarlatina; three years later, in 1616, measles is reported in Japan (Kiple 1993:386-7, 394). It was endemic in Europe and an outbreak in the East Indies, with its presence of Western traders and soldiers, is conceivable. This is a somewhat farfetched conjunction, of course, and must remain highly speculative. Portuguese sources speak of unspecified epidemics ravaging the people of Ternate (East Indonesia) in 1607-08 (Jacobs III 1984:72). Dendro-chronological data from Central-East Java show the period 1605-16 to have been critical in terms of climate; there was severe drought in these years, and with this deterioration followed famines and epidemics in the Archipelago (Reid 1993:292). In Mainland Southeast Asia there was likewise famine due to draught in the year 1608. Measles is an acute sickness that still kills lots of children in Asian countries, and its inclusion in the year-lists is fully understandable. Cf. Korn 5:50; Babad Tusan:27; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:32.

32. Babad rundah Idane Nglurah Agung Kalang Anyar, rwa guna bhuta tunggal, 1532.

Collapse of Idane Nglurah Agung Kalang Anyar, 1610.

*The person, but not the event, is mentioned in the *Babad Dalem* and *Babad Arya Kapakisan*. Kalang Anyar and Ketut Kalanganyar were the younger brothers of the chief minister, Kiyayi Agung Kedung. Agung Kedung had no son of his own; he adopted the elder Kalang Anyar's son Gusti Agung Di Made when he was still a baby (Warna 1986:95). Why this adoption took place we are not informed; as Di Made was the only known son of Kalang Anyar, the adoption may have taken place due to an early death of the latter. Cf. Babad Bhumi:66.

33. Babad duk alepu Gunung Agung jneng I Dewa Swarga karihinan, gajah api angin watu, 1538.

The time when Gunung Agung bursts; the first establishment of I Dewa Swarga, 1616.

*This is a rather cryptic passage. It might imply that a member of the Ksatria Dalem line called Dewa Swarga was put on the throne, or tried to obtain the throne, in this year, but no such person is known from other materials. The *Babad Ngurah Sidemen* (LOr 13.666) mentions Gusti Swarga di Gunung Agung as another name for Gusti Panataran, the father of the first Anglurah of Sidemen in the Besakih area. Chronologically this is hard to reconcile with the date 1616, but the babad is very late and might not be accurate in details. Cf. Babad Gumi:34; Babad Bhumi:57; Babad Bhumi:110; Korn 5:54; Babad Tusan:29; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:33; Pangrincik Babad:35.

34. Babad duk Gunung Agung puhune kawuriyan, brahmana guna sara candra, 1538.

The time when Gunung Agung is seen to be on fire, 1616.

*See above, No. 33.

35. Babad duk pañwarga I Dewa Sganing, bayu tirtha panca dewa, 1545.

Time of passing away of I Dewa Seganing, 1623.

*Dalem Seganing was a much-praised king of Gelgel who is glorified in the *Babad Dalem* and other traditions. He is said to have died a very old man, leaving fourteen sons (Warna 1986:93-94; Berg 1927:156-58).

36. Babad pañwarga n I Dewa Pambayun, catur bhuta panca bhumi, 1554.

Passing away of I Dewa Pambayun, 1632.

*See the comments below, No. 37.

37. Babad pañwarga n I Dewa Ketut, warna panca bhuta tunggal 1554.

Passing away of I Dewa Ketut, 1632.

*The deaths of two princes in the year 1632(/1633) are confirmed by the report of Oosterwijck, the Dutch ambassador to Bali in the spring of 1633. He was told by the king's courtiers that the king of Bali had withdrawn from public affairs during the last six months due to a number of deaths within his closest family. He did not wish to see the foreign embassy, which instead met with the king's eldest (living) son Pannackan Patiekan, the king's brother Pannackan t'Jouw, and the foremost royal adviser Gusti Panida. The dead relatives included the king's two eldest sons and his mother; all these persons were buried with great pomp and many suttees, and the queen mother's funeral was attended by Oosterwijck himself (Prévost 1763:52-61). As the princes were dead when the embassy arrived to Bali in February 1633, their passing away took place still in the Saka year 1554 (Saka years, as is well known, almost always begin in March). All these persons seem to be mentioned in the *Babad Dalem*. Dewa Seganing's son and successor as Balinese king was Dewa Di Made, whose mother was the sister of Gusti Panida, the leader of one of the two families providing leading ministers to the Gelgel king. This Gusti Panida is mentioned as the chief minister during Di Made's reign. The chronicle enumerates eight sons of Di Made, the oldest of which were Dewa Pambayun, Dewa Pacekan and Dewa Ketut (Warna 1986:103). The first- and last-mentioned would then be identified with the princes mentioned in *Babad Gumi*:36-37. Some traditions (*Babad Bhumi*, *Rajapurana Besakih*, but not the *Babad Dalem*) mention Dewa Pacekan as king after Di Made, indicating that his elder brother Pambayun passed away early. Some additional information on the royal family of Gelgel is provided by the missionary Justus Heurnius, who in 1638 states that the old king's eldest son had passed away five years previously, leaving his pretensions to the throne to his 16-17 years old son, Radja Tangap. But this was contested by Radja Paadjakan, the king's second son, born of a sister of Goustij Painda (Gusti Panida?) (Hägerdal 1998:59-60; Leupe 1855:258-62). It seems reasonable to identify Patiekan or Paadjakan with Dewa Pacekan, the old king

with Dalem Di Made, Gusti Panida with Gusti Panida, and Pannackan t'Jouw with Dewa Cawu, whom the *Babad Dalem* mentions as Di Made's brother and the eldest (or most prominent) son of Seganing by a commoner wife.

38. Babad pañwarga n I Dewa Di Made, warna gana panca dewa, 1564.

Passing away of I Dewa Di Made, 1642.

*The only near-contemporary document mentioning the Gelgel ruler Di Made's name is a VOC resolutie (decision) of January 1687, which allows a certain Radja Sangsit to settle within the Company's jurisdiction with his wife and children in order to carry on slave trade. This Radja Sangsit describes himself as the 'brother's son' of Dimade, one of the former regents of Bali, nowadays dead (Hägerdal 1995:118). The statement is too vague to allow us to say when Di Made ruled, although 1642 may seem rather far removed from 1687 if he was really Sangsit's uncle (One possibility is that Radja Sangsit is the same individual as the aristocrat Gusti Sangsit, mentioned by the *Babad Arya Kapakisan* as the son of Gusti Panida of the Kaler minister family; Sangsit's uncle – father's sister's husband - would have been Dewa Di Made. Sangsit's nephew Abyan Tubuh, moreover, was exiled from Bali according to the same babad). According to the usual interpretation of the *Babad Dalem*, Di Made in his old age was ousted from his rule at Gelgel by his chief minister Anglurah Agung and settled in Guliang in southernmost Bangli, where he finally passed away (Warna 1986:105). There are some problems with this account, however, as pointed out by C.C. Berg in his thesis (1927:160), since the end of the *Babad Dalem* appears to be in an incoherent shape. Babad Gumi rather gives the impression that Di Made was succeeded by Dewa Pacekan, that internal feuds then broke out, and that the king who died in Guliang was Dewa Cawu, Di Made's brother (who, according to Pawawatekan:2, was enthroned as nominal king in 1651, amidst the civil wars afflicting the island). Since Gusti or Anglurah Agung had become a dominant political force at the royal court already by the late 1630s (see Babad Gumi:40) the *Babad Dalem* might have preferred to summarize the period of Agung ascendancy, up to the founding of the new Klungkung court 1683, without giving all the dynastic details. At any rate, the Dutch reports would seem to support the assumption that Di Made ruled in the 1630s, although the period 1656-65 has been proposed by Helen Creese (1991a). Di Made of the babad texts, as well as the king in the Dutch records from the 1630s, had a brother called Cawu, a son called Pacekan, and a senior minister called Gusti Panida. And as argued in detail below (Babad Gumi:40), Dutch materials indeed seem to indicate that a shift of throne took place between 1639 and 1643 (Hägerdal 1998:62). Cf. Babad Bhumi:111; Korn 4:40.

39. Babad I Dewa Pacekan lungha ka Batur, rawuh Ida laris ka Kuta mangintarang pamating mameseh wong Mataram, brahmana gana [bhuta?] tunggal, 1568.

I Dewa Pacekan goes to Batur; arrival of the king afterwards to Kuta, directing his army to oppose the Mataram people, 1646.

*In spite of certain difficulties of interpretation (pamating can mean troops, but

also “rover”), these data can be positively compared with the Dutch *Generale Missiven* and the Javanese chronicles. According to the *Pawawatekan*:7, the minister Gusti Agung ring Madya (Di Made) installed the Javanese prince Tawang Alun as the ruler of Balambangan in 1568 (1646 A.D.). The Dutch *Generale Missiven* states that a clash took place in February 1647, thus still in the Saka year 1568, where the Balinese supported Balambangan against a Mataram army. According to the Javanese historical texts *Serat Kanda* and *Babad ing Sengkala* they were defeated and their ally Tawang Alun fled to Bali. The Mataram army tried to follow him and are said to have won a new naval victory. They subsequently withdrew, however, as one of their leaders had fallen sick and died. The retreating soldiers suffered horrible hardships on the way home, and the remaining Javanese commanders were then subjected to Amangkurat I’s rage for their lack of complete success. The contemporary Dutch *Generale Missiven* do not actually state that Mataram won the campaign, just that a lot of people had perished on both sides, and that the remnants of the Mataram army broke up and turned back home to salvage the rice harvest (Coolhaas 1964:309-10). A few years later we find the Balinese dominating Balambangan again, occasionally staging attacks on Mataram territory. One may also compare with the story found in the chronicle *Babad Arya Tabanan*, of a military defeat that Gusti Wayan Pamedekan of Tabanan, the Gelgel king’s war leader, suffered against the army of Raja Mataram (Darta et al. 1996:26-27). Further, there is a chronogram in the *Babad Bhumi* which mentions the death of Putu (=Wayan) Tabanan in Balambangan in 1568 (1646 A.D.). Cf. *Babad Bhumi*:108; *Pawawatekan*:7.

40. Babad pañwarga n I Dewa Pacekan, paksa wiku bhuta tunggal, 1572.

Passing away of I Dewa Pacekan, 1650.

*The political situation on Bali between 1638-50 seems to have been complicated. In January 1638 the VOC sent letters to three minor rulers rather than the paramount king (Radja Tangab, the ‘young king’, Gusti Agon, and Key Mas Labba - only the first two being addressed as “Your Highness”). In March 1639 a letter was again sent to Panackan Bagus Tangab (now without the title of ‘young king’), and another one to the ‘vermogent coninck’, ‘His Majesty’ the Panackan Gede (“grand prince”, presumably the same as Radja Paadjakan mentioned by Justus Heurnius in 1638), none of which was apparently the paramount ruler. In 1643 a letter was addressed to Panacansiauw or Panoeckantchau, apparently the same person as Pannackan t’Jouw in the Oosterwijck report of 1633, and in this letter the king of Bali is mentioned as the ‘Susuhunan’. The letter refers to a request of the king made to the VOC four years earlier, so it appears that one of the lords who sent letters in 1639 was the paramount ruler in 1643. Undoubtedly, this would lend some colour to the statement in our list, that Di Made died in 1642 and that Pacekan reigned after him. Further letters from VOC to a person or persons called ‘The king of Bali’ were sent in Jan 1646, Dec 1647 and Feb 1650. According to a report from 1648, the 1647 letter was actually destined to a certain Radie Camassan. Possibly this person could be equated with the Gusti Wayan Kamasan mentioned in *Babad Dalam* as the senior (wreddha) of the Kaler minister family after the death of his older brother Gusti Panida (Hägerdal 1998:58-65). Does it mean that various persons could masquerade as the ‘king of Bali’ during this period? Rutger van Eck

mentions in his sketches on Bali (1878:336) that “Radja Pandjakan” (thus = Pacekan?) ruled on Bali in about 1650, but does not give the source for his statement. That a ruler did pass away in Saka 1572 (which would have ended about 21 March 1651) is anyway clear from the notice of the VOC mission of Jacob Bacharach to Bali in March 1651. At its arrival, the former king had recently died (De Jonge 1872:22-24). Cf. Babad Bhumi:112; Pawawatekan:1.

41. Babad pati n de Ambawang, kna parwata angin watu, 1572.

Death of Ambawang, 1650.

*A person called Ambawang is mentioned in the *Babad Arya Kapakistan* as the son of Ketut Jimbaran, one of the members of the Agung minister family of Gelgel, seemingly sometime in the seventeenth century. The Pawawatekan gives him the title Mangrurah Ambawang, so he would have been a high-ranking aristocrat. According to the latter source, he died a violent death. Cf. Pawawatekan:1.

42. Babad duk Ngurah Bungahya ne mati masiyat ameseh I Dane Nglurah Agung Bukihan, gni gunung bhuta tunggal, 1573.

Time of death in warfare of Ngurah Bungahya, in enmity with I Dane Nglurah Agung Bukihan, 1651.

*The starting of a civil war in this year is confirmed by a Dutch report: a VOC embassy in 1651 failed since the old king had just died and a violent struggle for the throne had broken out, where everyone seemed to strive for kingship (De Jonge 1872:22-24). From now on, our chronicle presents a picture of ceaseless inter-Balinese feuds, mostly in east and southeast Bali, where the compiler himself seems to have been settled. In the *Babad Dalem*, there is mention of two minister families at the Gelgel court, called Agung and (Ka)Ler. The *Babad Arya Kapakistan* mentions an Agung lord called Lurah Buringkit Bukian, son of Kacangpawos and nephew of the minister Gusti Agung Kedung; from his place in the genealogy he would seem to have flourished in the seventeenth century. And a certain Bungaya is mentioned in the *Babad Dalem* as the ‘foremost official’ of the Ler faction. According to the *Babad Wisnu Wangsa* (LOR 13.862) he set up his residence in Sebetan in East Bali. It was subsequently destroyed, though in this version he was actually able to escape; his manner of death is not recorded. Another list, *Babad Bhumi*, likewise has it that Lurah Kaler was eliminated in the year 1651. Various chronicles hint at an eventual clash between the Agung and Kaler factions. According to the *Babad Mengwi*, Gusti Agung Di Made Maruthi, after having usurped the Gelgel throne for a time, was eventually driven away by loyalists and moved to Jimbaran and later Kapal. He fought with his distant cousin Gusti Kaler Pacekan who was finally killed. A grandson of Gusti Agung founded the Mengwi kingdom (c. 1690-1722). The *Babad Wisnu Wangsa* has it that a son of Gusti Kaler Pacekan came under the protection of Gusti Panji Sakti of Buleleng (c. 1660-1700). According to the *Babad Arya Tabanan*, Gusti Kaler Panida helped a Tabanan prince to kill his rival for the throne, but was later himself killed in a battle against Gusti Agung Badeng of the Agung family,

married to a sister of the murdered prince. Gusti Agung Badeng then raised the infant nephew of his wife as the new Tabanan lord. This boy, Prabu Magada Sakti, was the contemporary of Panji Sakti of Buleleng and the first two Mengwi kings (Darta et al. 1996). Cf. Babad Bhumi:52; Babad Bhumi:113; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:11; Pawawatekan:2.

43. Babad duk Lurah Sidmen seda katebek, gana parwata angin watu, 1576.

Time of Lurah Sidemen being pierced to death, 1654.

*The Sidemen or Singharsa clan were the warders of the Pura Besakih until the early Klungkung period (Stuart-Fox 1987). The first Anglurah or Lord of Sidemen, Dewata di Hyang Taluh, is stated by the *Babad Dalem* to have been murdered by a noble person, but this would have occurred in an earlier generation, Hyang Taluh being contemporary with Pangeran Pande (d. 1578). Considering the lack of chronological precision in many of the babad stories, this is no big problem. The personal name of Hyang Taluh was Gusti Dimade, and he might therefore have been mixed up with his grandson Gusti Kaler Dimade, the third Anglurah Sidemen.

44. Babad duk Pangakan Bon Nyuh kalah di Kalianget, kagepok de Nglurah Jlantik, rupa brahmana angin dewa, 1581.

Time of Pangakan Bon Nyuh defeated at Kalianget, attacked by Nglurah Jelantik, 1659.

*A Pangakan is a Ksatria Dalem, born by a lower-born mother. Bon Nyuh is a village in the Muncan district in Karangasem. A lord of Bonyuh was according to the *Babad Arya Kapakisan* married to a sister of the Gelgel minister Gusti Panida (fl. 1633). Kalianget is in Buleleng. The aristocratic Jelantik family were originally stationed close to the Gelgel court but later moved to Blahbatuh in Gianyar due to the attacks of the usurper of the Gelgel throne, Anglurah Agung. According to the *Babad Wisnu Wangsa* (LOr 13.862) the lord Jelantik Bogor (born at the time of the Balambangan war, thus in c. 1598) had nine sons. The eldest son moved to Blahbatuh, the third settled in Banyuning in Buleleng, while the seventh, Gusti Panji Sakti, founded the Buleleng kingdom and soon became the dominant character in the family. VOC sources give contemporary evidence of the rise of the latter at about this time, in c. 1660 (De Graaf 1949). Thus, the event described here could constitute a stage in the formation of the Buleleng negara. The year 1659 also saw a rash and brutal Balinese attack on Pasuruan in East Java, which caused some alarm at the Mataram court.

45. Babad duk Anglurah Sidmen, sareng ring Lurah Jlantik maprang ring Lebih mamseh wong Badung, paksa gajah bayu ning wong, 1582.

Time when Anglurah Sidemen, together with Lurah Jelantik, wages war at Lebih in enmity with the Badung people, 1660.

*See also the report on Bali by R. Friederich (1850:34): "The date of a war with

Sideman (1582, corresponding with 1660 A.D.) is found in the manuscript of the *Wriga Garga*, which was lent to me; in that year the men of Karang-Assem (Sideman) with their allies, Mengoei, etc, had attacked and invested Badong, but had not conquered it. This is the only historical fact chronologically determined which came to my knowledge in Bali. It appears to have occurred in the time of Gusti Nyoman Tegeh [Gusti Jambe Pule of Badung]”. There is a close though not exact correspondance between the *Babad Gumi* and Friederich entries. Mengwi did not exist as a political entity in 1660, but perhaps Jelantik is meant here, since the Jelantiks traditionally adhered to negara Mengwi. Is the Wriga Garga date taken from the *Babad Gumi* or is it a panglingeling, a commemorative note describing an event at the time of writing of the manuscript?

46. Babad duk dane Nongan, seda masiyat di Duda, mamseh dane Abyan ring Sebtan, catur gajah panca bhumi, 1584.

Time when Nongan dies fighting at Duda, in enmity with Abyan of Sebetan, 1662.

*A Bandesa Nongan is mentioned in the *Babad Dalem*, as flourishing in an unspecified time. He was wounded by the pusaka kris Si Titinggi which immediately caused his death. The babad text keeps silent about the closer circumstances of this incident (Warna 1986:100). But there was also a nobleman called Gusti Ngurah Nongan belonging to the aristocratic Dauh family of Sebetan in East Bali, seemingly in the 17th century (Coll. C.C. Berg 118, Leiden University). In the genealogy of the Dauh family we furthermore find persons called Gusti Wayan Abyan and Gusti Ketut Abyan; they were uncles of Gusti Ngurah Nongan, and the described conflict would in that case be an intra-family feud. Nongan, Duda and Sebetan are all places located in kabupaten Karangasem. A chronological confirmation of this entry may be provided by the *Babad Gajah Para* (LOr 14.850); at its conclusion this text incorporates a prasasti dated 1660, which mentions Gusti Wayahan Abyan of Sebetan together with various noble and Bhujangga families in the context of certain funeral prescriptions. A Dutch report from 1662 speaks of the civil wars going on year after year among the Balinese, who were divided in various factions.

47. Babad duk seda n dane Abyan ring Sebtan, amseh Anglurah Sidmen, panca brahmana bayu ning wong, 1585.

Time of death of Abyan of Sebetan, in enmity with Anglurah Sidemen, 1663.

*According to local tradition the Sebetan (Sibetan) line descended from the rebel Pangeran Pande. After his fall in 1578, his grandson Gusti Dauh (or Abyan Nengan) was born in Bukit Bulu in the Sebetan area. He was cared for by the Sidemen lord, who was the maternal grandfather of the child. The descendants of Dauh then ruled Sebetan and some other East Balinese localities for several generations, up to the 18th century, as minor lords subservient to Anglurah Sidemen. Judging from this entry, the relations were not always friendly between lord and vassal. As mentioned in the preceding entry, the genealogies (Coll. C.C. Berg 118, Leiden University) mention Gusti Wayan Abyan and Gusti Ketut Abyan – both of them sons of Gusti Dauh – and it is possible that one of

these is meant here.

48. Babad duk dane Nglurah Agung Njimbaran, manggepok Cahi Karang-Asem, sasih 5 rah 6, tenggeh 8, babad gana brahmana panca bhumi, 1586.

Time of Nglurah Agung Jimbaran, beating Cahi Karangasem, Oct/Nov 1664.

*In the last section of the *Babad Dalem* we are informed that the legitimate Gelgel king finally lost his authority, as the various aristocrats of the realm became selfseeking and held on to their own territories. In this situation a member of the mighty patih family of Gelgel, Anglurah Agung, took power from the king who was held prisoner in his palace. Finally the king managed to escape to Guliang in southern Bangli, leaving Anglurah Agung in power at Gelgel. The old king is not explicitly mentioned by name but is usually taken to be Dalem Di Made (Warna 1986:105). In Dutch sources, too, a regent called Gusti Agung is dominant in South Bali, and is mentioned as ruling in Gelgel in the period 1665-67 and again in 1686. Again, there is a close correspondence between our list and Dutch materials. As for the element Jimbaran in the name of the Agung lord, it might be recalled that the *Babad Mengwi* makes the rebel Gusti Agung residing at Jimbaran for a while, before defeating the rival minister family, Kaler. In the *Babad Mengwi* the Agung-Kaler clash actually takes place after the defeat of the Agung faction by the Dewa Agung of Klungkung later on. However, that late chronicle may have mixed up persons and periods. From other materials we know that Agung was killed in battle and succeeded by the Klungkung ruler in 1686 (see below, Babad Gumi:66). A certain Kiyayi Agung Jimbaran is also mentioned in the *Babad Blahbatuh* (written in 1868); he is there represented as the younger brother of the main Agung lord. Furthermore, the *Babad Arya Kapakistan* (compiled in c. 1700?) mentions an Agung Jimbaran Badeng as the son of Rurah Agung ing Badung (himself an adopted son of the minister Gusti Agung Kedung, according to the *Babad Dalem*), seemingly in the seventeenth century. Of course, the Agung mentioned in our list and in Dutch reports around 1665 need not be the same Agung as was killed in 1686. The enmity between Karangasem and the Agung lord, described in this entry, is also mentioned in the *Pambancangah Dane Poleng* (Coll. V.E. Korn, KITLV). According to this source the marriage of a Karangasem prince with a Gelgel princess was obstructed due to the enmity between the rulers Gusti Ketut Karangasem and Gusti Agung of Gelgel. Interestingly, from this point onwards, the month of the event is usually given. Owing to differences in the Balinese calendar compared to the Old Javanese one, as pointed out by L.C. Damais (1951), the month in post-Majapahit Bali usually (but not always) begins at the new moon preceding the one that was current in the Old Javanese system. This means that sasih 5 is usually October-November on Bali, rather than November-December, though the latter date is not excluded either.

49. Babad duk Pangakan Bon Nyuh, malebonin ring Kuta, sasih 6, rah 6, tenggek 8, rasa brahmana bayu tunggal, 1586.

Time of Pangakan Bon Nyuh coming to perform a fight at Kuta, Nov/Dec 1664.

*Apparently the same person who is described in entry No. 44. The scene for the activities of this aristocrat is suddenly changed from Buleleng to the South Balinese realm of Badung. This entry may have some connection with the following, which is also about a Badung war.

50. Duk Anglurah Agung Jimbaran, sareng ring Anglurah Sidmen aprang ring Kebon Kori kaburu, sasih 6, rah 7, tenggek 8, babad wiku brahmana angin sasih, 1587.

Time of Anglurah Agung Jimbaran, together with Anglurah Sidemen, waging war at Kebon Kori, chased after, Nov/Dec 1665.

*A place called Kebon Kuri is found to the east of Denpasar, in Badung. In 1666 the VOC in Batavia received letters from Gusti Agung of Gelgel and from a separate lord, Raja Cau of Badung (Hägerdal 1995:120).

51. Duk Anglurah Agung Jimbaran mapajeg ka Tegal Linggah, sasih 4, rah 7, tenggek 8, babad wiku brahmana bayu tunggal, 1587.

Anglurah Agung Jimbaran raises a tax at Tegal Linggah, Sep/Oct 1665.

*There are several places called Tegal Linggah on Bali, one of them situated in Karangasem where the compiler of the list seems to have had his main interest.

52. Duk Anglurah Agung Jimbaran manggepok Sebetan boya kalah, I Bandesa Babandem malahib ka Gelgel, sasih 8, rah 7, tenggek 8, babad wukir gajah angin tunggal, 1587.

Time of Anglurah Agung Jimbaran attacking Sebetan; there is no defeat; I Bandesa Babandem goes to Gelgel, Jan/Feb 1666.

*Babandem is a place in Karangasem, a few kilometers to the east of Sebetan. The Babandem family were prominent among the sizeable community of Balinese origin in Batavia and the other Dutch possessions, during the 18th century (Lekkerkerker 1918). From the lapidary information in the text the political alliances at the time are outlined. It seems that the Agung lord is allied with Sidemen, which in turn takes the side of Jelantik. These lords are enemies of Sebetan, Badung and Karangasem. *The Babad Blahbatuh*, written in 1868, on the contrary states that Jelantik was the constant enemy of Agung in this era (Berg 1932).

53. Duk seda Idane Lurah Batulepang, sasih 8, rah 7, tenggek 8, babad parwata gajah panca bhumi, 1587.

Time of death of Lurah Batulepang, Jan/Feb 1666.

*The *Babad Dalem* mentions one Batulepang as the son of Kiyayi Agung Widya, and so the uncle of the rebel king Anglurah Agung. In the *Babad Arya Kapakisan*, by contrast, Lurah Batulepang is the son of Widya's son Intaran, unmentioned by the Babad

Dalem. One of his brothers is Ketut Batu or Batulepang, who is adopted by the other great minister family, Ler. It is possible that one of the sons of Intaran is referred to here, but this is merely conjectural. Another person called Batulepang, seemingly, is mentioned later in our list (*Babad Gumi*:66), and in a Dutch report.

54. Duk alepu Gunung Agung ne kawuriyan pisan, sasih 5, rah 7, tenggek 8, babad ika, giri gajah panca surya, 1587.

Time when Gunung Agung bursts, verily seen, Oct/Nov 1665.

*This is third early-modern eruption of the Gunung Agung mentioned in the *candrasangkala* lists, the first two being in 1543 and 1616. Local traditions collected by David Stuart-Fox (1987:3) confirm that at least one eruption took place during the 17th century.

55. Duk prang ring Kuta Rawos Anglurah Agung ameseh Anglurah Sidmen, sasih 1, rah 1, tenggek 9, babad purusa ngling panca bhumi, 1591.

Time of war at Kuta Rawos, Anglurah Agung in enmity with Anglurah Sidemen, Jun/Jul 1669.

*The Agung-Sidemen alliance visible in earlier entries has apparently broken down quickly enough. A place at the south coast, at Labuhan Amok, was called Cottarawes, Couteraes etc in Dutch reports from the 16th and 17th centuries (Hägerdal 1998:64). The name seems to have disappeared before modern times, so once again the reliability of some of the information of the *Babad Gumi* becomes apparent.

56. Duk mur Pangakan Sarantik, sasih 4, rah 1, tenggek 9, babad wong anulup bhuta tunggal, 1591.

Time of death of Pangakan Sarantik, Sep/Oct 1669.

*Should it be Pangakan Jarantik? A Dewa Jarantik is mentioned by the *Babad Wisnu Wangsa* (LOR 13.862) as the son of Dewa Tangeb and the sister's son of Gusti Panji Sakti of Buleleng (c.1660-1700).

57. Duk mur Pangakan Nyoman katebek, sasih asada rah 9, tenggek 9, babad dwara sanga manca bhumi, 1599.

Time of Pangakan Nyoman being pierced to death, May/Jun 1677.

*From the list it appears that a few Pangakans, low-status Ksatria, attempted to gain or retain power during the civil war from the 1650s, without much success. Whether they acted on behalf of their relatives, the fallen Gelgel dynasty, is hard to say.

58. Seda n dane Ngrurah Anom di Kapal, sasih asadda, rah 9, tenggek 9, babad sanga

nawa angin dewa, 1599.

Death of Ngrurah Anom at Kapal, May/Jun 1677.

*According to the *Babad Mengwi*, Gusti Agung Anom was the younger of the two sons of the rebel king Anglurah Agung of Gelgel. After his father's death he ruled successfully at Kapal. His son in his turn, Gusti Agung Sakti, founded the Mengwi kingdom. From Dutch materials, we know that Gusti Agung Sakti died in 1722 after an active career of some three decades. According to H. Schulte Nordholt (1996:27), Gusti Agung Anom might be the historical name of the first Mengwi king, different generations of rulers being confused in the late chronicle. Judging from the *Babad Gumi* there could actually have been an early Gusti Agung Anom of Kapal. In any case, he was hardly the son of Anglurah Agung. Other sources make him the son of the (adopted) brother of Anglurah Agung, Gusti Agung Badeng, or an offspring of the Kaler minister family; the latter alternative is favoured by Schulte Nordholt. The *Babad Arya Kapakisan* (around 1700?) mentions that a Rurah Agung ing Badung, of the Agung minister family, begat the sons (Gusti) Agung Jimbaran Badeng and (Gusti) Agung Anom Geger, and two daughters married to Rurah Abian Tubuh Kulesir and to Pedanda Tambahu (Hägerdal 1998:60). If this is accurate, the first Mengwi ruler might have been the nephew of the rebel king.

59. Duk lepas Ida Gede Sidmen, lepas di Abyan, sasih 5, rah 9, tenggek 9, babad gata muka pandawa candra, 1599.

Time of passing away of Ida Gede Sidemen, passing away at Abyan, Oct/Nov 1677.

*A line of Brahmins, belonging to the Manuaba sub-group, resided in the Sidemen area. The genealogies mention a great-grandson of Nirartha called Pedanda Singharsa and his son Pedanda Sidemen, and further descendants living at places like Selat, Sidemen and Muncan (Anandakusuma 1989:41-3).

60. Duke I Dewa Bagus Jambe ka Sidmen, dina Pa., Ra., wara Matal, sasih Jyesta, rah 9, tenggek 9, babad angkanana bhana nabhi, 1599.

Time when I Dewa Jambe comes to Sidemen, on Sunday Pahing, in the week Matal, Apr/May 1677.

*The entry parallels the *Babad Dalem* account: the old Gelgel king, after being evicted by the usurper Anglurah Agung, passes away in his exile resort in Guliang. One of his sons (known to later genealogies as Dewa Agung Jambe) quarrels with his elder brother and goes with his faithful retainers to the East Balinese domain Sidemen, whose lord welcomes him (Warna 1986:105). The genealogical position of this Dewa Agung Jambe is in fact enigmatic; for example, the chronicular traditions of Badung-Tabanan know him only as the son of a "Ksatria of Sukasadda [Gelgel]" and a Badung princess (cf. Hägerdal 1995:120-21). From this point on, the exact day is sometimes given for events in our list. That places us in the fortunate position to check whether the elements

of the 210-day pawukon cycle are consistent with the elements of the lunar cycle, and thus determine whether these dates are genuine. In this case the elements do not fit: a new pawukon cycle began on April 4 1677, where the first day of the week Matal would correspond to day No. 141. Sunday Pahing would fall on this same day 141, August 22. This is far removed from the given month. Is the month or year wrongly stated? Or is it a fictive reconstruction of later times?

61. Duk pañwarga n I Dewa Cawu ring Gulihyang, sasih Jyesta, rah 5, tenggek 9, babad sara nanda sara suyya, 1595.

Time of passing away of I Dewa Cawu in Gulihyang, Apr/May 1673.

*Here, thus, the compiler takes us back for years, to the death of a royal personage at the village Gulyang, in southernmost Bangli. But according to the *Babad Dalem*, the man who passed away at this place was the last legitimate ruler of Gelgel, who was expelled by Anglurah Agung and whose son later founded the Klungkung court. The name of the king who died in Gulyang is not explicitly mentioned, though from the perspective of the text, he is usually understood to be Dewa Di Made (Warna 1986:105). In the *Babad Dalem*, Dewa Cawu is no more than a name, being the eldest or most prominent of Dewa Di Made's dozen or so brothers. However, another list, the *Pawawatekan*, alleges that Dewa Cawu was consecrated as king in 1651, at the same time as civil war was unfolding on the island. Therefore he would actually have been an exiled ruler by the 1670s, when South Bali was dominated by Anglurah Agung. The *Babad Gumi* and *Pawawatekan*, in conjunction with VOC sources, seem to suggest that the two royal brothers Di Made and Cawu have been telescoped into one ruler by Balinese historiography, and that Dewa Agung Jambe of Klungkung was the descendant or anyway heir of Dewa Cawu. The reason for this is not hard to find: contemporary Dutch sources show the Agung minister family to have been dominant in local politics already by 1638, probably then in the end of Di Made's reign, when the latter had lost grip on the real power (Hägerdal 1998). Later historiography may have found little reason to expand on all the tortuous details of the long period of Agung domination. In Dutch sources we find one or two royal persons called Cawu; a brother of the Gelgel king called Pannackan t'Jouw appears in 1633, and in 1636 and 1643 there are letters to the VOC from Radja Panouckan t'Siau or Panoeckantchau, surely the same person. In 1666 a certain Radja Tiou (Cawu) of Badung had a correspondence with VOC, stating in a letter that his father had had good relations with the Governor General before him. The tradition that Dewa Agung Jambe's mother was the sister of Gusti Jambe Pule of the royal house of Badung might lend some colour to the idea that Dewa Cawu had a connection with that place. On the other hand, there is another candidate for the 1666 ruler: the *Babad Mengwi* mentions a Gusti Agung Cau who died fighting his cousin, the first king of Mengwi, and who is depicted as having a connection with Badung (Nambangan) (Hägerdal 1995:120).

62. Babad duk kawon dane Batan Jruk, brahmana nora warna ning wong, 1408.

Time of defeat of Batan Jruk, 1486.

*The other year-lists, except the *Pawawatekan*, have 1480 (1558 A.D.) instead, which date also seems more plausible considering the order of events related in the *Babad Dalem*. In the latter chronicle, the evil patih Batan Jruk rebels against the legitimate king Dalem Bekung, the infant son of King Dalem Baturenggong. He is defeated as most of the noblemen choose to support the child-king (Warna 1986:85). When the Dutch first visited Bali in 1597, they met a king who can in all probability be identified with one of Baturenggong's two sons. As this king seemed to be about 40-50 years of age, he would actually have been a child in 1558 (Rouffaer & Ijzerman 1929:78). The inclusion of this and the following chronogram, on 16th century events, in the list, indicates that the compiler wants to remind the reader of the fate of earlier rebels against the legitimate king. Cf. Babad Bhumi:44; Babad Bhumi:106; Babad Bhumi:138; Korn 3:20; Korn 4:21; Korn 5:40; Babad Tusan:18; Pangrincik Babad:17; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:12; Pawawatekan:35.

63. Babad duk kawon Pangeran Pande, nora sawang bhuta tunggal, 1500.

Time of defeat of Pangeran Pande, 1578.

*This rebellion was also directed against the son of Baturenggong, Dalem Bekung, in the latter part of his reign. Due to a complicated series of intrigues, the aristocrat Pande found himself obliged to dare a desperate attack on the palace of the king. In spite of the feckless behaviour of Dalem Bekung, the chief minister and the other noblemen remained loyal, and Pande and most of his family were annihilated. His old father, the senior of the family, subsequently appeared before the king but was expelled from the court (Warna 1986:88-91). The date is suspect from the point that particularly fateful events were sometimes associated with turns of Saka centuries (cf. the fall of Majapahit in "1400" / 1478 in late tradition). A Dutch account from 1597 heard of a rebellion that had taken place about "ten or twelve" years earlier, and which is rather reminiscent of the Pande rebellion as related in the *Babad Dalem*; a relative of the king had plotted to attack the ruler in his palace, but he and his accomplices were vanquished and expelled to Nusa Penida (Rouffaer & Ijzerman 1915:201). Cf. Babad Bhumi:107; Korn 3:24; Korn 4:16; Korn 5:43; Babad Tusan:13; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:16; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:13.

64. Duk paten de Dukuh tanah Biyas, dina U., Bu., Prangbakat, sasih 4 pang ping 10, rah 7, tenggek 7, babad wiku gopura sanga wani, 1597.

Time of death of the Dukuh of the land of Biyas, on Wednesday Umanis, in the week Prangbakat, Sep/Oct, 10th day of the waning moon, 1675.

*Biyas is in Karangasem like most localities in this part of the text. The date is not internally consistent: the pawukon date would give day 165 of the cycle, corresponding to December 25, not within the 4th lunar month (Sep/Oct or alternatively Oct/Nov). If we look at the years in the neighbourhood, however, we find that all the given elements fit with each other at November 9 1678. As the chances of an incidental conjunction are so small, it seems very probable that we have a genuine observation of

the day but a slight error of the year.

65. Duk alepu Gunung Agung, jneng I Dewa Jambe, di Kalungkung, dina Pwa. Sa., wara Pahang, sasih 5, rah 5, tenggek 0, babad wana puhun ratha [rasa?] ning wong, 1605.

Time when Gunung Agung bursts, establishment of I Dewa Jambe in Klungkung, on November 20 1683.

*According to the *Babad Dalem*, the legitimate heir of the old Gelgel kings attacks Anglurah Agung, with the assistance of Sidemen, Buleleng and others. After a hard-fought battle, Agung's troops are put to flight and the heir establishes himself in Klungkung, just north of Gelgel. The fate of Anglurah Agung is not mentioned here. Is the activity of Gunung Agung brought in connection with the rise of the new king? A kind of influence on volcanic activity is reported for the last Klungkung raja, Dewa Agung Oka Geg (d. 1964). The date seems to be consistent: new pawukon cycle beginning on September 1, Pahang beginning on day 106, November 14, Saturday-Pwan occurring on day 112, November 20 1683. A new Saka month begins in or around November 18 (igniting of a new moon), so in this case the month seems to be according to the Old Javanese pattern.

66. Duk gentuh anganyudang nyanyad, kayu kunang, dina Pwa., Su., Kurantil, sasih 5, rah 5, tenggek 0, babad wisaya sawang winaya wong, 1605.

Time of outflow of mud and wood, on Friday Pwan, in the week Kurantil, Oct/Nov 1683.

*The mudslide might be connected with the preceding entry. If ashes erupt from a volcano the air will be cooled down, which might cause heavy raining, which in its turn may cause devastating lavines of mud. The date is not consistent: new cycle on August 1, Kurantil beginning on day 22, August 22, Friday Pwan occurring on day 27, August 27 1683. However, the chronogram could equally well mean 1606 / 1684, wisaya being either 5 or 6. If so, the calendaric elements are consistent, corresponding to October 21, 1684. In that case, of course, the mudslide could have nothing to do with the Gunung Agung eruption of entry 65.

67. Duk seda n Gusti Dangin ring Muncan, seda masiyat ameseh Anglurah Sidmen, dina Pa., Ca., wara Warigadyan, sasih 6, rah 6, tenggek 0, babad gana bhyoma rasa dara, 1606.

Time of death of Gusti Dangin in Muncan, dead in warfare, in enmity with Anglurah Sidmen, November 14 1684.

*Some members of the Sidemen family bore the name Gusti Dangin: brothers of the third and fifth Sidemen lord, respectively. So we would seem to have an intra-family conflict here. Muncan and Sidemen are in kabupaten Karangasem. The date is consistent: new cycle on September 24, Warigadyan beginning day 50, November 12, Monday Pahing occurring November 14, a new Saka moon beginning around November 6.

68. Duk dane Ngrurah Batulepang, mangleboni n Idaneng Manglurah Agung ka Gelgel, dina Wr., Wa., wara Madangkungan, sasih 5, rah 8, tenggek 0, babad brahmana sawa brahmara sasih, 1608.

Time of Ngrurah Batulepang, attacking Idaneng Manglurah Agung in his home, at Gelgel, October 31 1686.

*Cf. the data in the *Babad Bhumi*:115: Gusti Telabah Batu Leping does away with Gusti Agung in the same year 1686. The information is fully confirmed by Dutch materials. Anglurah Agung had sent an urgent message to Batavia with request of assistance from the VOC in October 1686, implying that he was in a desperate position at the time. When finally the VOC sent an embassy in the first days of 1687, the king had already been killed in battle by one Lurah Batulepang, who himself fell in the fighting. Later in the same year, the Dewa Agung of Klungkung entered diplomatic relations with Batavia. The identity of this Lurah Batulepang may be determined through a text called *Babad Arya Kapakisan* (LOR 9819). Enumerating noblemen belonging to the fourth generation of the Agung minister family, this text mentions a certain Made Intaran, possibly a son of the first Lurah Batulepang (see *Babad Gumi*:53). The eldest son of this person is called Kang Nyapih maring Gelgel, (“He who entered a fight against Gelgel where both combatants died”). Very likely this is Lurah or Ngrurah Batulepang. The calendaric data are internally consistent: a new pawukon cycle began on June 16, Madangkungan began at day 134, October 27, Thursday Wage occurred on day 138, October 31, and the 5th Saka moon began around October 17. Cf. *Babad Bhumi*:115; *Sara Samuscaya Pakenca*:14.

69. Duk pate n dane Rigrig ring Sebtan maprang ring Pasinggahan, sasih 7, rah 1, tenggek 1, babad janma tunggal rasa ning wong, 1611.

Time of death of Rigrig of Sebetan, waging war in Pasinggahan, Dec/Jan 1689/90.

*Pasinggahan is in kabupaten Klungkung.

70. Duk I Dewa Jambe kagepok ring Pasimpangan, sasih sada, rah 3, tenggek 1, babad guna tunggal rasa tunggal, 1613.

Time of I Dewa Jambe being attacked in the Pasimpangan, May/June 1691.

*From his letters to the VOC, it appears that Dewa Agung Jambe had difficulties from the start in enforcing his authority over the local rulers who had sprung up since the mid 17th century (Creese 1991b). A Pasimpangan is a type of temple area.

71. Duk dane Nglurah Agung ka Klungkung, mamatutang dane Nglurah Jlantik, sasih 1, rah 3, tenggek 1, babad bahni eka retu nabhi, 1613.

Time when Nglurah Agung comes to Klungkung, acknowledging Nglurah Jlantik,

Jun/Jul 1691.

*A new rebel lord of the Agung family? According to babad traditions, a number of members of this kin group survived the defeat against the Dewa Agung, in some versions founding the kingdom of Mengwi. In Dutch sources, a Balinese ruler called Gusti Agung Badung is mentioned as intervening in Balambangan in 1691 (Schulte Nordholt 1996:24).

72. Duk kesah de Ngrurah Jalantik, dina Pwa. Bu., wara Madangkungan, sasih 7, rah 3, tenggek 1, babad pawaka wak sudda angga janma, 1613.

Time of withdrawal of Ngrurah Jalantik, on January 2 1692.

*The date is internally consistent: New cycle began on August 19, Madangkungan starts on day 134, December 30, Wednesday Pwan occurs on day 137, January 2, with a new Saka month beginning around December 19. Cf. Babad Gumi:75.

73. Duk I Yungasane mati, karancab, babad gni watu guna ning wong, 1613.

Time of death of I Yungasan, murdered, 1691.

*A Si Ungasan is mentioned in the *Babad Pacung* (Coll. Berg: 118, Leiden) as having flourished in perhaps around this time (about the generation before the founder king of Mengwi, d. 1722). He was the illegitimate son of a Badung ruler, meddling in the puri affairs of the Pacung lords of Perean. He was the stepfather of Kiyayi Daarya of Perean, the hero of the chronicle and ancestor of various noble lords of Marga, Perean and Belayu. Ungasan is said to be the name of the forest where the Badung lord had intercourse with Si Ungasan's mother. Another Ungasan is mentioned in the *Babad Arya Kapakistan* as flourishing around this time, being the greatnephew of the Gelgel minister Gusti Agung Kedung.

74. Babad duk kalah Langkone, kagepok antuk dane Made Karang-Asem, gni tunggal rasa ning wong, 1613.

Time of defeat of Langko, attacked by Made Karang-Asem, 1691.

*Langko was a petty realm in South Lombok, and also the name of a legendary king in traditions collected by R. Goris (1936). The present senior member of the ex-royal family of Langko was born c. 1916, and is the eighth descendant of the last Langko ruler, who was dispossessed through the Balinese onslaught. This ties very well with the date 1691. The information about a Karangasem attack at this time is also confirmed by Dutch materials. In 1697 the Balinese war of conquest was said to have been going on for six years, i.e. since c. 1691 (Hägerdal 2001: 65). Other reports in the *Generale Missiven* reveal that the eastern principality of Selaparang was taken in 1692. In the *Pamancangah Karangasem*, the prince responsible for the Balinese conquest is Gusti Ketut Karangasem, the younger brother of the main ruler of Amlapura, Anglurah Nengah

(=Made?) Karangasem. In the Sasak chronicles *Babad Lombok* and *Babad Selaparang*, on the other hand, the invading Karangasem lord was rather Gusti Ngurah Sakti, the son of Anglurah Nengah. According to the *Babad Lombok*, Langko was taken before the onslaught on Selaparang itself. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the Sasak chronicles seem to be most unreliable sources of historical events, displaying gross anachronisms.

75. Babad duk Anglurah Jalantik kesah, anuwut watu gana candra, 1613.

Time of withdrawal of Anglurah Jalantik, 1691.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:72.

76. Duk makarya pangangson ring Badu Tegal, dina U., Ca., wara Tolu, sasih 10, rah 4, tenggek 1, babad catur jadmah brahmara sasih, 1614.

Time of building of a watering place in Badu Tegal, on April 14 1692.

*The calendrical elements of the pawukon and sasih cycles are consistent. New pawukon cycle on March 16, Tolu beginning day 29, April 13, Monday Umanis occurring on day 30, April 14. So we see that of the eight exact dates in our list, five or six are internally consistent, and a seventh in all probability can be shown to be based on a genuine observation.

77. Peling duk ing Gunung agunge kapangan dening kalagni Rudra, dina mimiti gseng, Wa., A., wara Dungulan, krsnapaksa catur dasi, sasih 4, rah 3, tenggek 3, awekasan teka ring dina U., A., Kruwlut, wudan awu, ma, malih ring dina U., Su., Mrakih guntur apuy, malih ring dina, Ka., A., wudan watu alit, kredek, kaya bentar ikang akasa, kaya bubur ikang prthiwi, geger ikang kabeh, amrih mrih awak, mwah guntur watu ageng ageng mwah nyanyad, akweh desa rusak, mwah gaga sawah, jurang dadi gunung, gunung dadi jurang, mwah anakanyeh pejah liput apuy, kwehnya rangkung, 3, wwang paleg, 10, wong bantas, Kayuhaya, Bukit, Tigaron, kwhnya pejah anom wrdah, rangkung 600, desa Tyanyar, tekaning alasnya rusak mwah Sukhadana. Elingakna tuwuh ikang bhumi yan tutug tuwuh bhumi ika, spaha satus temwang, ana kapangan dening kalagni Rudra, ikang Gunung Agung, mwah Tulamben, alas Batu Dawa, Muntig, Abang, Pidpid, mwah alas Babi, tkaning base Buwah Nyuh, tkaning carik rusak, Pangalapan rusak, tan kna tangun gelis, kabeh pada rusak, Tukad Bungbung, Yeh Lajang, pada mangrusak sawah, mwah kayehan Babi rusak pada urugen, Tukad Bangkak mangrusak carik susut, Tukad Slat, Tukad Barak pada mangrusak sawah, mimimiti, rah 2, tkaning rah 3, maksih mangrusak.

The precise time when Gunung Agung was eaten by the world-devouring fire of Rudra: the day when the scorching started was Tuesday Wage, in the week Dungulan, in the fourteenth day of the waning moon, the fourth month, the third year, the third decade; finally, coming to the day Tuesday Umanis, in the week Kruwlut, there was an ash-rain; furthermore, on the day Friday Umanis, in the week Mrakih, there was an eruption of fire; furthermore, in the day Tuesday Kliwon, there was a rain of pebbles being thrown

out. As shattered was the sky; as crushed was the earth. There was panic, so that a lot fled away, and there was an eruption of big stones and loose mud. Many villages were destroyed, together with gaga and sawah fields. Ravine turned into mountain, mountain turned into ravine, and springwater died surrounded by fire. There were many losses, 3 people of Paleg, 10 people of Bantas, Kayuhaya, Bukit and Tigaron. Many people died, young and old. The losses were 600 in the village Tyanyar. Destruction came to the forest, and to Sukhadana. Remembering the course of life of the earth, when the course of life of the earth ran out, 1700 temwang years [1700 x 420 days]. Eaten by the world-devouring fire of Rudra was the Agung mountain, and Tulamben, the forest of Batu Dawa, Muntig, Abang, Pidpid, and the forest of Babi, coming to Base, Buah Nyuh [or: sirih, fruits and coconuts]; the sawah fields were destroyed, the watering place was destroyed; it would not be able to be restored soon. Much was furthermore destroyed: the Bungbung River, the Lajang River, and also the sawah fields were destroyed, and the sleeping place of Babi [or: the pigs' sty] was destroyed; also buried was the Bangkak River, there was destruction of the sawah fields of Susut, the Selat River, the Barak River; also destroyed were the sawah fields. It began in year 2; arriving at year 3, there was yet destruction.

*This calamitous event would then have taken place in a Christian year ending with '11. An entry in a different list of candrasangkalas, the Pasasangkalan, mentions activity of the Gunung Agung in 1633 (1711 A.D.), and likewise includes information on the death of people of Bukit, Carutcut (Sukhadana), Kayuhaya and Bantas from hot mud streams. Apparently this is the same event. As for the calendaric elements, A. is to be interpreted as Anggara (Tuesday) and not Redite (Sunday), which is otherwise given as Ra. in the text. Now, the pawukon and sasih elements given in the first part of the Babad Gumi panglingeling are not internally consistent at the year 1711 (or, for that matter, 1811 or 1911), so there must be something wrong here. The solution of the problem may be found at the end of the panglingeling. There, it is mentioned that the eruption took place in late '32 ('10 A.D.)-early '33 ('11 A.D.). This makes for a perfect fit; the sasih and pawukon dates for the beginning of the eruption would both fall on October 21 1710. The ash-rain would then fall on December 3 and the eruption of fire on December 13. The eruption of Tuesday Kliwon would have occurred on December 17 1710 or January 20 1711. It would seem from this that the *Babad Gumi* was written relatively early, in about 1711. The place-names mentioned belong to the Karangasem region, as far as they can be identified. Paleg is in northern Karangasem. Bantas and Tigaron are banjars, sub-units, of the village Kubu, at the northeast coast. Tianyar is further towards the northwest, Sukhadana somewhat more to the east, and Tulamben east of Kubu. Batudawa is mentioned in the babads as an East Balinese desa. Muntig is in the Besakih area. Abang, Pidpid and Babi are situated east of Gunung Agung. The Bangkak River flows in the southeast of the kabupaten of Karangasem. Susut is in the Besakih area, as is Selat.

BABAD BHUMI (COLL. KORN 435:232).

The bulk of the text *Babad Bhumi* deals with legendary history. It is interspersed with some lists of dates, and it is only these lists that are quoted below. The first part of the chronograms (Nos. 1-93) is also found separately in a text, LOr 10.547, which is called *Babad Gumi* like our first list, but completely at variance with this. Clearly, the *Babad Bhumi* is a composite work based on several earlier lists. The text was apparently used by Victor Korn when he wrote his article on Balinese chronograms in *Indische Gids* 1922. The last date mentioned is the fall of Banjar in 1858, recte 1868. The text was therefore written in the period c. 1870-1920. There is a vague hint (No. 35) that the text was compiled after the fall of Mengwi in 1891, and Korn makes a handwritten note on the cover of the text, suggesting that it might have come from the prince of Badung. That would narrow the scope to 1891-1906.

1. Babad rundah Wilatikta, nanggung gunung anjala sasih, 1472.

Collapse of Majapahit, 1550.

*This first part of the text gives the names of a number of kingdoms mentioned in literary texts, such as the Panji stories, which were in high demand on Bali from at least the 17th century on. Some names seem to have been taken from the *Nagarakertagama* (*Desawarnana*) and from the *Usana Jawa*. The dates all seem to be fictitious. The kingdom of Majapahit or Wilatikta fell, according to Javanese tradition, in Saka 1400 (1478 A.D.), in reality perhaps in c.1518 or 1527 A.D.

2. Babad Walanda manjeneng ring Jagatra, bhumi retu anjala sasih 1461.

The Dutch established in Jakarta, 1539.

*The date points at the complete ignorance of European historiography on the part of the compiler of this part of the list. The correct date was, of course, 1541 (1619 A.D.). In the *Usana Jawa* "Hulanda" is mentioned among the dependencies of Majapahit, implying that the Dutch soon may have been regarded as a somewhat domestic entity in the Nusantara region.

3. Babad duk wawu panjeneng Dalem ring Majapahit, kuda retu anjala sasih, 1467.

Time of establishment of the king of Majapahit, 1545.

*According to Javanese traditions, both ancient and early modern, Majapahit was founded in the late 13th century. The Javanese historical works *Pararaton* and *Nagarakertagama*, who mention the date 1293, were wellknown on Bali, but though the latter text seems to have been known to this author, we still find this clearly fictitious

date 1545. This may indicate that the author did not have the intention to search for historical data.

4. Babad rundah Sunda, ku retu kuda bhumi, 1761.

Collapse of Sunda, 1839.

*Sunda is the western portion of Java, well known to a Balinese audience through texts like *Pararaton* and *Kidung Sunda*. The date for its demise given here is quite recent but nevertheless completely fictitious. The old Sundanese kingdom is said to have succumbed to the Muslim state of Banten in 1579.

5. Babad rundah Kling, bhuta retu anjala bhumi, 1465.

Collapse of Kling, 1543.

*Kling was situated in the northern Kediri region on Java. It was an apanage area under Majapahit in the 15th century (Schrieke 1957:26). Kling is also a common Indonesian denomination for South India, corresponding to Kalinga (Ras 1968:82). It is one of the dependencies of Majapahit enumerated in the *Usana Jawa* (Usana Jawa/Usana Bali 1986:93)

6. Babad rundah Gagelang, gajah maguna anjala sasih 1438.

Collapse of Gagelang, 1516.

*A kingdom mentioned in the Panji stories (Robson 1971:312) and in the *Usana Jawa* (Usana Jawa/Usana Bali 1986:93). It is equivalent to the Kediri region in Java (Schrieke 1957:11).

7. Babad rundah Lasem, kuda anjala sasih nadi, 1147.

Collapse of Lasem, 1225.

*Yet another kingdom of the Panji stories. In the Wangbang Wideya, for example, the king of Lasem is the enemy of Daha, and fights the hero Panji on the battlefield (Robson 1971:2-6). It is also mentioned among the dependencies of Majapahit in the *Usana Jawa* (Usana Jawa/Usana Bali 1986:93).

8. Babad rundah Daha, bhuta retu anjala sasih, 1465.

Collapse of Daha, 1543.

*This place is equivalent to Kediri on Java. It is an important kingdom in history and legend, not least in the Panji stories (Robson 1971:2-6). In the *Nagarakertagama* the princess of Daha is mentioned as the daughter of the princess of Lasem (Robson

1995:27).

9. Babad rundah Koripan, nabhi kuda anjala sasih, 1471.

Collapse of Koripan, 1549.

*Also known as Kuripan or Kahuripan, this was a kingdom in the Malang region south of Surabaya. It is also called Janggala. During the Majapahit era it was an apanage area (Schrieke 1957:21). The literary hero Panji is described as a prince of Koripan (Robson 1971:2).

10. Babad rundah Buhun, kuda ngapit gunung ku, 1727.

Collapse of Buhun, 1805.

*A country or place called Buhun is mentioned in certain Javano-Balinese texts, though it is difficult to find more exact information (Pigeaud 1968:295). It seems to have been situated somewhere to the east of Java.

11. Babad rundah Petingan, kunjara kuda anjala nabhi, 1478.

Collapse of Petingan, 1556.

*What is meant is perhaps Katingan, i.e. the Mendawai River in Kalimantan, which is mentioned in the *Nagarakertagama* in the same group as the two following names (Robson 1995:33).

12. Babad rundah Malano, gajah maguna kuda sasih, 1738.

Collapse of Malano, 1816.

*Malano is mentioned in the *Nagarakertagama* as a locality in Kalimantan (Robson 1995:34). It might be equated with Malanau in northwestern Kalimantan, Balinean in Sarawak, or Milanau (Krom 1926:413). Since it is otherwise only known from the *Nagarakertagama*, and since the latter text mentions it in pair with the next entry, Tanjungpura, it seems likely that the compiler of this list draws (directly or indirectly) from the *Nagarakertagama*.

13. Babad rundah Tanjung-pura, kunjara kuda guna sasih, 1378.

Collapse of Tanjung-pura, 1456.

*This place is known as an apanage land on Java, in the Majapahit era. It was also an important place on the coast of Kalimantan, identified by modern scholars as either Banjarmasin or Sukadana of later times. Tanjungpura was one of the places that Gajah Mada, the patih of Majapahit, vowed to conquer when he made his famous 'sumpah

nusantara' in 1334 (Slametmuljana 1976:59). The *Nagarakertagama* mentions Tanjungpuri right after Malano, just like the present list (Robson 1995:34). So the author of the list seems to have had access to this poetic text, or a list of names drawn from it.

14. Babad rundah Pajajaran, lanang maguna ngapit sasih, 1476.

Collapse of Pajajaran, 1554.

*A place in East Java, in the Probolinggo region, which was of some importance in the Hindu-Javanese period.

15. Babad rundah Tumasik, retu kuda anjala sasih, 1476.

Collapse of Tumasik, 1554.

*Tumasik or Temasik was an important trading port on Singapore Island in the 13th and 14th century, later to be overshadowed by Melaka. It was one of the places that the Majapahit minister Gajah Mada vowed to conquer in the 14th century, according to the *Pararaton* (Slametmuljana 1976:59).

16. Babad rundah Rum, kuda ngapit gunung ngabi, 1727.

Collapse of Rome [Turkey, Byzans], 1805.

*One of the very few non-Nusantaran names to be found in Balinese tradition. It also occurs in the *Babad Dalem* and in the *Usana Jawa* (as Mahirum) in connection with Nusantaran affairs – the latter source even makes it a dependency of Majapahit!

17. Babad dadining Jrebon akweh atawa, sasih kunjara ngapit nabhi, 1281.

Ascendence of Cirebon, many are crippled, 1359.

*Cirebon seems to have existed since at least the 15th century (Poesponegoro & Notosusanto 1993:371). As a major political centre it is thought of as founded in the early 16th century by Sunan Gunungjati, one of the Muslim walisanga (nine saints) of Java. Like all the other dates in this section, this one is a free invention by the author.

18. Babad rundah Mataram, lawang maguna ngapit sasih, 1239.

Collapse of Mataram, 1317.

*Mataram is a classical realm on Java known from early epigraphy, the name of which was later taken up by the well-known Muslim realm (c. 1584-1755), and which was also used in Panji novels (Malat, etc.). The *Usana Jawa* mentions a multitude of places subordinated to Majapahit, including the following sequence: Mataram, Pajang, Matahun, Camara, Kabalan, Pamotan (Berg 1927:110). The sequence is strongly

reminiscent of the order of entries 18-24, meaning that the *Babad Bhumi* list probably draws from this text.

19. Babad rundah Syem, bhuta anjala sasih nabhi, 1145.

Collapse of Siam, 1223.

*This is one of the very few references found in Balinese texts to mainland kingdoms. There were sporadic contacts between Siam and Bali in the Gelgel and Klungkung periods, with even a Balinese embassy to Ayudhya in 1646 (Hägerdal 1998:75-77). The *Usana Jawa* mentions the mainland states Siyem, Cempa (Campa in southern Vietnam) and Kocing (Cochinchina, originally northern Vietnam), all of them portrayed as dependencies of the Javanese realm Majapahit!

20. Babad rundah Mataun, resi kuda anjala sasih, 1478.

Collapse of Mataun, 1556.

*An apanage in the Majapahit realm, at Jipang of later times (Schrieke 1957:26).

21. Babad rundah Camara, bhuta ngapit angga tunggal, 1125.

Collapse of Camara, 1203.

*A kingdom in the Panji stories. According to the *Wangbang Wideya*, it was an ally of Lasem, and then an enemy of Daha and the hero Panji (Robson 1971:4).

22. Babad rundah Pajang, kuda retu anjala sasih, 1467.

Collapse of Pajang, 1545.

*An apanage territory under Majapahit. It was also a kingdom in Central Java that flourished briefly in c. 1546-1588. The date given is therefore close to its rise rather than demise.

23. Babad rundah Pamotan, gajah tawang maguna sasih, 1398 (?).

Collapse of Pamotan, 1476 (?).

*A place known as an apanage realm in the Majapahit era. It was also known as Wengker, and later as Panaraga, and comprised the plains of the Madiun River (Schrieke 1957:26).

24. Babad rundah Kabalan, anjala kuda retu sasih nabhi, 11674 [1674?].

Collapse of Kabalan, 11752 [1752?].

*An apanage realm in the Majapahit era. A queen called Kusumawardhani (died 1400) was initially lady of Kabalan, later of Lasem (Schrieke 1957:28).

25. Babad rundah Kambang-jnar, mangapit kuda retu anjala sasih, 14662 [1462?].

Collapse of Kambang-jenar, 14740 [1540?].

*This place is mentioned in a Majapahit inscription from 1477; it might be the same thing as Mataram in Central Java. It is also the name of a kingdom in the Panji novels (Robson 1971:312) and a Majapahit dependency in the *Usana Jawa*.

26. Babad rundah Kadiri, kuda retu anjala bhumi, 1467.

Collapse of Kediri, 1545.

*The well-known East Javanese town, also known as Daha, which was the capital of a Javanese kingdom of some importance in the 12th and early 13th century. It was also the last capital of the Majapahit realm, according to the testimony of Tomé Pires' *Suma Oriental* (Cortesão 1944). From Javanese lists of dates it would seem to have fallen, apparently to the Demak realm, in 1527 (Ricklefs 1981:33-4).

27. Babad rundah Maospahit, bhumi kunjara retu nabhi, 1681.

Collapse of Maospahit [Majapahit], 1759.

*Maospahit is a common side-form of Majapahit in Balinese texts. The very late date for its “collapse” reinforces the impression that not even the author himself tried to find plausible dates for the fall of the various realms, but that the list is rather a playful enumeration of geographical names from the pool of names found in various literary texts.

28. Babad rundah Sabrang, maguna retu anjala sasih, 1463.

Collapse of the overseas realm, 1541.

*On Java and Bali, Wong Sabrang are “foreigners” in general, and Sabrang does not denote a particular country.

29. Mwah babad Naga Basuki manyeneng ring Bhasakih, bhumi kuda retu bhumi, 1671.

And the story of the snake of Basuki established in Bhasakih, 1749.

*Refers to a mythical establishment at Pura Besakih, the Bali-wide state temple at the slope of the Gunung Agung – or to a historical restoration work in early-modern time?

30. Spaha taun krayaning pitung dasa taun lamanya manjeneng ingkana sanghyang Naga Basuki saking Majapahit mura sangkananira nguni.

For the span of 1600 years plus seventeen years, the snake of Basuki from Majapahit has been established; death [?] of its origins in olden time.

*"Mura" is perhaps to be read as mur, dead. If the major Balinese sanctuary of Besakih was considered to have existed for 1617 years, it would have been thought of as founded in the early Saka centuries; compare the tradition that Gunung Agung was established in 111 (189 A.D.). Of course, this was long before the age of Majapahit, something that did not trouble the compiler. In Balinese religion a naga, or snake, is believed to have cosmic binding power (Wiener 1995:119-20).

31. Babad wawu manjeneng Dewa Batur, ku retu anjala sasih, 1461.

The establishment of the Batur Deity, 1539.

*Batur is one of the mountain villages that tried to resist the new dynasty of Kresna Kepakisan, some time after the Majapahit conquest. It is associated with Dewi Danur, the goddess of the Batur Lake, who has an extensive temple by the village which is headed by a non-triwangsa commoner (Wiener 1995:218).

32. Babad wawu manjeneng Dewa ring Pejeng, bhuta angapit retu nabhi, 1625.

The Deity of Pejeng is established, 1703.

*In the historically important village of Pejeng, a shrine known as Pura Penataran Sasih stands. Inside a tower-like pavilion is the Moon of Pejeng, an ancient kettledrum. In Western literature it was described for the first time in a text by the German writer G.E. Rumphius published in 1705 (Bernet Kempers 1991:19). This date looks suspiciously close to our date "1703", and one may ask whether the author of the list had some knowledge of a modern Dutch antiquarian work.

33. Babad wawu ana Sambawa, kunjara turangga retu nabhi, 1678.

Sumbawa comes into being, 1756.

*As it stands, this entry looks mythical, but the year itself may ultimately refer to a historical event. Balinese marauders attacked the coast of West Sumbawa in this year but were finally driven back.

34. Babad ana Sasak, maguna gajah retu nabhi, 1683.

Coming to being of Sasak [Lombok], 1761.

*Once again, it is possible to point at events in Lombok that may have constituted the background of this mythologised date. The Sumbawan ruling queen I Sugi was forced to step down from the throne in 1761/62, succeeded by the aristocrat Datu Jerewe. A group of people, including Datu Taliwang, refused to acknowledge him and sailed to Banjarmasin. On their way, they abducted the wife of Gusti Ngurah, lord of Karangasem and Lombok. This was the background of the conflicts afflicting the region in the next years, where troops from Lombok intervened in the internal fights of West Sumbawa (Noorduyn 1987a; Hägerdal 2001:155).

35. Prasadda Panataran Gaduh 1600 warsa lamanya ring Kapal ring Badung.

Prasadda Panataran Gaduh, 1600 years long in Kapal in Badung.

*Kapal is situated in the present kabupaten of Badung, though in a historical context it was tied to the Mengwi kingdom. The formulation of this entry may indicate that the text was written after the events of 1891, when the territory of Mengwi was shared between Badung and Tabanan.

(BABAD BHUMI II:)

36. Iti babad wawu pranjenenging bhumi, pucung bolong, 99.

This is the story of the establishment of the world, 177.

*Seems to refer to the establishment of Tusan, as mentioned in *Babad Gumi*:1. Cf. Babad Gumi:1; Korn 2:14; Korn 3:2; Korn 5:10; Babad Tusan:1; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:1; Pangrincik Babad:1; Pawawatekan:1; Pawawatekan:18.

37. Babad Gunung Agung, wak sasih wak, 111.

Gunung Agung, 189.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:3; Babad Bhumi:97; Korn 2:13; Korn 3:3; Korn 4:3; Korn 5:12; Babad Tusan:3; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:2; Pangrincik Babad:2; Pangrincik Babad:51; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:2; Pawawatekan:5.

38. Babad Tumpuhyang, gseng sasi wak, 110.

Tumpuhyang, 188.

*Various forms of this name occur in other lists - Gunung Tapahyang etc. - under the same date. Tumpuhyang is an older name for Batur, occurring in pre-Majapahit epigraphy. The name Batur is mentioned in other lists (Babad Gumi etc.) with this same chronogram. Cf. Babad Gumi:2; Babad Bhumi:96; Korn 3:4; Korn 5:11; Babad Tusan:2; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:3; Pangrincik Babad:3; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:1; Pawawatekan:11; Pawawatekan:17.

39. Babad Candidasa, wani sasih angalih, 211.

Candidasa, 289.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:4; Babad Bhumi:98; Korn 4:4; Korn 5:18; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:4; Pangrincik Babad:4; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:3; Pawawatekan:19.

40. Babad kalah Jambrana, brahmana kawahana anjala sasih, 1448.

Defeat of Jembrana, 1526.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:23; Korn 2:8; Korn 3:10; Korn 4:7; Korn 5:36; Babad Tusan:4; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:6; Pangrincik Babad:9; Pawawatekan:20; Pawawarekan:34.

41. Babad kalah Bali, bhuta anggandong wong, 125.

Defeat of Bali, 203.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:6; Korn 2:32; Korn 3:15; Korn 3:23; Korn 4:14; Korn 5:15; Babad Tusan:11; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:14; Pangrincik Babad:14; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:4; Pawawatekan:4; Pawawatekan:26; Pawawatekan:60.

42. Babad kalah Patembokan, ku retu anjala sasih, 1461.

Defeat of Patembokan, 1539.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:27; Korn 2:19; Korn 4:15; Korn 5:38; Babad Tusan:12; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:15; Pangrincik Babad:15; Pawawatekan:27.

43. Babad kalah Bala-banjong, rara wa waha towani, 1466.

Defeat of Bala-banjong, 1544.

*This placename is somewhat unclear. It is briefly mentioned in the narrative part of the *Babad Bhumi* text, together with the ancient capitals Gelgel and Klungkung. Maybe one could refer here to Belahanjong, or Blanjong, a place near Sanur where an inscription by the first historical king of Bali, Sri Kesari Warmadewa (913 A.D.), has been found. There might also be a connection with Labwan Jong, “the ships’ harbour”, discussed under the entry Babad Gumi:13. Cf. Korn 4:20; Korn 5:27; Babad Tusan:17; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:20; Pangrincik Babad:16.

44. Babad kalah samping Jruk, nora brahmana catur bhumi, 1480.

Defeat of the faction of (Batan) Jruk, 1558.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:62; Babad Bhumi:106; Babad Bhumi:138; Korn 3:20; Korn 4:21; Korn 5:40; Babad Tusan:18; Pangrincik Babad:17; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:12; Pawawatekan:35.

45. Babad kalah Suwung ring Gelgel, nora ling kawahan bhumi, 1490.

Defeat of Suwung [or: desertion] in Gelgel, 1568.

*This date stands in the middle between the two famous rebellions against the Gelgel king, that of Batan Jeruk (1558) and Pande (1578). The *Babad Dalem* speaks about chaotic conditions, destruction and lack of administration in this period (Warna 1986:88). Suwung means desertion, emptiness, but it is also a place-name in the kabupaten of Badung. Cf. Korn 4:24; Korn 5:41; Babad Tusan:19; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:21; Pangrincik Babad:20.

46. Babad kalah Balangbangan, nora netra bhutana sasih, 1520.

Defeat of Balambangan, 1598.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:28; Korn 3:22; Korn 4:26; Korn 5:45; Babad Tusan:21; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:23; Pangrincik Babad:22; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:9; Pawawatekan:39.

47. Babad sagara ring Padang, sagara nanggung gunung, 724.

The sea of Padang, 802.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:102; Korn 4:27; Babad Tusan:22; Pangrincik Babad:23.

48. Babad kalah Badung, tunggal sanga manca bhumi, 1591.

Defeat of Badung, 1669.

*Here begins a long list of petty wars taking place in South Bali in the 1660s and 1670s. Perhaps they have to do with the enterprise of Gusti Agung Badeng, or with his difficult heritage, which is spoken of in the *Babad Arya Tabanan* and *Babad Ratu Tabanan*. According to these texts, the aristocrat Gusti Agung Badeng (or Badung) was married to a princess of the Tabanan royal house. The legitimate lord of Tabanan, her brother Arya Nisweng Panida, was murdered by their cousin Arya Nengah di Malkangin with the assistance of Kiyayi Kaler ing Panida, and also with the consent of the Dalem of Gelgel. At a later time, Gusti Agung Badeng was enticed by his wife to revenge the murder. He waged a violent and very destructive war in order to restore the Tabanan realm in the name of his wife's nephew Sri Magada Sakti. In effect he made himself lord of the Tabanan realm, but after his death new internal fighting arose. Finally Sri Magada Sakti was established with the assistance of the lord of Kapal (Darta et al. 1996:32-33, 102). These stories seem to allude to the struggles for hegemony of the ministerial Agung

family in the second half of the 17th century, and their rivalry with the Kaler family. According to the *Babad Arya Kapakisan* (c.1700?), Gusti Agung Badeng (Badung) was the adopted brother of the main regent in Gelgel, Gusti Agung di Made; his sons were Agung Jimbaran and Agung Anom.

49. Babad kalah Payangan, kalih lawang bhuta tunggal, 1592.

Defeat of Payangan, 1670.

*Payangan is situated in kabupaten Gianyar. The information of its historical status is sparse. Judging from extant genealogical material it was at times ruled by the Pacung family, at times by descendants of a brother of the first Dewa Agung of Klungkung.

50. Babad kalah Kapal, dwi leng bhuta nabhi, 1592.

Defeat of Kapal, 1670.

*Kapal is situated in kabupaten Badung. It was originally seat of the Gusti Agung dynasty that later ruled Mengwi. Compare *Babad Gumi*:58, where a Ngrurah Anom of Kapal is said to have passed away in 1677. A Gusti Agung Anom of Kapal also appears in the *Babad Mengwi*, as the father of the first Mengwi ruler. In the *Babad Ratu Tabanan*, Gusti Agung of Kapal assists the main pretender to the Tabanan throne by defeating his rival Kiyayi Bola; here too, he is the father of the first Mengwi king (Darta et al. 1996:103).

51. Babad kalah Bengkel mwanng Pandak, bhuta sanga manca bhumi, 1595.

Defeat of Bengkel and Pandak, 1673.

*Bengkel is situated in the south of kabupaten Tabanan. Pandak is close to the town Tabanan. According to the *Babad Arya Tabanan*, Pandak was governed by one Sang Bagus Kasiman, who was subjugated by Sri Magada Sakti, the recently elevated Tabanan king. The latter ruler must indeed have flourished around this time, as he was the contemporary of Gusti Panji Sakti of Buleleng (c.1660-1700) and the first king of Mengwi (c.1690-1722) (Darta et al. 1996:38).

52. Babad Lurah Bungaya pjah, gni sapta manca nabhi, 1573.

Lurah Bungaya dies, 1651.

*Cf. *Babad Gumi*:42; *Babad Bhumi*:113; *Sara Samuscaya Pakenca*:11; *Pawawatekan*:2.

53. Babad kalah Bangah, catur sanga manca bhumi, 1594.

Defeat of Bangah, 1672.

*Bangah is a village in kabupaten Badung, between Pacung and Apuan.

54. Babad kalah Alang Kajeng, windu gseng gana tunggal, 1600.

Defeat of Alangkajeng, 1678.

*Alangkajeng was an important centre in the old Mengwi kingdom. A certain Ki Alangkajeng is mentioned by the *Babad Ratu Tabanan*. He was an associate of Gusti Agung of Kapal, the friend and helper of the young king Sri Magada Sakti of Tabanan. When Gusti Agung died (1677 according to the *Babad Gumi*) he was succeeded by his son Gusti Agung Brambangan (or Gusti Agung Sakti), later to become the first Mengwi ruler. But Ki Alangkajeng's area of rule became wider and wider, until he clashed with Sri Magada Sakti. Ki Alangkajeng and all of his family were crushed by the Tabanan ruler, who ruthlessly destroyed anybody who dared oppose him (Darta et al. 1996:103). Very probable, this event is alluded to in the chronogram.

55. Babad prang Abyan Tuhung, ranu saba manca bhumi, 1595.

War of Abyan Tuhung, 1673.

*Abyan Tuhung is a place situated to the east of the town Tabanan.

56. Babad prang Mel-mundeh, warnna sanga manca bhumi, 1594.

War of Mel-mundeh, 1672.

*This could be Mundeh, at the east of Tabanan, close to the border of Badung.

57. Babad Gunung Agung mtu api, gajah maguna bhuta tunggal, 1538.

Gunung Agung spits fire, 1616.

*Babad Gumi:33; Babad Gumi:34; Babad Bhumi:110; Korn 5:54; Babad Tusan:29; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:33; Pangrincik Babad:35.

58. Babad tumpur agung, warnna mangapit bhuta tunggal, 1524.

Lepra, 1602.

*Just 'tumpur', devastation or epidemic, in the *Babad Gumi*. Cf. Babad Gumi:29, Korn 4:35; Korn 5:46; Babad Tusan:26; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:30; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:10.

59. Babad rundah Pinatih, kuda mangapit bhuta tunggal, 1527.

Collapse of Pinatih, 1605.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:30; Korn 4:36; Korn 5:48; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:31; Pangrincik Babad:33.

60. Bima Cili, brahmana maguna bhuta sasih, 1538.

Bima Cili, 1616.

*Cf. the ‘defeat of Bima Cili’ in 1616, in the *Pangrincik Babad* and other texts (see below). In the *Babad Dalem*, Bima Cili is the son of the king of Balambangan, who flees to Pasuruan together with his sister, the Kaniten princess, after the Balinese conquest under the king Dalem Baturenggong. The later defeat of the Balinese at the hands of Pasuruan is seen as the ‘revenge’ for the killing of the Balambangan king earlier on. The Central Javanese text *Babad Mataram* mentions a bupati called Adipati Kaniten, who had fled from Balambangan to Pasuruan, becoming a vassal of the Pasuruan king in the late 16th century. He fought the king of Mataram without success and was therefore cruelly executed by the Pasuruan lord. There might be a connection between these two legendary stories; in both cases we have persons connected with the name Kaniten fleeing from Balambangan to Pasuruan in the 16th century. Pasuruan was defeated by Sultan Agung of Mataram in 1616 (according to a near-contemporary Dutch account) or 1617 (according to Javanese data). If Bima Cili or his descendents were still living in Pasuruan then, they would have been affected by this conquest, and that may lend some colour to the date 1616 of our list. Cf. Babad Tusan:28; Pangrincik Babad:34.

61. Babad Kadaton ring Kasiman, lawang maguna bhuta bhumi, 1539.

Kadaton in Kasiman, 1617.

*Kadaton and Kasiman are in kabupaten Badung, not far from each other. Kadaton literally means “palace”. According to the Badung babads a lordship arose when a member of the Arya Kenceng dynasty of Tabanan, Prabu Bandana, moved to Badung. He was reportedly the grandfather of Gusti Jambe Pule (d. 1683?), which would more or less fit with the year 1617. Cf. Korn 5:55; Babad Tusan:30.

62. Babad Batur tiniben parwwata, catur magina bhuta bhumi, 1534.

The mountain falling on Batur, 1612.

*Corresponds with the information given in other chronograms, that Batur was buried in this year (presumably as a consequence of volcanic activity). Cf. Babad Bhumi:109; Korn 2:23; Korn 5:52; Babad Tusan:24; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:27; Pangrincik Babad:31.

63. Babad rundah Lurah Kaler, guna resi sara wani, 1573.

Collapse of Lurah Kaler, 1651.

*One may compare *Babad Gumi*:42 that mentions the killing of Lurah Bungaya at the hands of Anglurah Agung in this year. Together with Dutch sources, the two chronograms suggest an internal feud between the two minister families, Agung and Kaler, in 1651.

64. Babad kalah Pacung, catur resi kala bhumi, 1574.

Defeat of Pacung, 1652.

*Pacung is in Tabanan, being traditionally ruled by the Pacung family, descendants of Arya Sentong. According to *Babad Arya Tabanan*, the Tabanan king Winalwanan conquered Pacung, seemingly in the 17th century. In this text, Winalwanan abdicated his throne to his son Gusti Wayan Pamedekan, who disappeared in the Balinese expedition to Balambangan, an event that seems to be dated in 1646 in the *Babad Bhumi*:108. The latter expedition is also confirmed by Dutch and Javanese sources. After the short rule of the younger son Gusti Made Pamedekan, Winalwanan again took the throne, and it was during this second reign that he conquered Pacung (Darta et al. 1996:25-29, 100-01). The date 1652 therefore seems quite plausible.

65. Babad kalah Panida, sad brahmana pandawa bhumi, 1576 [recte 1586?].

Defeat of Panida, 1654 [1664?].

*Panida is in the district of Tembuku, kabupaten of Bangli. According to the *Babad Arya Tabanan*, the minister at the Gelgel court, Kiyayi Kaler ing Panida, got involved in a series of violent actions within the Tabanan royal family that eventually cost him his own life, at a battle fought in Panida. His adversary in this fight was a member of the rival ministerial family Agung, Gusti Agung Badeng. The battle is supposed to have taken place after the death of king Winalwanan, when his grandchildren battled for the throne (Darta et al. 1996:102). The interpretation of the chronogram date is in doubt, as the element brahmana usually has the numeric value 8 rather than 7. Another entry of the *Babad Bhumi* (No. 113 below) tells us of a decisive battle between the Kaler and Agung factions in 1655, close to the present date. But the year 1664 would certainly make sense too, since a Gusti Agung appears in the *Babad Gumi* and in VOC sources as regent of South Bali from c. 1664 onwards.

66. Babad rundah Lurah Agung ring Gelgel, ngapit maguna --- tunggal, 1532.

Collapse of Lurah Agung at Gelgel, 1610.

*Cf. *Babad Gumi*:32.

67. Babad Lurah Mambal pralaya, nora resi amanca nagara, 1570.

Lurah Mambal passes away, 1648.

*According to the *Babad Dalem*, Mambal was an illegitimate son of king Dalem Seganing, raised by the chief minister Kiyayi Agung Widya as his own child. Thus, he was the younger stepbrother of Gusti Panida (fl. 1633). He was a picturesque personality with an appearance like Bhima. About his death nothing is stated in the chronicle.

68. Babad Kayangan ring Puseh, ngapit bhuta nabhi, 152.

Sanctuary of Puseh, 230.

*The Puseh temple in Balinese religious practice is the temple of origin, located in the northern/upper part of a village. It is linked with Brahma, the Creator (Oey 1990:27).

69. Babad Kayangan Balukaru [recte Batukaru], bhuta maguna tunggal, 135.

Sanctuary of Batukaru, 213.

*Pura Batukaru (Batukau) is the state ancestral temple of the Tabanan dynasty, located at the southern slope of the Gunung Batukau (Bernet Kempers 1991:111; Oey 1990:227). It is one of the Sad Kahyangan, the six foremost temples of the island.

70. Babad Kayangan ring Dalem hyaningulun nya layu, catur maguna tunggal, 134.

Sanctuary of the passed-away ruler, 212.

* Pura Dalem is one of the Kahyangan Tiga (three sanctuaries) in an archetypical Balinese village. It is the temple of death or “the mighty one” and is associated with Siwa, the Destroyer (Oey 1990:27). Dalem is also the title of the Gelgel kings.

71. Duk abresihi Kayangan ring Dalem. Wrahaspati Umanis Pahang tanggal 13 sasih Kartika, rah 0, lenggek [recte tenggek] 2.

The time when the sanctuary of the Dalem is purified, is on Friday Umanis, in the week Pahang, the 13th day of September/October ‘98.

* The date can not be identified, and the same goes for the three entries below (Nos. 72-74). The calendrical elements might be fictive.

72. Peling duk abresihi ring Puseh ring dina Coma Pon Wugu tanggal 15, saseh Wesaka, rah 2, tenggek 4.

The precise time when the Puseh [origin-temple] is purified, is on Monday Pon, in the week Wugu, the 15th day of the month March/April ‘20.

*The data is too unspecific to allow us to reconstruct the date.

73. Peling patiwaking Dalem ring Klungkung ring dina Coma Umanis Watugunung, tanggal 13, sasih ke 5, rah 3, tenggek 5.

The date when the decree is issued by the Dalem of Klungkung, is on Monday Umanis, in the week Watugunung, the 13th day of October/November '31.

*The mention of the king (Dalem) of Klungkung should mean that the decree was issued in 1731 or 1831, but the elements do not fit in either case.

74. Peling patiwaking Dalem ring Klungkung ring dina Wrahaspati Wage Tolu, panglong 4, rah 7, tenggek 4.

The date when the decree is issued by the Dalem of Klungkung, is on Thursday Wage, in the week Tolu, in the 4th day of the waning moon, '25.

*The occurrence in this entry of Klungkung as a royal seat means that the only possible years are 1725 or 1825, but the calendrical data make no sense in either case.

75. Babad rundah Panida, ngapit maguna bhuma, 132.

Collapse of Panida, 210.

*What is meant here is perhaps the village Panida in kabupaten Bangli, rather than the island Nusa Penida off Bali's coast.

76. Babad patiwaking Lurah Tabanan, tunggal retu kunjara, 861; ring dina Buddha Umanis Prangbakat, tanggal 13, rah 9, tenggek 4, sasih budda waddo [bhadrawada].

Lurah Tabanan issuing a decree, 939 [or '27].

*The date fits at 8 September 1627, if the calendar follows the Old Javanese system, and if tanggal in this case means "day of a half-month" in general, since it would be the 13th day in the waning rather than the waxing moon. Pending all the uncertainties, not too much trust should be put in this solution.

77. Babad Kaliatel, kunjara bhuta nabhi, 158.

Kaliatel, 236.

*This place is not known to me.

78. Babad kalah Watek, resi manca bhumi, 157.

Defeat of Watek, 235.

*Watek means “character”. No such Balinese place name is known to me. However, in the *Usana Jawa* one of the vassals of the Javanese Majapahit realm is Wateka. The text situates it in the western part of the empire, i.e. somewhere west of Bali. It could possibly be interpreted as Batak, a complex of mainly non-Muslim tribes in northern Sumatra.

79. Babad prang Nyamba, dwara resi bhuta wani, 157 [recte 1579].

War of Nyamba, 1657.

*This might be Nyambu, close to Kediri in Tabanan.

80. Babad prang ring Bebengan, eka pandawa windu, 051 [or 150].

War in Bebengan, 29 [or 228].

*One may suspect that the chronogram is corrupt, so that one element is missing. A Krian Bebengan is mentioned in the *Babad Mengwi*, as the father-in-law of Gusti Agung Anom of Kapal, and thus the grandfather of the first Mengwi ruler (c.1690-1722).

81. Babad prang ring Abyansema, tawang brahmana manca bhumi, 1579.

War in Abyansema, 1657.

*Abyansema was a lordship to the east of Mengwi. It was defeated by the Mengwi kingdom around 1700 (Schulte Nordholt 1996:37).

82. Babad pasalah Lurah Pacung, tawang tunggal bhuta nabhi, 1519 [recte 1510].

Removal of Lurah Pacung, 1597 [recte 1588].

*The incident is not known or not clear from the babad texts. There was a noble Pacung family, but the genealogy as spelt out in its family chronicle (Coll. C.C. Berg 118, Leiden University Library) only seems to commence in the seventeenth century.

83. Babad kawis Tabanan, ula naga bhuta bhumi, 1577.

Heritage of Tabanan, 1655.

*Could be, for example, the passing away of king Winalwanan, which ushered into a period of internal feuds of the royal family of Tabanan (Darta 1996:101).

84. Babad kawis Den Bukit, retu anjala sasih, 146.

Heritage of Den Bukit, 224.

*Den Bukit, “the other side of the mountains”, refers to Buleleng. The name is given from a South Balinese point of view. The entry seems to allude to some particular tradition about its ancient, mythical past.

85. Babad kawis Badolu, catur maguna nabhi, 134.

Heritage of Bedaulu, 212.

*Refers to Bedahulu or Bedulu, the ancient Balinese capital that was vanquished by the Majapahit invasion of the 14th century. Later tradition believed it to have been the seat of a king of demonic, evil properties (Robson 1978).

86. Babad Gunung Rawu, kuda angapit sasih, 127.

Gunung Rawu, 205.

*An island called Rau, with a mountain of 300 meters, is found in Maluku, east of Morotai. It might also be Gunung Raung in Balambangan, or a corruption of Gunung Lawu on Java.

87. Babad Gunung Agung, bhuta retu anjala wong, 1465.

Gunung Agung, 1543.

*Maybe a historical outburst of the volcano Gunung Agung. According to David Stuart-Fox (pers. comm.) the date fits well with certain local East Balinese traditions.

88. Babad Gunung Swela, retu angapit bhumi, 126.

Gunung Swela, 204.

*A Mount Suwela is mentioned in the classical literature, as in the wayang stories about Angling Dharma (Drewes 1975:314). Also, a place called Swela is found in the eastern part of Lombok. It is situated at the side of the North Lombok mountain massive. Yet another place called Swelagiri (giri = mountain) is to be found northwest of Klungkung.

89. Babad Gunung Pajeng, kuda angapit bhumi, 127.

Gunung Pajeng, 205.

*Should it be Pajang or Pejeng?

90. Babad sahaneng parwwata, kuda retu anjala sasih, 1467.

The totality of the mountains, 1545.

*It is unclear what the author alludes to, but the date is close to the mention of Gunung Agung above (No. 87). Cf. also the Javanese ruler of Demak, Sunan Prawata, who flourished in this period, dying in c. 1549 (De Graaf & Pigeaud 1974:77-8).

91. Babad ana danu, bhuta anjala nabhi, 145.

Coming to being of the lake, 223.

*The compiler of this part of the list concludes by noting the origins of various elements of nature.

92. Babad ana samudra, gni retu anjala nabhi, 1463.

Coming to being of the ocean, 1541.

*The date is close to Nos. 87 and 90 above, but appears to be yet a mythologized date of origin of a feature of nature.

93. Babad ana bhumi langit, retu anjala sasih nabhi, 1146.

Coming to being of the earth and the sky, 1224.

*With this mythologized date the first part of the list concludes. This part (1.-93.) is sometimes found as a separate list (LOr 10.547), which makes it likely that the following entries (94-145) come from another compiler. The lists were then incorporated in one single text in the late 19th or early 20th century.

94. Babad duking bhumi Tuhlikup, watu manjeneng, babadnya turuk mangandang, 19.

Time of the land of Tulikup, the stone is established, 97.

*Here begins a new list of dates, which shows the same sense of exact, continuous dating as the *Babad Gumi*. It seems to be relatively late: the list continues from legendary times up to events in the Mengwi kingdom in 1836, with some additional notes up to the fall of Banjar in “1858”, recte 1868. Tulikup is a village in Gianyar; it is also the name of a Prabali clan (a category of Wesias who have married commoner women and been degraded to the Sudra caste) whose members function as Mangku priests (Van der Tuuk 1897-1912 II:700).

95. Babad Tusan, pucung bolong, 99.

Tusan, 177.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:1; Babad Bhumi:36; Korn 2:14; Korn 3:2; Korn 5:10; Babad Tusan:1; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:1; Pangrincik Babad:1; Pawawatekan:18.

96. Babad Tumpakhyang, gsak sasiwak, 110.

Tumpakhyang, 188.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:2; Babad Bhumi:38; Korn 3:4; Korn 4:2; Korn 5:11; Babad Tusan:2; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:3; Pangrincik Babad:3; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:1; Pawawatekan:11; Pawawatekan:17.

97. Babad Gunung Agung, wak sasiwak, 111.

Gunung Agung, 189.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:3; Babad Bhumi:37; Korn 2:13; Korn 3:3; Korn 4:3; Korn 5:12; Babad Tusan:3; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:2; Pangrincik Babad:2; Pangrincik babad:51; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:2; Pawawatekan:5.

98. Babad Candi-dasa, sasih ewaninga napih, 111.

Candidasa, 189.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:4; Babad Bhumi:39; Korn 4:4; Korn 5:18; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:4; Pangrincik Babad:4; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:3; Pawawatekan:19.

99. Babad Wwe Patanu, gtih mangapih lemah, 121.

The stream of Patanu, 199.

*Seems to refer to the legend of Mayadanawa, the evil king of Bali, who was defeated by the gods and killed at the Petanu River. Cf. Babad Tusan:32.

100. Babad Sagara Rupek, sagara nunggang bhumi, 124.

The Bali Strait, 202.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:5; Korn 2:16; Korn 3:7; Korn 4:9; Korn 5:14; Babad Tusan:37; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:8; Pangrincik Babad:10; Pawawatekan:6.

101. Babad Gunung Mahameru, wlutanglengeng watu, 113.

Gunung Mahameru, 191.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:7; Korn 2:31; Korn 3:13; Korn 4:12; Korn 5:16; Babad Tusan:9; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:12; Pangrincik Babad:6; Pasasangkalan:77; Pawawatekan:24.

102. Babad sagara ring Padang, sagara nanggung gunung, 724.

The sea of Padang, 802.

*Babad Bhumi:47; Korn 4:27; Babad Tusan:22; Pangrincik Babad:23.

103. Babad candining Blabatuh, gajah angapit lawang, 928.

Candi in Blabatuh, 1006.

*Babad Gumi:10; Korn 3:11; Korn 4:10; Korn 5:24; Babad Tusan:7; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:10; Pangrincik Babad:11; Pawawatekan:14.

104. Babad Sakinan, gunung mangalih gwa, 927.

Sakinan, 1005.

*A famous temple, one of the Sad Kahyangan – the six main sactuaries on Bali. It is said to have been founded by Mpu Kuturan, a sage flourishing in the age of Airlangga. Actually, the title Senapati of Kuturan is found in Balinese inscriptions from 993 onwards, which lends some colour to the date 1005 (Goris 1954:150, 167). The temple is situated on Serangan Island in kabupaten Badung. Cf. Babad Bhumi:137; Korn 4:34; Korn 5:63; Babad Tusan:25; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:28; Pangrincik Babad:32; Pawawatekan:42.

105. Babad panjeneng Dalem Ktut ring Bali, brahmana septa gnya wulan, 1378.

Establishment of Dalem Ktut on Bali, 1456.

*Dalem Ketut, or Sri Smara Kepakistan, or Dewa Tegal Besung (?), is associated with the founding of the Gelgel court on Bali. In a Javanese *Serat Kanda* text he is the son of the last king of Majapahit, while the *Babad Dalem* makes him the son of Sri Aji Kresna Kepakistan, the immigrant king who came from Majapahit and settled in Samprangan. An undated copperplate inscription (LOr 17.651) is issued in the name of an unnamed king who came to Bali from Majapahit, while another inscription (LOr 17.652), dated 1393 (1471 A.D.), claims to be issued by Batara Mahaspahit Ratu Pakisan, of the lineage of the Majapahit king and ruling on Bali. He would then be either Kresna Kepakistan or Smara Kepakistan, but the copper inscriptions may very well be later fakes, as the vocabulary is completely different from that used in Majapahit inscriptions and contains some non-Old Javanese words (Hedi Hinzler and Jan van der Verdonck, Leiden, personal communication). The date 1456 seems apocryphical as it not found in the earlier lists (Babad Gumi, Pangrincik Babad, etc.), but it is not impossible. There are two

wooden inscriptions at the Pura Besakih dated 1444 and 1458, containing largely similar ritual regulations pertaining to the temple, and that might possibly imply that there had been a change of royal regime in the intervening period, as these regulations had to be re-issued. The wooden inscriptions, it should be noted, both refer to the ruler as “adhipati” (governor or regent), indicating that the Balinese powerholders at the time were still considered Majapahit vassals rather than kings in their own right. From the Old Javanese chronicle *Pararaton* we know that there was a period of anarchy in Majapahit in 1453-56, which would perhaps have paved the way for stronger local regimes in the outer areas of the realm. Cf. Korn 4:39.

106. Babad kawon Batanjruk, ilang brahmana catur bhumi, 1480.

Defeat of Batanjeruk, 1558.

*Babad Gumi:62; Babad Bhumi:44; Babad Bhumi:138; Korn 3:20; Korn 4:21; Korn 5:40; Babad Tusan:18; Pangrincik Babad:17; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:12;

107. Babad lagane Lurah Pande, nora gseng amanca bhumi, 1500.

Fighting of Lurah Pande, 1578.

*Babad Gumi:63; Korn 3:24; Korn 4:16; Korn 5:43; Babad Tusan:13; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:16; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:13.

108. Babad patine Putu Tabanan ring Blangbangan, brahmana pakarenga bhuta wani, 1568.

Death of Putu Tabanan in Balambangan, 1646.

*According to the *Babad Dalem*, the lord of Tabanan is ordered to go to Balambangan and fight Pasuruan in the time of the king Di Made. The result of this campaign is not mentioned, as the *Babad Dalem* account breaks off abruptly. In the *Babad Ratu Tabanan* and *Babad Arya Tabanan*, the lord Gusti Wayan (=Putu, eldest son) Pamedekan of Tabanan goes to Balambangan, is defeated by the troops of Raja Mataram and taken prisoner, later to be married off to Raja Mataram's daughter (Darta et al. 1996:26-27, 100-01). The *Babad Ratu Tabanan* identifies the Mataram ruler with Sultan Agung (though this could possibly be due to influences from Javanese historiography). The war is obviously to be connected with the Balinese-Mataramese fighting in the period 1635-1647. One of the main confrontations took place in February 1647 (still in the Saka year 1568) on Balambangan soil, and ended with the temporary defeat of the Balinese.

109. Babad Bangurugan [recte Batur urugan], catur magina bhuta bhumi, 1534.

Batur being buried, 1612.

*In some lists referred to as the burying of Daya. Cf. Babad Bhumi:62; Korn 2:23; Korn 5:52; Babad Tusan:24; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:27; Pangrincik Babad:31.

110. Babad Gunung Agung mti api, brahmana magina bhuta tunggal, 1538.

Gunung Agung spits fire, 1616.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:33; Babad Gumi:34; Babad Bhumi:57; Korn 5:54; Babad Tusan:29; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:33; Pangrincik Babad:35.

111. Babad pañrarggan [pañwargan] I Dewa Di Made, kewehan rasa panca bhumi, 1564.

Passing away of I Dewa Di Made, 1642.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:38; Korn 4:40.

112. Babad pañwarggan I Dewa Pacekan, anon kuda sanjata wani, 1572.

Passing away of I Dewa Pacekan, 1650.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:40; Pawawatekan:1.

113. Babad lagane Lurah Bungaya, kaya parwata sanjataning wong, 1573.

Fighting of Lurah Bungaya, 1651.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:42; Babad Bhumi:52; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:11; Pawawatekan:2.

114. Babad lagane Lurah Agung amseh Lurah Kaler, pasang parwata sanjata wani, 1577.

Fighting of Lurah Agung, in enmity with Lurah Kaler, 1655.

*Thus, another clash between the Agung and Kaler ministerial families. According to Dutch sources, there was a temporary winner in the power struggle on Bali in this year, as a “new king of Bali” is mentioned in early 1656 as having come to the throne. This king is still considered as having authority over Balambangan and Lombok. In 1657, the VOC received letters from two Balinese rajas, Longnan and Kalerangh, of which the latter seems to be a member of the Kaler group. They were apparently local lords (Hägerdal 1998:63).

115. Babad Gusti Tlabah Bangu [Batu] Lembang anapih maring Gusti Agung ring Gelgel, brahmana sunya rasa tunggal, 1608.

Gusti Telabah Batu Lembang does away with Gusti Agung of Gelgel, 1686.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:68; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:14. The entry adds a detail to our knowledge of the decisive fight between Gusti Agung of Gelgel and Batu Leping, by actually stating that the former was eliminated. In the Babad Arya Kapakistan, Batu Leping is known as Kang Anyapih maring Gelgel, "he who entered a fight against Gelgel where both combattants died". So perhaps the word anapih in this entry should actually be read as anyapih.

116. Babad lagane Gusti Gulyang Wangu [Watu] Leping, sunya sanga manca bhumi, 1590.

Fighting of Gusti Gulyang Watu Leping, 1668.

*According to Babad Gumi:53 a certain Lurah Batulepang died in 1666, which is close to the date 1668. Perhaps we have to do with the same Batulepang in both cases.

117. Babad kawon Ayunan, brahmana sanga wuta wani, 1598.

Defeat of Ayunan, 1676.

*Ayunan is situated north of the town Mengwi. This part of the list concentrates on events in the Mengwi kingdom up to 1836.

118. Babad Gusti Pakandelan Anglurah Bangu [Batu] Leping, mangarepa ring Gwang, rasa tunggal gana rupa, 1616.

Gusti Pakandelan and Anglurah Batu Leping come before Gwang, 1694.

*Gwang is in the southern part of kabupaten Gianyar.

119. Babad ngnahaning gni saking Batur, gunung wani gana rupa, 1617.

Putting up with fire from Batur, 1695.

*This date is confirmed by the *Pasasangkalan*:15 and Korn 1:78, which add that there was a rain of ashes and numerous casualties on 10 February 1696 (still in the Saka year 1617). There are otherwise no conjunctions between these texts and the *Babad Bhumi*.

120. Babad mur Gusti Anom ring Gwang, ilang manon rasa rupa, 1620.

Death of Gusti Anom of Gwang, 1698.

*According to the *Babad Wisnu Wangsa* (LOR 13.862) Gusti Anom of Kapal had a son called Gusti Anom of Guwa[ng] in his marriage with Luh Sukahret. He would therefore have been a half-brother of Gusti Agung Sakti, the first king of Mengwi (c.

1690-1722). The *Babad Mengwi* does not mention this brother, but says that Gusti Agung Sakti defeated a branch of the family associated with Gwang.

121. Babad Bangurusak [Batur rusak] umah gseing dening apwi tawang makweh wong pjah, raris ukir cumeneng angantyani, angapit karnna kumbang wong, 1622.

Batur is destroyed, houses are burnt by fire, many people die, then the mountain is established anew, 1700.

*Other lists speak of activity of the Batur volcano in 1696, 1703 and 1706 (?), indicating that the mountain was restless in these years.

122. Babad balabur Wwe Ayung, kweh taru kampih tpining lwah mina kweh kalap, bahni angalih kayu karangsang ring watu, 1623.

Flooding of the Ayung River; many trees run aground; at the side of the river many fishes are gathered in, 1701.

*The Ayung River flows through South Bali, via Mambal and Sibang, with its outlet east of Denpasar.

123. Babad Gusti Agung Ktut kesah ring Tapesan, bhuta pandawa kumbang wong, 1655.

Gusti Agung Ketut withdraws to Tapesan, 1733.

*Tapesan is close to the old royal center in Mengwi. There are a number of Gusti Agung Ketut in Mengwi history, and his exact identity is uncertain. Maybe the date should actually read 1833, since the text later follows the vicissitudes of the prince Gusti Agung Ketut in the 1830s. 1733 was the year of a decisive fight between the Mengwi kingdom and its various enemies, ending in the defeat of the latter (Schulte Nordholt 1996:33).

124. Babad pepet awungane di Waringin Pitu, duk balabur agung kweh kayu keli, kayu karangsang bhuta kumbang wong, 1656.

Close to the tunnel at Seven Waringin, in a time of a great flood, much wood is carried with the current, 1734.

*The name Waringin Pitu is interesting, as it also occurs in a Majapahit inscription as an apanage realm of the mother of a 15th century Javanese king (Slametmuljana 1976:199). The Balinese Waringin Pitu might then have been named after the Javanese place.

125. Babad brasta larut wong ring Bun, rinemek dene Pangakan Manggis saking Gianyar mwang Gusti Agung Mangwi ring dena Redite Pon wara Tamber, tanggal ping 14, sasih Kasa, rah 7, tenggek sanga buddanglong rasa sasih, 1697.

Extermination of the people in Bun, destroyed by Pangakan Manggis from Gianyar and Gusti Agung Mengwi, on Sunday Pon, in the week Tamber, the 14th day of June/July 1775.

*The calendrical data do not fit with each other in 1775. However, if the year is taken to be 1776, all the elements are in harmony, at June 30, 1776. Pangakan (Dewa) Manggis is said to have inaugurated the kingdom of Gianyar in c. 1771 (Mahaudiana 1968:30). He is described in some traditions as a ruthless and unattractive character.

126.Sapjah Gusti Jambe ring Badung, brasta sanak putu mwanng rabi, rinusak dene Ngurah Kajiyanan ring Badung, mwanng Pangakan Manggis saking Gianyar, Gusti Agung Mangwi sareng mangrusak, ring dina Saniscara Umanis wara Watugunung, panglong ping 13, sasih ke 8, rah windu, tenggek windu, windu sunya giri watu, 1700.

Death of Gusti Jambe of Badung, end of his first-born and wife, destroyed by Ngurah Kajiyanan of Badung and Pangakan Manggis from Gianyar, Gusti Agung Mengwi, together they wreak destruction, on Saturday Umanis, in the week Watugunung, in the 13th day of the waning moon, January/February 1778.

*The calendrical elements are not in accordance with each other in 1778. However, if the saka year is taken as 1701, all is in harmony; we will then obtain the date March 4 1780 (with the 8th month corresponding to February/March, as in the Old Javanese calendar system). This is in accordance with a Dutch report that places this fateful event in 1780 (De Jonge 1883:494). In a VOC source from 1766, four local kings of the Badung region are mentioned: Gusti Moera Jambij, Gusti Cajanan, Gusti Panatjoetan and Gusti Moera Non, of which the first two are mentioned in our list (Coll. H.J. de Graaf, H 1055:8).

127.Lebar Gusti Pungu [Putu] Agung ring Mengwi gring mangiring ring dina Buda Kliwon, sasih ke 7, panglong ping 1, rah 4, tenggek windu, swamma sunya kuda wani, 1704.

Passing away of Gusti Putu Agung of Mengwi, sickness coming to him on December 19 1782.

*The identity of this figure can not be determined. There was a (nominal) king with this name, but according to H. Schulte Nordholt (1996:345) he reigned in c.1780-1794. One of his brothers-in-law, a son of a former king, also bore this name. In one genealogy he is actually accorded the title of raja; perhaps this is our man. The exact fit of the calendaric elements anyway speaks for the authenticity of this piece of information.

128.Duk Gunung Bangur [Batur] mtu api, korugan ikang danu mwanng umah angili ikang wong Batur ana malih ikang gunung, ring dina Anggara Wage, wara Sungsang titi tanggal ping 9, sasih ke 9, rah 6, tenggek windu, rasa sunya pandita wani, 1706.

Gunung Batur spits fire, burying the lake and houses; afraid, the people of Batur move away from that mountain, on Tuesday Wage, in the week Sungsang, the 9th day of February/March 1784.

*The calendaric elements are not internally consistent.

129. Alah Gusti Agung Gde Lebah jong pura wetan rinusak dene Gusti Ayu Oka, Gusti Agung Putu Agung ring Mangwi ring dina Sukra Pon wara Tamber, pang ping 4, sasih ke 9, rah 8, tenggek 1, arupa wani pandita tunggal, 1714.

Defeat of Gusti Agung Gde Lebah at the front of the Eastern Temple, by Gusti Ayu Oka and Gusti Agung Putu Agung of Mengwi, on Friday Pon in the week Tamber, in the 4th day of the waning moon, February/March 1792.

*The elements for dating are not internally consistent. But the text also gives the alternative date “year 8 – decade 1”, which indicates 1718 Saka = 1796/97 A.D. If the true year is indeed 1718, all the data would fit at March 18 1797. A king called Gusti Agung Putu Agung is mentioned in a text called *Kidung Nderet* as flourishing in about this time (in the Mengwi genealogies, he is otherwise known as Gusti Agung Ngurah Made Agung). Gusti Ayu Oka was his grandmother, the widow of a former king, and was the dominant ruler in Mengwi from the death of her husband c.1780 until 1807 (Schulte Nordholt 1996:87-91).

130. Babad linan I Dewagung Putra ring Blahpane, ingamuk dening wong Tamanbali katikelaning wot, 1722.

Death of Dewa Agung Putra in Blahpane, from an amuck attack by the people of Tamanbali, the hanging bridge breaking down, 1800.

*The background to this event is related in the *Babad Ksatria Tamanbali* (Sueta 1993). A war arose between the petty realms Tamanbali and Bangli, where Tamanbali was supported by Gianyar and Klungkung. At first the Tamanbali ruler Dewa Gede Raka was successful, entering Bangli with his troops. However, the followers of the Bangli ruler made a desperate amuck sortie from the Pura Kehen temple and successfully put Tamanbali to flight. Bangli soldiers burnt the residence of Dewa Gede Raka, who believed that Gianyar had committed this deed, and that he had been tricked into the war by Gianyar and Klungkung. The king of Klungkung, Dewa Agung Putra I, had arrived to the Tamanbali region in order to meet with the Gianyar ruler. The Tamanbali troops, suspecting treason, violently attacked the troops of Dewa Agung Putra, which had not expected to fight. Taken by complete surprise the Klungkung soldiers withdrew over a bamboo bridge at Blahpane that suddenly broke down when Tamanbali soldiers cut the ropes that held it together. The Dewa Agung was killed by the pursuing enemy. The date for this event is usually given as 1809 in the various textbooks. The original source of this statement seems to be the not always reliable Rutger van Eck (1878-80). That the date 1800 for Dewa Agung's death is too early is seen, however, from a letter that he sent

to Batavia in 1802. Cf. Korn 4:42.

131. Babad pagbug Walanda saking Badung ka Sibang raris surya awan udan sari-sari awyataro dawuh ro, mwah atmeja kadi dangu, isaka 1724.

Striking of the Dutch from Badung to Sibang; after the sun, rainclouds give sounds of explosions in the second hour; and it is radiating as formerly, 1802.

*Seems to be the affairs of Van der Wahl on Bali in 1809. This Dutch military undertook a diplomatic offensive on the island, in the process supporting Badung in a war against Mengwi, where Sibang was situated (Schulte Nordholt 1996:95). Once again the date is slightly incorrect.

132. Duk udan lebu, kweh yasa gung alit pada rubuh, mwah wreksa kayu kweh pukah puh, andakara ikang rat, dining lebu mleka atpi rakta saking Tolangkir ring dina Anggara Umanis wara Landep tanggal 1, sasih 10, rah 4, tunggal 5, isaka 1742.

Rain of ashes; much splendour, be it big or small, all the same, collapse; and of the wood, much is broken in parts; darkness in the world because of the ash spread from the red edge of the Tolangkir [Gunung Agung], on Tuesday Umanis, in the week Landep, in the first day of March/April 1820.

*The calendric elements are not internally consistent. If the 10th month is an error for the 1st month, we would have 13 June 1820. Could it be the eruption of the Gunung Agung which is said to have taken place in 1821 in uncertain Dutch reports?

133. Mwah blabur toya Ayunge, ngrebek awungane ring Waringin pitu dawuh desa Mambale, akweh sila geng keli sinregeng toya, ilang tan karwwan lakunya, ikang toya kang neriti lakunya anyreg pandane ring Balungbungan dadi ta awor toya Ayung ika, lan toya Padanglwah, pjah sakweting iwak sahaneng toya, asangi ambenya, ring dina Buda wage wara Pekir, tanggal ping 9, sasih ra tenggek kadi arep, isaka 1742.

And a flooding of the Ayung River, bruising at the tunnel of the Seven Waringin, at the village of Mambal; many big stones are carried with the current; the river vanishes, not fixed is the way; the river goes the south-west way, locked by pandan trees at Balungbungan; the Ayung River becomes mixed with the Padanglwah River; death of many fishes in all the rivers; there is a smell of fire, 21 June 1820.

*Balungbungan is perhaps Blungbang a few kilometers to the west of Mambal and the Ayung River. These places are situated in the heartland of the old Mengwi kingdom. The information seems to be related to the preceding entry, as the misfortunes described might result from volcanic activity. The assumption that the month in entry 132 is really the 1st rather than 10th is therefore greatly strengthened.

134. Duka alah caturpaminggir ring Mengwi 175X.

Defeat of the four border areas of Mengwi, 1828/37.

*Mengwi was totally defeated and annexed to Badung in 1823. In 1828 it succeeded in regaining its independence under the old dynasty. Badung finally had to give up its attempts to dominate it by 1831. However, the court was divided in factions, leading to the killing of the king in 1836 (Schulte Nordholt 1996:112-8). It is hard to say exactly what dramatic event is alluded to here.

135. Duk kesah Gusti Ktut Agung saking Mengwi, angungsi Klungkung ring dina dina Coma Umanis wara Watugunung, panglong ping 15, sasih ke 9, rah 2, tenggek 7, isaka 1757.

Gusti Ketut Agung withdraws from Mengwi, fleeing to Klungkung, on the day Monday Umanis, in the week Watugunung, the 15th day of the waning moon, February/March 1835.

*The calendrical elements are not internally consistent. The life of the Mengwi prince Gusti Ketut Agung was threatened by his brother, Gusti Agung Ngurah Made Agung Putra, the ruling king. The boy was taken by a faithful servant to Klungkung where he was given shelter by the Dewa Agung (Schulte Nordholt 1996:14).

136. Rawuh Gusti Ktut Agung saking Klungkung putran Gusti Ngurah Made Agung uruju, ibu saking Kapal kanginan, putra pamade ibu saking Kapal Muncan, sira andiri ring Mengwi, wawu kalih tawun pandirinira ring Mengwi, tka Gusti seruju saking Klungkung ring dina Wrahapati umanis, wara Begu, tanggal ping 8, sasih ke 2, tenggek 7, ring wus tutug asya tawun, angwangun kali ri mangun kali ring Mangwi, muktah Gusti Agung Made Agung ayuda ring Kawula Munggu, ring sawah Klaci, tinilar dening babecik ira kabeh angulon paranya, ring dina Sukra wage wara Wayang, sasih ke 9, panglong ping 4, rah 3, tenggek 7, babadnya naga sanjata pandita ngandang, 1758.

Arrival of Gusti Ketut Agung from Klungkung, the eldest son of Gusti Ngurah Made Agung, his mother being from Kapal Kanginan. The second son has a mother from Kapal Muncan. He has been alone in Mengwi; for two years now has he been at himself in Mengwi. The coming of the elder Gusti from Klungkung takes place on Thursday Umanis, in the week Begu, the 8th day of July/August, the 7th decade; it happens in the beginning of the year. There comes the time of attack in Mengwi. Gusti Agung Made Agung dies from the weapons of the servants of Munggu, in the sawahs of Klaci, as he is betrayed by all good men, to the west, on Friday Wage, in the week Wayang, February/March, the 4th day of the waning moon, 1836 [1837].

*Gusti Agung Ngurah Made Agung Putra of Mengwi was murdered in 1836, succeeded by his brother Gusti Agung Ketut Agung Besakih, 1836-1850/55 (Schulte Nordholt 1996:118). The calendrical elements are not internally consistent.

137. Babad Sakinan, gunung mangalih gwa 929.

Sakinan, 1007.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:104; Korn 4:34; Korn 5:63; Babad Tusan:25; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:28; Pangrincik Babad:32; Pawawatekan:42.

138. Babad kawon Batanjruk, 1080.

Defeat of Batanjruk, 1158.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:62; Babad Bhumi:44; Babad Bhumi:106; Korn 3:20; Korn 4:21; Korn 5:40; Babad Tusan:18; Pangrincik Babad:17; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:12; Pawawatekan:35.

139. Peling Gusti Agung Made Putra, mantuk ke Mengwi dina Buda umanis wara Julungwangi, panglong 11, sasih 3, isaka 1758.

The time when Gusti Agung Made Putra enters Mengwi, on 7 September 1836.

*This is the same Mengwi ruler who was murdered half a year later (see entry No. 136). This is one of the few exact dates in the *Babad Bhumi* that is internally consistent.

Sasih, nabhi, medi, selit, wuntut, wunwunan, wak, suta, rare cili pandulu watek tunggal. Buja manangrening ula, witalakarnna anambat watek 2. -Bahni paweka seki dahana jata mya, guna, trini, meu, bhujola, nawut, kaya, watek 3. -Sagara kreti suti er susu kadier pasucen. -Wrana we wnanng, diwa awahana, dik banyuning jambe, yuga danta pat, 4.

*Explains the numeric value of some chronogram words.

140. Babad rusak Buleleng isaka watu ring jangga yuganing bramara.

Collapse of Buleleng, 1846.

*The year 1846 saw the temporary defeat of the Buleleng kingdom at the hands of a Dutch military expedition. The actual collapse of Buleleng through the 3rd Dutch expedition took place in 1849. The same erroneous date can be found in the Babad Buleleng (Worsley 1972:199). The western-style dating (the year is not given in Saka) betrays some acquaintance with European culture on the part of the compiler. Cf. Korn 5:69; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:27; Anjang Nirartha:11.

141. Babad rusak Banjar, isaka astityeng bhuta naga prabhu, isaka Blanda.

Collapse of Banjar, 1858 in Dutch years.

*Should be: 1868. In that year, a Dutch expedition succeeded in defeating the Brahmana leader of Banjar (-Ambengan) in western Buleleng, after having first suffered

several reverses (Rubinstein 1996). Cf. Korn 5:71.

142. Babad rusak Payangan, isaka candra dri kumbang dwipa, isaka Bali.

Collapse of Payangan, 1768 [?] in Balinese years [?1846 A.D.].

*Payangan was defeated and annexed by Buleleng in 1843, whereby the ksatria lord of that place lost his life (Bloemen Waanders 1868). The numerical value of “dri” (from wanadri, border?) is not quite clear.

143. Isaka 170, Bhatara Bayu, a trimaharaja Bhima ngamel jagate ring Bali, malinggih ring Gunung Lempuyang, maparab Sri Jaya Sakti isaka 172.

In the year 248, Bhatara Bayu, trimaharaja Bhima takes hold of the land of Bali, taking seat at Gunung Lempuyang; he is called Sri Jaya Sakti, 250.

*Bhatara Bayu means the Deity of the Wind. The Mahabharata says that the hero Bhima was the son of this god. He is here identified with the historical ruler Jaya Sakti. King Jaya Sakti is one of the few pre-Majapahit kings remembered in late tradition. He actually flourished in 1133-1150, and part of the information of the entry is clearly taken from an inscription preserved in the village Bantiran, which was issued in the name of Jaya Sakti in Saka 1[0]72 (1150 A.D.). It is highly interesting, of course, to note that ancient inscriptions could be used occasionally for the compilation of late “historical” texts. Jaya Sakti is said in later tradition to have been sent to Bali by his father. The kingdom of Kadiri flourished on Java at this time, and the father in question may have been a king of that realm. Jaya Sakti and several of his successors have names with the element ‘jaya’ (victory) in them, just like some Kadiri kings (Jayabhaya etc). Lempuyang is a mountain in Karangasem (1058 m); on the top is Pura Lempuyang, one of the Sad Kahyangan, the six main temples of Bali.

144. Rawuh Bhatara Brahma taler malinggih irika; Ida Sri Jaya Sakti manggingsir malunggul ring Bantiran raris Ida nangkil ke Jawi ka Gunung Jambe dwipa, nurias paswara kreta jagate ring Bantiran isaka 212.

Arrival of Bhatara Brahma, also taking place there; Ida Sri Jaya Sakti moves away, taking place in Bantiran; afterwards Ida appears in Java, at Mount Jambedwipa, inscribing the regulations of the world carriage in Bantiran, 290.

*Bantiran is situated in northernmost Tabanan, in the mountain area close to the Buleleng border. It (or another Bantiran?) is mentioned as a village already in an Old Balinese inscription from 1001 A.D. (Goris 1954 II:154-7). As hinted at in the foregoing entry, the author of the list has got the name from the Bantiran inscription of Jaya Sakti issued in 1150. Jambedwipa should be read Jambudwipa; it is mentioned in the Javano-Balinese literature as abode of the gods, but it is also a name for the Indian subcontinent, or to be more exact North India. In the *Usana Jawa* it is a part of the Majapahit realm (Berg 1927:110).

145. Raris ngawangun dewa sanggah Purnakan, dewa prarem ring desa-desa, isaka 213, puput makarya padarmma ring gunung-gunung, duk punika sastra Hindu.

Afterwards, the god of the family temple Purnakan takes shape; the god attends meetings in the villages, 291, which results in the performance of the religious law in the mountains; that is the time of the Hindu teaching.

*The location of this Purnakan temple is not known to me.

KORN 1 (KORN COLLECTION 435:240).

The administrator and scholar Victor Korn (1.7.1892-25.6.1969) collected a tremendous amount of materials on various aspects of Balinese life. Much of this is kept in the Archive of the KITLV, Leiden. Included are administrative papers, texts on adat, religion, genealogy, and history. In No. 240 he has collected a number of chronograms from various sources. These were, at least in part, collected in the early 1920s. The first of the lists need not concern us here, as they reproduce the candrasangkalas found in *Nagarakertagama* and *Pararaton*. Two other lists reproduce portions of the dates otherwise found in the *Babad Bhumi*. The remaining lists have here for convenience been entitled *Korn 1-5*. The first list, "*Korn 1*", also exists in a rather different version that is preserved in the Leiden collection of H.N. van der Tuuk that was brought together in the period 1870-94; there, it is called *Pasasangkalan*. A comparison between the two variants shows that the list originally consisted of the dates 1-81. It is divided in three layers: one on ancient history, one on Majapahit history, and one on early-modern events, which are exactly dated and probably accurate. It may have been compiled in 1711, the date of the pangelingeling entry No. 81. Nos. 82-95 appear to be later additions.

Punika penget pasangkalan, keni maturan ring lontar sasuratan Jro Sengguhu Sudanta, manawi inanipun saking Dr. H.N. van der Tuuk.

This is the penget pasangkalan, as given in a lontar text of Jro Sengguhu Sudanta; perhaps his mothertext comes from Dr. H.N. van derTuuk.

1. Duk babad ing kukube, kembang tumuwuh ring gumi, 116.

Time of the story of the territory, 194.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:19.

2. Duk babad ing Sadene, ron kali ring lemah, 101.

Time of the story of Sadene, 179.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:21.

3. Duk awangun kabuyutan ring Rabut Kalian, untu lenging silit, 197.

Time of construction of the holy place of Rabut Kalian, 275.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:22.

4. Duk angalahaken satru ring Segara, rubuh waringin sawit, 190.

Time of defeat of the enemy at the Ocean, 268.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:23.

5. Duk angwangun kabuyutan ring Rabut Nayah, netra gajah wang, 182.

Time of construction of the holy place of Rabut Nayah, 260.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:24.

6. Duk angwangun kabuyutan ring Rabut Gunung Wala Wulung, pustaka tan patulis, 505.

Time of construction of the holy place of the sanctuary of the Wala Wulung mountain, 583.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:25, which has “Wala Wulu” instead. The only similar name known to me is Bala Bulo, a district on Selayar Island south of Sulawesi.

7. Duk angwangun kabuyutan ring Kadiri Bali ring Java, sirna tirahing bumi, 110.

Time of construction of the holy place of Kadiri Bali in Java, 188.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:26.

8. Duk angalahaken negara Tatar, mari bumi lawas, 110.

Time of defeating the land of Tatar, 188.

*Tatar refers to the Mongols who invaded Java in 1293, and who are spoken of in various Old Javanese and Javano-Balinese texts. By extension, the name may be taken to denote China.

9. Duk angalahaken ring bumi Malayu, tirahing bumi anyar, 111.

Time of defeating the land of Malayu, 189.

*Malayu could be the lands of the Malays; it is also an ancient name of Jambi, one of the capitals of Sriwijaya. Cf. Pasasangkalan:28.

10. Duk angalahaken ring bumi Samudra, buda paksa ratu, 121

Time of defeating the land of Samudra, 199.

*Samudra is on one hand the earliest Muslim kingdom in Sumatra, also known as

Pasai (c.1270-1523), and on the other hand Sumatra itself. Cf. Pasasangkalan:29.

11. Duk angalahaken Nusa Tambini, wadon nora lanang, 101.

Time of defeating the island of Tambini, 179.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan 30. One may also compare a Javanese list, where the establishment of Nusa Tambini is put at 10 Saka (88 A.D.) (Raffles 1817:231). The Usana Jawa mentions Nusa Tambini as a vassal under Majapahit in the south. A place of that name is assumed to have existed in Dore, New Guinea.

12. Duk angalahaken nagara Blangbangan, kuda muni tunggal, 177.

Time of defeating the land of Blangbangan, 255.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:31.

13. Duk angalahaken bumi Sunda, nora paksa rata, 120.

Time of defeating the land of Sunda, 198.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:32.

14. Duk angalahaken Nusa Kambangan (Bali), anunggung prabu watu, 177.

Time of defeating Nusa Kambangan (Bali), 255.

*The name Nusa Kambangan for Bali occurs sometimes in Javanese texts, for example in the Babad Tanah Jawi (1987:393). Cf. Pasasangkalan:33.

15. Duk angalahaken Nusa Parijata (pulo Bangka), nora katon bumi, 120.

Time of defeating the island of Parijata (the Island of Bangka), 198.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:34.

16. Duk angalahaken Nusa Bawi, aleng mati siji, 109.

Time of defeating the Bawi Island, 187.

*Pulu Babian, the Pig Island; Bawean of modern maps. Cf. Pasasangkalan:35.

17. Duk ngwungun kabuyutan ring Nusa Barong, mati pring sawit, 130.

Time of construction of the holy place at the Barong Island, 208.

*Nusa Barong is a rocky island outside the Javanese Puger Bay. It was inhabited by fishers and smugglers until 1776 (*Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië* I 1917:172). Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:37. See also the Javanese list of dates reproduced in Raffles' *History of Java* (1817 II:231): establishment of Nusa Barong in 10 (88 A.D.).

18. Duk ngwangun kabuyutan ring Medang, catur mukaning wang, 194.

Time of construction of the holy place at Medang, 272.

*Medang is an ancient kingdom shrouded in myth and legend. The Chinese geographer Zhao Rugua mentions "Madong" as a Javanese province in the 13th century (Coedès 1964:340). Also, an island off the coast of East Sumatra bears this name. Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:38.

19. Duk ngwangun kabuyutan ring Rabut Parung, ratu murti tinggal, 181.

Time of construction of the holy place of the Parung sanctuary, 259.

*A district called Parung is situated in the Bogor area, on Java. The *Nagarakertagama* mentions a Buddhist shrine of that name (Robson 1995:81). Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:39.

20. Duk ngwangun kabuyutan ring Rabut Pwadah, sanga uwaya wani, 191.

Time of construction of the holy place at the Pwadah sanctuary, 269.

*Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:40, which has "Rabut Phalah" instead, which is a well-known sanctuary from Majapahit history.

21. Duk ngwangun kabuyutan ring re nini Tulis, rasa ning pangga janma, 131.

Time of construction of the holy place at the sanctuary of Tulis, 209.

*The *Nagarakertagama* mentions a Buddhist establishment called Lemah Tulis (Robson 1995:80). Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:42.

22. Duk ngwangun kabuyutan ring Rabut Sima, rare mucung sdah, 131.

Time of construction of the holy place at the Sima sanctuary, 209.

*The Sima sanctuary is mentioned in the *Nagarakertagama* (Robson 1995:81). Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:43.

23. Duk ngwangun kabuyutan ring re nini Ngurantang, nora silumaning netra, 200.

Time of construction of the holy place at the Ngurantang sanctuary, 278.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:44.

24. Duk ngwangun kabuyutan ring Rabut Jauta, pusering segara tunggal, 141.

Time of construction of the holy place at the Jauta sanctuary, 219.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:45, that has Dhauta instead.

25. Duk ngwangun kabuyutan ring Rabut Pangawan, dewa amariksa bumi, 119.

Time of construction of the holy place of the Pangawan sanctuary, 197.

*A deity called Bhatara Pangawan occurs in Javano-Balinese mythology (Pigeaud 1968:598). The *Nagarakertagama* mentions a sanctuary of that name (Robson 1995:81). Cf. Pasasangkalan:46.

26. Duk ana woh [wah?] agung ring Bangawan Lor, bau suku roro, 222.

Time of the great fruit [change?] at Bangawan Lor, 300.

*Bangawan is the name of a river in the spiritual world (Van der Tuuk IV 1912:1080). It is also a real river flowing through Central and East Java. In this and the following entries the name is mentioned in various variants. Cf. Pasasangkalan:47.

27. Duk ana balubur agung ring Bangawan Tulu, lumbung keli roro, 209.

Time of a great flood at the Bangawan Tulu, 287.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:49.

28. Duk ana wah agung ring Bangawan Kidul, jun kebek ring bau, 239.

Time of great change of the Bangawan Kidul, 317.

*Kidul means southern. Cf. Pasasangkalan:48.

29. Duk ana balabur agung ring Bangawan Ranggu, balabang keli katon, 200.

Time of a great flood at the Bangawan Ranggu, 278.

*Perhaps this should be Bangawan Cangu, a name well known to Balinese mythical geography. Cf. Pasasangkalan:50.

30. Duk ana balabur agung ring Bangawan Siwalan, miber tan paelar, 200.

Time of a great flood at the Bangawan Siwalan, 278.

*Siwalan is a species of palmtree. Cf. Pasasangkalan:52.

31. Duk ana wah agung ring Bangawan Melayu, sumber mili pindo, 244.

Time when there is a great change of the Bangawan Melayu, 322.

*The “Malay Bangawan”. Cf. Pasasangkalan:53.

32. Duk ana untur ring Gunung Lawu, lawang kumureb ring bahni, 309.

Time of eruption of Gunung Lawu, 387.

*A Javanese volcano between Solo and Madiun, 3265 meters. Cf. Pasasangkalan:54. In Javanese year-lists, we have the establishment of Gunung Lawu at 94 = 172 A.D. (Raffles 1817:231).

33. Duk ana untur ring Gunung Ranu, --- 352.

Time of eruption of Gunung Ranu, 430.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:55, which has “Rabhu” rather than Ranu..

34. Duk angalahaken ring negara Dampo, pandita ratu ajata, 317.

Defeat of the kingdom of Dampo, 395.

*Dampo, or Dompou, is a place in East Sumbawa, until 1955 the centre of a local kingdom. This kingdom is mentioned already in the Old Javanese texts *Nagarakertagama* and *Pararaton*, from which much of the geographic knowledge of the compiler may derive. Cf. Pasasangkalan:56.

35. Duk bentar ring Gunung Kawi, brahmana bisa ngidung, 128 [188?].

Time of the height of Gunung Kawi. 206 [266?].

*A Javanese volcano between Pasuruan and Kediri, with Hindu remains nearby. Cf. Pasasangkalan:57.

36. Duk makeplug Gunung Kawurungan, buta siwa angweda, 395.

Time of eruption of Gunung Kawurungan, 473.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:58.

37. Duk ambeledos Gunung Brahma, geni muruh papayung, 231.

Time of eruption of Gunung Brahma, 309.

*Gunung Brahma, or Bromo, is a wellknown Javanese volcano in theTengger area. Cf. Pasasangkalan:59. Compare the list in Raffles' *History of Java* (1817 II:231): establishment of Gunung Bromo in 50 (128 A.D.).

38. Duk angwangun kabuyutan ring Rabut Jabol, lumbeng isi ganitri, 327.

Time of construction of the holy place of Rabut Jabol, 405.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:60.

39. Duk balabur ring Luah Sarayu, purusa paksa tirta, 421.

Time of flooding of the Sarayu River, 499.

*The Sarayu River is drawn from Indian legend. It is mentioned in Javanese wayang stories about Bhima, the hero from the *Mahabharata* (Pigeaud 1968:680). Cf. Pasasangkalan:61.

40. Duk angalahaken ring Nusa Doon, buta nora aksi, 205.

Time of defeat of the Isle of Doon, 283.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:62, which has "Dahon" rather than Doon. The name seems to mean "The Leaf Island". A Pulau Daon is found close to Bangka in western Indonesia.

41. Duk angwangon kabuyutan ring Mandara Giri, duwa paksa ring banyu, 429.

Time of construction of the holy place at Mandara Giri, 507.

*Giri means mountain. The sacred Mt. Mandara is mentioned in mythological texts like the *Arjunawijaya* (Supomo 1977:188). From this mountain the gods and demons churned the Ocean of Milk. The name Mandala Giri occurs in an Old Javanese text of incantations, probably composed on East Java in the 16th century (Pigeaud 1968:474). Cf. Pasasangkalan:63.

42. Duk baledosing Gunung Mandalika, sagara gunung sagara, 474.

Time of eruption of Gunung Mandalika, 552.

*The name Mandalika has various meanings, none of which is associated with a mountain. It is a kind of tree, but also the lord of a mandala in ancient India. A naga Mandalika is mentioned in a Javanese wayang play concerning the mythical hero Bhima

(Pigeaud 1968:681). Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:64.

43. Duk ngwangun kabuyutan ring Rabut Pasajen, gunung sagara gunung, 747.

Time of construction of the holy place at Rabut Pasajen, 825.

*A Buddhist shrine of that name occurs in the *Nagarakertagama* (Robson 1995:81). Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:65.

44. Duk angalahaken satru ring segara Bali, mili banyu jaladi, 440.

Time of defeat of the enemy at the Bali sea, 518.

*Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:66.

45. Duk aprang ring segara Bun, wang awisaya nulup, 951.

Time of waging war at the ocean of Bun, 1029.

*A village called Bun is situated east of the Ayung River, in the old Mengwi kingdom, far from the sea. It is difficult to see why an ocean should be named after this place. Cf. however *Pasasangkalan*:67 where the name is given as “Buhun”. Buhun is a place somewhere to the east of Java, which is mentioned in certain Javano-Balinese texts.

46. Duk ngalahaken bajag ring Gili Ketapang, wang sanga buta, 591.

Time of defeat of the pirates at the Islet of Ketapang, 669.

*There are several Indonesian places called Ketapang, one of them situated close to Banyuwangi, opposite West Bali. An islet of that name is unknown to me. Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:68

47. Duk suksukaning ring bayu laut, buta mati paksa, 205.

Time of the agent of the stormy sea, 283.

*Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:69, which is rather different.

48. Duk rugining Gunung Tanggahan, brahmana ngemban pustaka, 528.

Time of destruction of Gunung Tanggahan, 606.

*In the *Babad Gumi*:8, the shrine of Gunung Tunggal is mentioned under this same chronogram. Cf. further *Pasasangkalan*:70; *Pawawatekan*:47.

49. Duk baledos Gunung Tampara, gunung marga sara, 557.

Time of eruption of Gunung Tampara, 635.

*Is the volcano Tambora on Sumbawa meant? Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:71; *Pawawatekan*:45.

50. Duk ruing Gunung Bentar, sagara marga gunung, 754.

Time of destruction of Gunung Bentar, 832.

*Bentar is situated in Central Java, in the Cilacap regency. Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:72; *Pawawatekan*:46. The occurrence of the three entries Nos. 48-50 in the *Pawawatekan*:45-47 shows that there must be an influence of one list upon the other. Most probably the *Pawawatekan*, which in its present shape is probably late (second half of the 19th century), has made use of Korn 1 or a related text.

51. Duk angkatan perang murang kirim, paksa guna kaya wang, 1352 [1332?].

Time of departing for war, being opposed to the bringing of ashes of the dead to the sea, 1430 [1410?].

*Here starts a series of dates of the 13th and 14th Saka centuries, at least in part dealing with events in the Majapahit period. When comparing them to extant historical sources, it appears that they are rather imprecise. The compiler has not cared to search seriously for information in the old texts, but rather wishes to highlight the course of the world with a series of dates that are fictitious or sloppily recorded. Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:74, which is rather different in content.

52. Duk anuku Kauripan, tiba wang adagang wang, 1392.

Time of buying Kauripan, 1470.

*Also Kahuripan or Koripan. A well-known ancient kingdom south of Surabaya on Java. Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:75.

53. Duk baledosing Gunung Lamongan, siwala agung kalih siki, 1273.

Time of eruption of Gunung Lamongan, 1351.

*Lamongan is a relatively low but historically quite active volcano in the Pasuruan area on Java. Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:76.

54. Duk guntur Gunung Sanghyang Mahameru, welut mati pinanganging surya, 1303.

Time of eruption of Gunung Sanghyang Mahameru, 1381.

*The world mountain of Hindu mythology, identified with the famous Gunung Smeru on Java. Cf. Pasasangkalan:77, which has another date.

55. Duk ana katon bintang kukus mageng ring bumi Jawa, rasa naga ngemban ulan, 1276.

Time when a great comet is seen in the land of Java, 1354.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:78.

56. Duk gunturing Pamadangkungan, wedang sasi ur, 913.

Time of eruption of Pamadangkungan, 991.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:79.

57. Duk linanira Brahmana ring Tumapel, kaya singa katon ring bumi, 1293.

Time of decease of the Brahmana of Tumapel, 1371.

*Brahmana is an apparent mistake for the princely title Bhre. According to the *Pararaton*, a Bhre Tumapel died in 1386 A.D. (Brandes 1920:159). Cf. Pasasangkalan:80.

58. Duk linanira Seri Ayam Wuruk ring Majapait, sagara asat kayu ulan, 1304.

Time of decease of Seri Ayam Wuruk of Majapahit, 1382.

*According to the *Pararaton*, the famous Majapahit ruler Ayam Wuruk passed away in 1389 (Brandes 1920:160). Cf. Pasasangkalan:81.

59. Duk linanira Brahmana ring Mataun, sanga gagana kaya nabi, 1309.

Time of decease of the Brahmana of Mataun, 1387.

*The *Pararaton* mentions a Bhre Matahun who passed away in 1389 A.D. (Brandes 1920:160). Cf. Pasasangkalan:87.

60. Duk lintang kukus ring bumi Jawa, lintang katon kaya ulan, 1322.

Time of a comet at the land of Java, 1400.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:82.

61. Linanire Wekasing Sang Suka, mega katon kaya buda, 1320.

Decease of Wekasing Sang Suka, 1398.

*The *Pararaton* says that a prince called Wekasing Suka passed away in 1399 (Brandes 1920:176). The *Babad Gumi*:16 also says that the death of this person took place in 1399, while the *Pasasangkalan*:85 has 1398.

62. Duk linanire Bramana ring Pasurukan, karayana kinulub pinanganing wang, 1232.

Time of decease of the Brahmana of Pasurukan, 1310.

*Should be Bhre Paguhan, as apparent from *Pasasangkalan*:88. Two Majapahit princes of that name are known from the *Pararaton*: one passing away in 1389 and one in 1451 (Brandes 1920:160, 197).

63. Duk Sang Muksah ring Talagawaja, paksa kaya geni murub, 1332.

Time of He who Passed Away at Talagawaja, 1410.

*There is a Javano-Balinese incantation for enlightenment, under the name Talaga Dwaja (Pigeaud II 1968:314). A temple called Pura Telagawaja is found four kilometers north of Ubud. Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:90.

64. Duk linanira Sri Bramana ring Pandan Solas, angga buta geni murub, 1356.

Time of decease of the Brahmana of Pandan Solas, 1434.

*The *Pararaton* makes mention of Bhre Pandan Salas dying in c. 1433 (Brandes 1920:189) - or in 1441 according to the investigation of J. Noorduyn (1978). Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:86.

65. Duk linanira Sri Bramana ring Wengker, katon dewa kayeng prelagi, 1392 [1312?].

Time of decease of the Brahmana of Wengker, 1470 [1390].

*Bhre Wengker, the famous Majapahit prince who ruled the eastern portion of the empire, died according to the *Pararaton* in 1388. His area of rule included Bali, as apparent from epigraphic data (Brandes 1920:160; Goris 1954:45-46). Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:84.

66. Duk prang ring Kondogi, kaya buta aningali surya, 1253.

Time of warfare at Kondogi, 1331.

*One may compare the Sadeng war that is said to have raged at this same time, in 1331. Majapahit undertook a victorious campaign in East Java, which inaugurated the era of prominence of the minister Gajah Mada (Robson 1995:59). Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:1.

67. Duk prang ring Ketas, ti wisaya katoning wong, 1253.

Time of warfare at Ketas, 1331.

*Certainly an allusion to the Sadeng war of 1331. The *Nagarakertagama* says that a place called Keta was destroyed by the retinue of the ruling Majapahit queen, at the same time as Sadeng was defeated (Robson 1995:59). It is situated on East Java's northern coast, between Pajajaran and Panurukan. The *Nagarakertagama* seems to be the source of the compiler here. Cf. Pasasangkalan:2.

68. Duk prang ring Bali kaparang de Sang Arya Damar, buta angga anggondong wang, 1265.

Time of warfare at Bali, fought by Sang Arya Damar, 1343.

*The date must ultimately be taken from the *Nagarakertagama*, which mentions a Majapahit conquest of the island in 1343, right after the account of the Sadeng-Keta war (Robson 1995:59). It is also, probably, inspired by the legendary account of the *Usana Jawa*, where Arya Damar is one of the foremost leaders in the campaign to subdue Bali. See further Babad Gumi:14.

69. Duk prang ring Sunda, lebu awiku amawa tunggal, 1271.

Time of warfare at Sunda, 1349.

*The war where the patih Gajah Mada defeated and killed the Sunda ruler and his entourage is a well-known theme in Balinese kidung poetry. The *Pararaton* dates this event in 1357, though the chronogram in that text is indeed sometimes interpreted as 1271 = 1349 (Brandes 1920:157-58). Cf. Pasasangkalan:4.

70. Duk prang sang Pasung Grigis ka Sambawa dan Dampo, lantasi mati madedagan [madedagan?] kalawan sang raja Dedela ring Sambawa, celeng awiku suku tunggal, 1277.

Time of warfare, Sang Pasung Grigis going to Sambawa and Dampo, then he dies scornfully [?] opposing the king Dedela of Sambawa, 1355.

*The date is rather to read as 1279 (1357 A.D.). The background to this story is to be found in the chronicle *Babad Dalem*. Sang Pasung Grigis is the defeated Balinese king or regent who is employed by his new Majapahit masters to attack the demonic ruler Dedela in Sumbawa. In the ensuing fight, they are both killed. In the present entry, this is combined with the date 1357 in the *Pararaton*, for the conquest of Dampo in Sumbawa (Brandes 1920:158). Cf. Pasasangkalan:5.

71. Duk ana lindu mageng ring Jawa, tur akeh wong mati, katibaning lindu punika dening sarwa rebah, naga pitu amawa tunggal, 1278.

Time of great earthquake at Java, and many people die; as the earthquake occurs all is collapsing, 1356.

*The Pararaton mentions a great earthquake in Java in 1440 (or 1450) (Brandes 1920:197). Cf. Pasasangkalan:6.

72. Duk babading Bubat, tendas sinaut dadasaring wang, 1231.

Time of the story of Bubat, 1309.

*The battle of Bubat took place, according to the *Pararaton*, in 1357 (Brandes 1920:157-58). The Sunda king and his entourage, visiting Majapahit, performed a fight where they were killed by the forces of the Majapahit patih Gajah Mada. The conflict arose when it was realized that the king's daughter would become co-wife rather than consort of the Majapahit ruler. Cf. Pasasangkalan:7.

73. Duk sang prabu Ayam Wuruk, abiseka ratu, angwangun nyadnya agung ring Majapahit, majapahit pinanganing wang, 1231.

Time when His Majesty Ayam Wuruk stages a royal consecration ceremony; the making of a grand yadnya ceremony at Majapahit, 1309.

*1309 was the date of death of the founder of Majapahit, Raden Wijaya, and the consecration of his son Kalagemet. His grandson Ayam Wuruk actually took the throne in 1350 (Brandes 1920:157). Cf. Pasasangkalan:9.

74. Duk ideran ring Antahpura ring Majapahit, wang ayu kayu ulan, 1311.

Time of the vagrant of Antahpura at Majapahit, 1389.

*Antahpura was a sanctuary in the Majapahit palace, where a Jina-image of Raden Wijaya, the founder of Majapahit, was set up in 1309 (Robson 1995:58). 1389 was the year of death of his grandson Ayam Wuruk. Cf. Pasasangkalan:10.

75. Duk babading Balitar, tutunu grih sasi wah, 1103.

Time of the story of Balitar, 1181.

*A historical town in East Java. In the neighbourhood is the Panataran sanctuary, construction of which started in the late 12th century. Rather remarkably, there was a royal donation to the Yaring sanctuary near Balitar in this year 1181, as apparent from an inscription (Krom 1926:293). A coincidence? Cf. Pasasangkalan:11.

76. Duk Rahadian Sinom kabentaran ring sagarane raka ki kreta paksa ratu, 1248.

Time of Rahadian Sinom being destroyed at sea, 1326.

*Cf. Pasasangkalan:13.

77. Duk prang ring nagara Lamajang, jaraning brahmana katon ring puja, 1287.

Time of warfare in the kingdom of Lamajang, 1365.

*In the *Nagarakertagama*, a rebel called Nambi is defeated at Lamajang (Pajarakan), though this takes place earlier, in 1316. Cf. Pasasangkalan:14.

78. Duk rikalaning udan awu (masaning wang akeh mati katibanan geni ring Batur), ring dina Sukra Pon, wara Prangbakat, titi tanggal ping 8, sasih ka 8, isaka warsa pandita awani angge bumi, 1617.

Time of ash-rain, time when a lot of people die, struck by fire from Batur, at February 10 1695.

*The same information is found in *Babad Bhumi*:119; see further *Pasasangkalan*:15. Here begins a cluster of dates about events in Bali in relatively recent times. As the calendaric elements are internally more or less consistent, the dates are in all likelihood based on correct observations.

79. Duk masaning gunung Batur murub, geninia tiba mangetan katon ring ambara, raju ambaledos ring dina Friday Pon, wara Kurantil, titi tanggal ping 2, margi sira masa, isaka pandita angalih rasa tunggal, 1627.

Time of Gunung Batur, flames and fire occur, hot, seen in the sky, smoke is erupting, 1705 [recte October 12 1703].

*The chronogram word “pandita” has the value of seven. However, the parallel entry in the *Pasasangkalan*:16 has “pandawa” instead, indicating five (there were five Pandawa brothers in the *Mahabharata* epic). The calendric elements fit at 1703 but not at 1705.

80. Duk Pranda Sang Sinuhun Surya ring Banjar Kusa, ne kasebut Pranda Wruh akakasih Ida Ordangancala, duk Ida matelasan, ring dina Sori, Madura, wara Tolu, titi, Dasami, suklapaksa, Marga sira masa, isaka wisaya angalih rasa candra, 1625.

Time of Pranda Sang Sinuhun [the grand divine] Surya of Banjar Kusa; it is mentioned that Pranda Wruh befriends Ida Ordangancala; the time when Ida concludes it is on October 20 1703.

*Thus, this agreement between the two Brahmins took place just eight days after the Batur eruption; could there be a connection between the two events? Cf. *Pasasangkalan*:17, which is somewhat different.

81. Duk rikalaning bau mara maledos banyuedang ring Tulangkir, mili angaling sahing Tulangkir, tur amademang janma sahane ring desa Tulangkir dan saka wawengkan, telas kapademang antuk toyeedang punika wreh balabur agung, semalih kebus gamulak, watan desa sane padem janma punika antuk toyeedang punika ring desa Bukit, Caukcuk, Bantas, Kayuaya, Kayupetak, Tanjung, Rijasa, Mandala, rauh ring toya Getas, Pagametan patih agung, sani punika jron Punggawa, minakadi kratone ring Tulangkir, tur bale agunge irika ring Tulangkir mabiseka I Gusti Ngurah Baleagung, sentanan I Gusti Tan Kundur [Mundur], Wesya Majalangu, kari magantulan preputran anake agung tigang diri, rarude dados malinggih ring desa Pangaruhan, raris kawinastanan desa Kalipaksa, muah desa Kalisada desa Tukad Sumaga, wireh pecak seson anyudang kala kali, punika kasuratang antuk sang prabu ring Blangbangan, rusake punika rikala lemah, tengah ng'we, ring dina Surya Gni, wara Ugu, titi tanggal ping 3, Palguna masa, isaka siki guna karange awani, 1651 [recte 1633].

Time of a new eruption of hot water at Tolangkir. Chosing to watch it from Tolangkir; and there was destruction of all people at the desa of Tolangkir and also the district; finished, killed by hot water because of the great flood. Furthermore, the heat was violent. As for the names of the desas where people died from hot water: they were the desas of Bukit, Caukcuk [Carutcut], Bantas, Kayuaya, Kayupetak, Tanjung, Rijasa, Mandala, arriving at Toya Getas, Pagametan. The Grand Patih had a punggawa residence, thus made into a kingship at Tolangkir; and at the grand balé I Gusti Ngurah Baleagung was consecrated, the heir of I Gusti Tan Kundur [Mundur], the Wesia from Majalangu [Majapahit]. Remaining there, the three anak agungs ruled. Fleeing, they came to reside at the desa of Pangaruhan, then called desa Kalipaksa, and desa Kalisada and desa Tukad Sumaga. This is because there was formerly an eruption at the age of destruction, that was registered by the king of Balambangan; there was destruction in the daytime and in the middle of the night, at the day Sunfire, in the week Ugu, the third day of the waxing moon, in the month Palguna, 1729 [recte 1711].

*This entry is much more detailed than the corresponding passage in the *Pasasangkalan*:18, which also mentions activity of Gunung Agung in 1633 (1711). The same eruption is seemingly described in the *pangelingeling* of the *Babad Gumi*:77, which also mentions volcanic activity in [17]11. The calendaric elements can probably be reduced to 6 February 1711 (see further discussion in *Pasasangkalan*:18). The detailed data of this entry seems to point it out as a *pangelingeling*, a commemorative note. The list may then have been compiled in or about 1711, while the entries 82-95 have been added by a later pen, as seen through a comparison with the *Pasasangkalan*. Tan Kundur, or Tan Mundur, is one of the three Javanese Wesias who came to Bali at the time of the Majapahit governor Sri Aji Kresna Kepakistan. Together with the other two, Tan Kober and Tan Kawur, he made an attack on a number of rebellious Old Balinese villages from the west, thereby defeating the uprising in conjunction with the Ksatria Arya Gajah Para (Warna 1986:63). East Madurese tradition likewise knows of a Tankondor, a grandson of the legendary prince Banyak Wide (Werdisastra 1996). It would seem that the author of the *pangelingeling* tries to bind together old stories with the recent experience of a

volcanic eruption. The distribution of the place-names is enigmatic. Bukit, Carutcut (i.e. Sukadana), Bantas and Kayuaya are situated in northern Karangasem, and it is only these that are mentioned in the shorter version of the entry, in *Pasasangkalan*:18. The others seem to be situated in Buleleng as far as they can be identified. Kayupetak is present-day Kayuputih, Tanjung is perhaps to be read as Tunjung, Mandala is the place usually called Mendala, and Pagametan is a bay at the western part of Buleleng. Kalipaksa and Kalosada (rather than Kalisada) are also situated in West Buleleng. It seems unlikely that the places in Central and Western Buleleng could have been directly affected by mud streams from Gunung Agung, though they may indeed have been affected by smoke and ashes. An exaggeration or later embellishment?

82. Duk rikala balabur agung ring Buleleng Singaraja, akweh wong mati anyud uragan, ring dina Wintang Banyu, wara Sinti, titi treyodasi kresna paksa, cetra masa, saka amisaya kaya guruning ratu, 1735.

Time of great flood at Buleleng and Singaraja, a lot of people buried by the outflow, on the day Star-Water, in the week Sinti, the 13th day of February/March 1813.

*The calendrical elements do not seem to fit. One may think about the great mud flow in Central Buleleng, which occurred in 1815, but this took place in another month, in November.

83. Rikalaning ane lindu mageng ring Bali, ping tri sapati, ring sawegung, ring dina Buda Paing, wara Wariga, titi suklapaksa ping 12, sasih Jyesta, isaka 1809.

Time of great earthquake at Bali, three times in the pati day, in one evening, in the day Wednesday Paing, in the week Wariga, the 12 th day of Jyestha [April/May] 1887.

84. Wangbang Widea, puput sinurat ring Buda Kliwon, Gumbreg, sasih 4, rah 8, tenggek 7, isaka 1687, duking Sangsite kaon, muah Buleleng tekaning Sangket, muah Patemon, antuk I Karangasem; wawu adasa temuang sor Sangsite saking K.asame lantasi balen de Nyoman Abyane puwun, muah jron Gusti Ktut Padang, Gusti Wayan Alas, Gusti Nyoman Bangli, Gusti Wayan Blayu, muah I Segara Gunung, sami ne puhun tekaning umah wang jabane, kehnyane 48 kuren, duk puwun punika, Buda Kliwon, wara Ugu, tanggal 3, sasih ka 4, rah 8, tenggek 7.

Wangbang Widea, the writing of which was finished on 28 November [?] 1765, at the time when Sangsit was defeated; and also Buleleng until Sangket, and furthermore Patemon, by I Karangasem. Ten years later, again Sangsit was burnt by the army from Karangasem under Nyoman Abyan; and so were the residences of Gusti Ketut Padang, Gusti Wayan Alas, Gusti Nyoman Bangli, Gusti Wayan Blayu and I Segara Gunung, together with houses of jabas, a number of 48 households; the time when they were burnt was on 18 September 1765.

*A pangelingeling originally appended to a manuscript of the Panji novel *Wangbang Widea* (Robson 1971:53). It seems to depict one stage of the subjugation of

Buleleng at the hands of the East Balinese kingdom of Karangasem. The information is confirmed by English and Dutch reports, showing that the Karangasem ruler occupied Buleleng by 1766 and 1768, respectively.

85. *Wargasari*, puput sinurut duk kabebeg maring Bungkulan antuk Landa, ring dina Wrehaspati Pon, wara Uye, tanggal 8, sasih Sada, rah 0, tenggek 7, isaka 1770 Walanda ngebug Jagaraga.

Wargasari, the writing of which was finished at the time of subjugation of Bungkulan by the Dutch, on 5 June 1848, the Dutch striking against Jagaraga.

**Wargasari* is a tale of a wandering student: see entry No. 91 below. The "writing" was apparently an act of copying rather than composition. The other information refers to the 2nd Dutch expedition to Buleleng. The colonial fleet arrived at the roadstead of Buleleng on 4 June 1848. A landing was effected on 7 June, and the next day Bungkulan was occupied. In their subsequent attempt to overcome the Balinese defences at Jagaraga, the Dutch army was badly mauled, and had to withdraw. Cf. Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:28; Anjang Nirartha:12.

86. I Gusti Ngurah Ktut Jlantik, sadawege ke kapal ring dina Anggara Pon, wara Mrakih, panglong 11, sasih ka 1, rah 4, tenggek 9, isaka 1794 inucap ring Wariga druwe I Gusti Ngurah Ktut Jlantik lalawasan sampun ical.

I Gusti Ngurah Ketut Jelantik ventures to go to the ship on 2 July 1872; in the week Wariga the crime is reported, I Gusti Ngurah Ketut Jelantik having disappeared since long.

*In 1872, the Dutch colonial authorities made an end to the Buleleng kingdom, taking the last king aboard a ship for further transport to Padang on Sumatra (Schulte Nordholt 1996:171). Cf. Korn 5:73.

87. Babad kidung Kundang Dia, wah watu gunung, 777.

Kidung Kundang Dia, 855.

*Here starts a list of nine kidungs known in Balinese literary circles. The dates are apparently fictitious for the most part, as they seem to be improbably early. The *Kundang Dia* is a romance in macapat metre, which is assumed to be rather late (Pigeaud I 1967:211). Cf. Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:34; Pangrincik Babad:36.

88. Babad kidung Guar-gair, sanga paksa wiku, 729.

Kidung Guar-gair, 807.

**Guwar-gawir* is a poem on Raga Runting, an Old Javanese holy man (Pigeaud III 1970:356). Cf. Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:35.

89. Babad kidung Undakan Buana, darga nawa anrang, 755.

Kidung Undakan Buana, 833.

**Undakan Bandana* is a Javano-Balinese lyric poem (Pigeaud III 1970:420). It is probably what is meant here, as seen by a comparison with other lists. Cf. Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:36; Pangrincik Babad:39.

90. Babad kidung Mrete Masa, durga marga aput lemah, 1295.

Kidung Mrete Masa, 1373.

*According to the babad texts, *Mreta Masa* is a composition by Ida Telaga, one of the sons of the founder-Brahmin Nirartha (Warna 1986:87). Nirartha can be dated through one of his texts to 1537 A.D. (Vickers 1989:49). Perhaps the chronogram is corrupt; “aput” (in other lists ngapit) is maybe to be read as pat, four. 1573 as the year of composition would fit well with the other data at disposal. Cf. Korn 2:29; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:37; Pangrincik Babad:37.

91. Babad kidung Warge-sari, sodama narung sasih, 1212.

Kidung Warge-sari, 1290.

*A tale of a wandering student on Java, who finally succeeds in reaching Majapahit. It was composed in tengahan metre on Bali, probably in the 17th or 18th century (Pigeaud II 1968:167). Cf. Korn 2:28.

92. Babad kidung Manyura, kukunang narung sasih, 1215.

Kidung Manyura, 1293.

*This text has not been identified.

93. Babad kidung Undakan Pangrus, rupa rasa guna jala, 1361.

Kidung Undakan Pangrus, 1439.

*A Panji tale; a romance in tengahan metre (Pigeaud I 1967:209). Cf. Korn 2:25; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:39; Pawawatekan:51.

94. Babad kidung Wilet Manyura, jala dara ngemu warsa, 1514.

Kidung Wilet Manyura, 1592.

**Wilet Manyura* was reportedly written by Dauh Bale Agung, one of the foremost

officials in the Gelgel court in the 16th century (Warna 1986:81). He is said to have passed away some time after the death of his sons and grandsons in the Pande rebellion (1578 or somewhat later). The date is therefore not completely impossible, though it would presuppose that he composed the kidung at a rather advanced age. Cf. Korn 2:30; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:40; Pangrincik Babad:40.

95. Babad kidung Tembang Sih Tan Pegat, asta jama catur ulan, 1468.

Kidung Tembang Sih Tan Pegat, 1546.

*A text called *Wilet Sih Tan Pegat* is mentioned by the babad texts as having been composed by Ida Telaga, the son of Nirartha (Warna 1986:87). The date is therefore rather plausible. The chronogram word “jama” is perhaps a corruption of “gana”. Cf. Korn 2:27; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:41.

KORN 2 (COLLECTION V.E. KORN 435:240).

The next lists (Korn 2-3) are collectively called Kakawin Pasangkalan and have the following preface: “Peringat-peringatan ini terdapat dimana rontal-rontal bali kepunyaan mereka tersebut dibawah” (These reminiscences are obtained from Balinese lontars in the possession of those mentioned below). *Korn 2* is said to be derived from Ida Ketut Engkeg at Umahanyar Mambal, who is pekasih – a local irrigation official. It is apparently rather sloppily copied, which is a pity, for it contains a number of dates not found in any other list.

1. Duk prang Bali, purusa tulup guna, 351 [recte 391].

Time of war of Bali, 429 [recte 469].

*An apparent distortion of the entry found in many other lists, about a war waged by Bali in 1391 (1469 A.D.). Cf. Babad Gumi:19; Korn 3:25; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:8; Pawawatekan:28.

2. Duk kawon Kapal, kaya tulup guna ning wong, 1351 [recte 1393].

Time of defeat of Kapal, 1429 [recte 1471]

*Mostly dated in 1559 (Babad Gumi etc). The numerical value of the chronogram is without doubt 1-3-9-3. The chronogram “kaya tulup guna ning wong” is found also in the list Korn 5, where it is associated with the defeat of another place, Gerih. And furthermore, interestingly, it is found on a copperplate inscription from Selat (LOR 17.652), which pretends to detail regulations issued by the ruler Ratu Pakisan (Kresna Kepakistan?). As discussed above (Babad Bhumi:105), the inscription might be a late fake, but the lists confirm that this was a widely known chronogram, associated with various events. Cf. Babad Gumi:20; Korn 3:12; Korn 4:11; Korn 5:39; Babad Tusan:8; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:11; Pangrincik Babad:12; Pawawatekan:23; Pawawatekan:29.

3. Duk kawon Bungaya, bubuntut kajala sasih, 141.

Time of defeat of Bungaya, 219.

*Bungaya is situated in East Bali. In modern time it is still a traditional-style village with a way of life resembling the Baliaga village of Tenganan. In other lists the date is put at 1415 (1493 A.D.), at the same time as the defeat of Tenganan (See Korn 3:14). Cf. Korn 3:17; Korn 4:17; Korn 5:32; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:17; Pangrincik Babad:42; Pawawatekan:30.

4. Duk kawon Bany’wanyar, sanga wani kawahan watu, 1419.

Time of defeat of Banyuwangi, 1497.

*Babad Gumi:22; Korn 4:5; Korn 5:33; Babad Tusan:34; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:5; Pangrincik Babad:8.

5. Duk kawon Tarukan, catur bhuja gunaning wong, 1324.

Time of defeat of Tarukan, 1402.

*Otherwise dated in 1502 or 1522. Cf. Babad Gumi:21; Korn 3:18; Korn 4:18; Korn 5:34; Babad Tusan:15; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:18; Pawawatekan:31.

6. Duk kawon Ularan, sapta warna rini, 1447.

Time of defeat of Ularan, 1525.

*Ularan is the name of a place in North Bali mentioned in the *Usana Jawa* (17th or 18th century). When Majapahit invaded Bali, part of the invading force under Arya Damar attacked the local ruler Pasunggiri at Ularan. After heavy fighting, Arya Damar killed Pasunggiri, in violation to the instructions given by the Majapahit king, who had ordered to take him alive. The king showed great displeasure with Arya Damar's undertaking, in spite of the victory. Afterwards, the Majapahit ruler founded the royal seat of Gelgel, where he continued to rule after the fall of Majapahit itself. A related story is told in the *Babad Dalem*. The commander of the Gelgel king, Kiyayi Ularan, led a Balinese attack on Balambangan in the age of king Dalem Baturenggong. A version of the *Babad Dalem* (LOR 13.629) gives a candrasangkala for this event corresponding to the year 1548 (?). The king instructed Kiyayi Ularan not to disgrace the body of the Balambangan ruler, but the commander nevertheless cut off the ruler's head in the heat of the battle. He was banished from Gelgel for not obeying the exact instructions of the king (Berg 1927:111-14; 139-41). His descendants settled in North Bali, where his great-grandson was subjugated by Gusti Panji Sakti of Buleleng in the late 17th century. The origin-temple of the Ularan lineage is in the desa of Takmung, close to Gelgel (Soebandi 1998:141). One may ask if the defeat of Ularan as told in the *Usana Jawa* actually was a stage in the power expansion of Gelgel against the Old Balinese areas in the north and east of the island. If so the date 1525 is far from improbable. Cf. Korn 3:19; Korn 4:19; Korn 5:35; Babad Tusan:16; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:19; Pawawatekan:32.

7. Duk kawon Lab'wanjong, rasa rasa kaya wani, 1166.

Time of defeat of the ships' harbour, 1244.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:13; Korn 5:29; Pawawatekan:33.

8. Duk kawon Jambrana, naga nawut rupa tunggal, 1138.

Time of defeat of Jembrana, 1216.

*Otherwise always dated 1526. Cf. Babad Gumi:23; Babad Bhumi:40; Korn 3:10; Korn 4:7; Korn 5:36; Babad Tusan:4; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:6; Pangrincik Babad:9; Pawawatekan:20; Pawawatekan:34.

9. Duk kawon Pasdahan, geseng rasa kawahan wani, 1460.

Time of defeat of Pasuruan, 1538.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:1538.

10. Duk kawon Lombok, resi gana kawahan wani, 1437.

Time of defeat of Lombok, 1515.

*Perhaps a version of the chronogram found in some other lists, mentioning a war in Lombok in 1537 (1615 A.D.). Otherwise, the chronogram can as well be interpreted as 1467 (1545 A.D.), since gana mostly means 6 rather than 3. In the latter case, one may think about the subjugation of that island on the orders of Sunan Dalem of Giri on Java (d. 1546) (Suparman 1994; De Graaf & Pigeaud 1974:151-2).

11. Duk mati Ki Patih [?]ngga menak Prabali, brahmana ring tawang sadu rupa 1108.

Time of death of the lord patih; the bodies [?] of aristocrats and Prabalis, 1186.

*Maybe this alludes to the fall of the patih-usurper Anglurah Agung in 1686, which was accompanied by frightful manslaughter (De Graaf 1949). The chronogram word “sadu” might be a corruption of “sad”, six. Prabali is a high-status branch of the Sudra caste, being descendants of Wesia men who married Sudra women.

12. Yeh Unde, banyu angalih jurang, 924.

The Unda river, 1002.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:9; Korn 3:5; Korn 4:8; Korn 5:23; Babad Tusan:5; Babad Tusan:35; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:7; Pangrincik Babad:7; Pawawatekan:21.

13. Gunung Besakih, wak sasi wak, 111.

Gunung Besakih [Gunung Agung], 189.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:3; Babad Bhumi:37; Babad Bhumi:97; Korn 3:3; Korn 4:3; Korn 5:12; Babad Tusan:3; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:2; Pangrincik Babad:2; Pangrincik Babad:51; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:2; Pawawatekan:5.

14. Ring Tusan, pucung bolong, 99.

At Tusan, 177.

*Babad Gumi:1; Babad Bhumi:36; Babad Bhumi:95; Korn 3:2; Korn 5:10; Babad Tusan:1; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:1; Pangrincik Babad:1; Pawawatekan:18.

15. Blabur ring Bany'wanyar, wiku rasa wah bhumi, 1467.

Flood at Bany'wanyar, 1545.

*See commentaries at Babad Gumi:26.

16. Segara Rupek, segara nanggung bhumi, 124.

The Bali Strait, 202.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:5; Babad Bhumi:100; Korn 3:7; Korn 4:9; Korn 5:14; Babad Tusan:37; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:8; Pangrincik Babad:10; Pawawatekan:6.

17. Candi ring Buruwan, lawang angapit lawang, 929.

Candi at Buruwan, 1007.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:11; Korn 3:8; Korn 5:25; Babad Tusan:6; Babad Tusan:31; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:9; Pangrincik Babad:5; Pangrincik Babad:50; Pawawatekan:10; Pawawatekan:22.

18. Duk mur Sangamuter ring Bali, kumbang guna njala wong, 1436.

Time of death of the king of Bali, 1514.

*There is no possibility to determine the identity of this king. One could guess at, for example, Dalem Samprangan, who may have flourished in 1502. According to the Portuguese author Tomé Pires, writing in 1513, Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa had their own kings at the time (Cortesão 1944:201-02). The rule of Majapahit, to the extent that there really was such, had thus vanished by the early 16th century.

19. Duk sadasa [sadrasa?] ring Patembokan, resi winaya segara wong, 1467.

Time of a slave [sadrasa offering?] in Patembokan, 1545.

*The information of an offering ceremony (?) is unique for this list. The other lists mention a violent conflict in this year. Cf. Babad Gumi:27; Babad Bhumi:42; Korn 3:16; Korn 4:15; Korn 5:38; Babad Tusan:12; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:15; Pangrincik Babad:15; Pawawatekan:27.

20. Duk par'yangane ring Besakih tinujel dening wong edan, sabda purusu sastika wong, 1611.

Time of the sanctuary of Besakih burnt down by mad people, 1689

*Dated in 1089 in the *Babad Gumi* and other texts. Cf. Babad Gumi:12; Korn 4:23; Korn 5:26; Pangrincik Babad:19; Pawawatekan:36.

21. Duk mur Sangamuter ring Bali, brahmana wiwah bumi, 148.

Time of death of the king of Bali, 226.

*One could suspect that one chronogram word is missing. To determine or even guess at the identity of the deceased ruler is, of course, impossible.

22. Duk mur Kiyahi Ang'rampahi Kiyahi Sangguling duk akadaton ring Bali, bhuta angidering pustaka tumuwuh, 15X5.

Time of death of Kiyahi Ang'rampahi and Kiyahi Sangguling at the time of residing on Bali, 1583/1673.

*The value of the chronogram word angidering is unclear. Angideri, "go in circle", "encircle", "surround", "cage in" might be a synonym of windu, "circular time period", meaning zero, or of paksa, "compulsion", meaning two – if so, the year would be 1583 or 1603 A.D. The individuals mentioned are unknown to other available sources. Perhaps Sangguling is to be read as Saunggaling, a family that held high positions of the state in Badung, at least in the 19th century (Schulte Nordholt 1996:121).

23. Duk Gunung Daya rubut [rebut?] pamateni wong ak'weh, rasa guna banyuning wong 1536.

Time of Gunung Daya tearing away [?], killing many people, 1614.

*This event is otherwise dated 1612. Cf. Babad Bhumi:62; Babad Bhumi:109; Korn 5:52; Babad Tusan:24; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan 27; Pangrincik Babad:31.

24. Kidung Panji Marga Smara, masa windu-ta d'wirada nawung sitangsu 1806.

The kidung Panji Marga Smara, 1884.

*Panji Marga Smara is a Javano-Balinese lyric poem (Pigeaud II 1968:798).

25. Kidung Undakan Pangg'rus, rupa rasa guna janma, 1361.

Kidung Undakan Pangg'rus, 1439.

*Cf. Korn 1:93; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:39; Pawawatekan:51.

26. Kidung Manyura, kukunang anarung ulan, 111.

Kidung Manyura, 189.

*Cf. Korn 1:92.

27. Kidung Sih Tan P'gat, asta guna catur ulan, 1438.

Kidung Sih Tan P'gat, 1516.

*1546 in other versions. As for the chronogram words, guna, like jama in Korn 1:95, is perhaps a corruption of gana, which usually has the numerical value of six. Cf. Korn 1:95; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:41.

28. Kidung Wargasari, sodama anarong ulan, 111.

Kidung Wargasari, 189.

*In Korn 1:91, the date given is 1212 (1290 A.D.). In either case, the kidung is likely to have been composed very much later, in the Gelgel or Klungkung period.

29. Kidung Mertamasa, durga marga kapit l'wah, 1295.

Kidung Mertamasa, 1373.

*Cf. Korn 1:90; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:37; Pangrincik Babad:37.

30. Kidung Wilet-mangura, jaleda ang'mu warsa, 414.

Kidung Wilet Mangura [Manyura], 492.

*1592 in other lists. The chronogram word “[a]ngemu” should be interpreted as five rather than four, as seen by its usage in, for example, the *Pangrincik Babad*. Cf. Korn 1:94; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:40; Pangrincik Babad:40.

31. Gunung Mahameru, w'lut ang'lening nabi 198.

Gunung Mahameru, 276.

*Usually given as 193 =271 A.D. Cf. Babad Gumi:7; Babad Bhumi:101; Korn 3:13; Korn 4:12; Korn 5:16; Babad Tusan:9; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:12; Pangrincik Babad:6; Pasasangkalan:77; Pawawatekan:24.

32. Duk kawon Bali, bula [recte bhuta] angandung wong 135.

Time of defeat of Bali, 213.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:6; Babad Bhumi:41; Korn 3:15; Korn 3:23; Korn 4:14; Korn 5:15; Babad Tusan:11; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:14; Pangrincik Babad:14; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:4; Pawawatekan:4; Pawawatekan:26; Pawawatekan:60.

KORN 3 (COLLECTION V.E. KORN 435:240).

This list is said to derive from I Gusti Ngurah Rai di Gaji, punggawa in Kuta. It may have used the Pawawatekan as a source.

1. Babad Tulikap, turuk mengandang, 19.

Tulikap [Tulikup], 97.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:94.

2. Babad Tusan, pucong bolong, 19.

Tusan, 97.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:1; Babad Bhumi:36; Babad Bhumi:95; Korn 2:14; Korn 5:10; Babad Tusan:1; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:1; Pangrincik Babad 1; Pawawatekan:18.

3. Babad Gunung Agung, wak sasi wak, 111.

Gunung Agung, 189.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:3; Babad Bhumi:37; Babad Bhumi:97; Korn 2:13; Korn 4:3; Korn 5:12; Babad Tusan:3; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:2; Pangrincik Babad:2; Pangrincik Babad:51; Sasa Samuscaya Pakenca:2; Pawawatekan:5.

4. Babad Tampak'yang, geseng mama waka, 110.

Tampak'yang, 188.

*Babad Gumi:2; Babad Bhumi:38; Babad Bhumi:96; Korn 3:4; Korn 4:2; Korn 5:11; Babad Tusan:2; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:3; Pangrincik Babad:3; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:1; Pawawatekan:11; Pawawatekan:17.

5. Babad Yeh Unda, duk mengalih kalih jurang ke Sampalan, 124.

The Unda River, at the time when two new passage-ways are formed in Sampalan, 202.

*In other lists the date is 924 (1002 A.D.). Cf. Babad Gumi:9; Korn 2:12; Korn 4:8; Korn 5:23; Babad Tusan:5; Babad Tusan:35; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:7; Pangrincik Babad:7; Pawawatekan:21.

6. Babad Segara Lor, jumenek cinatur, 119.

The Northern Ocean, 197.

*This should be the sea north of Bali. Cf. Pangrincik Babad:45.

7. Babad Segara Rupek, s'gara nanggung bhumi, 124.

The Bali Strait, 202.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:5; Babad Bhumi:100; Korn 2:16; Korn 4:9; Korn 5:14; Babad Tusan:37; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:8; Pangrincik Babad:10; Pawawatekan:6.

8. Babad Candi di Dharma, lawang napit lawang, 929.

Candi in Dharma, 1007.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:11; Korn 2:17; Korn 5:25; Babad Tusan:6; Babad Tusan:31; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:9; Pangrincik Babad:5; Pangrincik Babad:50; Pawawatekan:10; Pawawatekan:22.

9. Babad Yeh Petanu, gtih angalih wong, 124.

The Petanu River, 202.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:99, where the year 121 (199 A.D.) is given. The numeric value of "gtih" is not clear. Cf. also Babad Tusan:32.

10. Babad Jembrana kawon, brahmana kawaha njala sasih, 1448.

Jembrana defeated, 1526.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:23; Babad Bhumi:40; Korn 2:8; Korn 4:7; Korn 5:36; Babad Tusan:4; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:6; Pangrincik Babad:9; Pawawatekan:20; Pawawatekan:34.

11. Babad Blahbatuh, gajuh ngapit lawang, 929.

Blahbatuh, 1007.

*The chronogram word gajuh should be gajah, and the correct date would then be 928 = 1006 A.D. Cf. Babad Gumi:10; Babad Bhumi:103; Korn 4:10; Korn 5:24; Babad Tusan:7; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:10; Pangrincik Babad:11; Pawawatekan:14.

12. Babad kawon Kapal, tahan liman kawahan wani, 1481.

Defeat of Kapal, 1559.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:20; Korn 2:2; Korn 4:11; Korn 5:39; Babad Tusan:8; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:11; Pangrincik Babad:12; Pawawatekan:23; Pawawatekan:29.

13. Babad Gunung Mahameru, weluta linging sela, 193.

Gunung Mahameru, 271.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:7; Babad Bhumi:101; Korn 2:31; Korn 4:12; Korn 5:16; Babad Tusan:9; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:12; Pangrincik Babad:6; Pasasangkalan:77; Pawawatekan:24.

14. Babad kawon Tabanan, bhute untut anjala sasih, 1415.

Defeat of Tabanan, 1493.

*Certainly a mistake for Tenganan, as seen from parallels in various other lists. The defeat is put in the same year as that of Bungaya, which like Tenganan is a highland village in East Bali (see Korn 2:3). According to local tradition, Tenganan was defeated by Dalem Ketut, the first Gelgel ruler. Cf. Korn 4:14; Korn 5:32; Babad Tusan:10; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:13; Pangrincik Babad:13; Pawawatekan:25.

15. Babad kawon Bali, bhuta angandong wong, 135.

Defeat of Bali, 213.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:6; Babad Bhumi:41; Korn 2:32; Korn 3:23; Korn 4:14; Korn 5:15; Babad Tusan:11; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:14; Pangrincik Babad:14; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:4; Pawawatekan:4; Pawawatekan:26; Pawawatekan:60.

16. Babad kawon Patembokan, brahmana resi warna ning wong, 1478.

Defeat of Patembokan, 1556.

*Otherwise mostly dated in 1546. Cf. Babad Gumi:27; Babad Bhumi:42; Korn 2:19; Korn 4:5; Korn 5:38; Babad Tusan:12; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:15; Pangrincik Babad:15; Pawawatekan:27.

17. Babad kawon Bungaya, bhuta untut anjala sasih, 1415.

Defeat of Bungaya, 1493.

*Cf. Korn 2:3; Korn 3:17; Korn 4:17; Korn 5:32; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:17; Pangrincik Babad:42; Pawawatekan:30.

18. Babad kawon Tarukan, catur bhujana warna ning wong, 1444.

Defeat of Tarukan, 1522.

*Since the chronogram word *bhuja* may mean either 2 or 4, we have different interpretations in different lists of dates. Cf. Babad Gumi:21; Korn 2:5; Korn 4:18; Korn 5:34; Babad Tusan:15; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:18; Pawawatekan:30.

19. Babad kawon Ularan, kuda warna ajala sasih, 1447.

Defeat of Ularan, 1525.

*Cf. Korn 2:6; Korn 4:19; Korn 5:35; Babad Tusan:16; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:19; Pawawatekan:32.

20. Babad kawon Pejrukan, brahmana ning tawang kawahan wani, 1408.

Defeat of Pejrukan, 1486.

*The compiler has thought about a geographic place, but comparison with other lists shows that the entry is a corruption of the defeat of the rebellious patih Batan Jeruk, which is sometimes dated in 1486. The direct source of this entry may be *Pawawatekan*:35. Cf. Babad Gumi:62; Babad Bhumi:44; Babad Bhumi:106; Babad Bhumi:138; Korn 4:21; Korn 5:40; Babad Tusan:18; Pangrincik Babad:17; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:12; Pawawatekan:35.

21. Babad Yeh Jina, rasa rasa kawahan bhumi, 1466.

The Jina River, 1544.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:26; Korn 4:25; Korn 5:38; Babad Tusan:20; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:22; Pangrincik Babad:21; Pawawatekan:38.

22. Babad kawon Belangbangan dening wong Pasdahan, toya tingal tahanan bhumi, 1520.

Defeat of Balambangan at the hands of the Pasuruan people, 1598.

*An important chronogram, as it adds to the information found in other yearlists, by stating that it was Pasuruan (in High Javanese *Pasedhahan*) that defeated Balambangan in this year. The given facts are confirmed by contemporary Dutch evidence, as discussed in *Babad Gumi*:28. Cf. Babad Gumi:28; Babad Bhumi:46; Korn 3:22; Korn 4:26; Korn 5:45; Babad Tusan:21; Babad Tusan:38; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:23; Pangrincik Babad:22; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:9; Pawawatekan:39.

23. Babad kawon Bali, bhuta angandong wong, 185.

Defeat of Bali, 263.

*The chronogram rather means 125 or 135 (203 or 213 A.D.). The value of “angandong” can seemingly be either 2 or 3. Cf. Babad Gumi:6; Babad Bhumi:41; Korn 2:32; Korn 3:15; Korn 4:14; Korn 5:15; Babad Tusan:11; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:14; Pangrincik Babad:14; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:4; Pawawatekan:4; Pawawatekan:26; Pawawatekan:60.

24. Babad kawon Pande, puwun geseng bhute sasih, 1510.

Defeat of Pande, 1588.

*Should actually be 1500, as shown by the chronogram word geseng. Geseng use to be equivalent to zero. Cf. Babad Gumi:63; Babad Bhumi:107; Korn 4:16; Korn 5:43; Babad Tusan:13; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:16; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:13.

25. Babad prang ring Bali, purusa tulup guna ning wong 1391.

War in Bali, 1469.

*Babad Gumi:19; Krn 2:1; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:8; Pawawatekan:8.

26. Babad kedaton puwun ring Gelgel, angemban bulan kawahan wani 1412.

The palace of Gelgel burnt down, 1490.

*The data here can not be connected with any event mentioned in the *Babad Dalem*. In *Pawawatekan*:27, the likely source of the entry of *Korn 3*, the name of the place is Hecchasaddha, which would then be an alternative name for Gelgel. In other lists, the desertion or burning of Gelgel is put at 1490 (1568 A.D.) – exactly 78 years afterwards, or in other words the difference between the Saka and Christian calendars. The compiler of the *Pawawatekan* might have mistaken 1490 for a Christian year, and thus constructed a new date by counting 78 years backwards, and this has then affected *Korn 3*.

KORN 4 (COLLECTION V.E. KORN 435:240).

This list, together with another one, has the following preface: “Candrasengkala dari lontar-lontar kepunyaan Pedanda Ngurah di Blayu” (Candrasangkalas from lontars in the possession of Pedanda Ngurah in Blayu). The other list reproduces the chronograms in the *Babad Bhumi*:1-34, and is therefore not quoted here. The present list seems to have used the *Pangrincik Babad* as a source.

Nian pasengkalan, angitung lawas.

1. Babad Jawa gunung Bali, 99.

Java and the Bali mountain, 177.

*Might be related to Babad Gumi:1, about the establishment of Tusan in 177.

2. Babad Gunung Tampakhiang, 170.

Gunung Tampakhiang, 248.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:2; Babad Bhumi:38; Babad Bhumi:96; Korn 3:4; Korn 5:11; Babad Tusan:2; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:2; Pangrincik Babad:3; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:1; Pawawatekan:11; Pawawatekan:17.

3. Babad Gunung Agung, 111.

Gunung Agung, 189.

*Babad Gumi:3; Babad Bhumi:37; Babad Bhumi:97; Korn 2:13; Korn 3:3; Korn 5:12; Babad Tusan:3; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:2; Pangrincik Babad:2; Pangrincik Babad:51; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:2; Pawawatekan:5.

4. Babad Candidasa, 611.

Candidasa, 689.

*Babad Gumi:4; Babad Bhumi:39; Babad Bhumi:98; Korn 4:4; Korn 5:18; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:4; Pangrincik Babad:4; Sara Samuscaya Pakence:3; Pawawatekan:19.

5. Babad Gunung Anyar, 1419.

Gunung Anyar, 1497.

*Seems to be a version of the data found in other lists, the defeat of Banyuanyar or Toyanyar (Tianyar) in Saka 1419. See further Babad Gumi:22; Korn 2:4; Korn 5:33; Babad Tusan:34; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:5; Pangrincik Babad:8.

6. Babad Candi di Marga 929.

Candi in Marga, 1007.

*Presumably related to Babad Gumi:11 etc., about a candi in Burwan in 1007.

7. Babad Jambrana, 1448.

Jembrana, 1526.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:23; Babad Bhumi:40; Korn 2:8; Korn 3:10; Korn 5:36; Babad Tusan:4; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:6; Pangrincik Babad:9; Pawawatekan:20; Pawawatekan:34.

8. Babad Yeh Unda duk ing Samalen, 924.

The Unda River at the time of Samalen [Sampalan], 1002.

*Babad Gumi:9; Korn 2:12; Korn 3:5; Korn 5:23; Babad Tusan:5; Babad Tusan:35 Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:7; Pangrincik Babad:7; Pawawatekan:21.

9. Babad Segara Rupek, 124.

The Bali Strait, 202.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:5; Babad Bhumi:100; Korn 2:16; Korn 3:7; Korn 5:14; Babad Tusan:37; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:8; Pangrincik Babad:10; Pawawatekan:6.

10. Babad Balabatu, 928.

Balabatu [Blahbatuh], 1006.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:10; Babad Bhumi:103; Korn 5:24; Babad Tusan:7; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:10; Pangrincik Babad:11; Pawawatekan:14.

11. Babad kawon Kapal, 1481.

Defeat of Kapal, 1559.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:20; Korn 2:2; Korn 3:12; Korn 5:39; Babad Tusan:8; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:11; Pangrincik Babad:12; Pawawatekan:23; Pawawatekan:29.

12. Babad Gunung Ma[ha]meru, 193.

Gunung Mahameru, 271.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:7; Babad Bhumi:101; Korn 2:31; Korn 3:13; Korn 5:16; Babad Tusan:9; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:12; Pangrincik Babad:6; Pasasangkalan:77; Pawawatekan:24.

13. Babad kawon Bangeran, 1415.

Defeat of Bangeran [Tenganan?], 1493.

*Cf. Korn 3:14; Korn 5:32; Babad Tusan:10; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:13; Pawawatekan:25.

14. Babad kawon Bali, 125.

Defeat of Bali, 203.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:6; Babad Bhumi:41; Korn 2:32; Korn 3:15; Korn 3:23; Korn 5:15; Babad Tusan:11; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:14; Pangrincik Babad:14; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:4; Pawawatekan:4; Pawawatekan:26; Pawawatekan:60.

15. Babad kawon Patembok, 1468.

Defeat of Patembok[an], 1546.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:27; Babad Bhumi:42; Korn 2:19; Korn 3:16; Korn 5:38; Babad Tusan:12; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:15; Pangrincik Babad:15; Pawawatekan:27.

16. Babad kawon Pande, 1500.

Defeat of Pande, 1578.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:63; Babad Bhumi:107; Korn 3:24; Korn 5:43; Babad Tusan:13; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:16; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:13.

17. Babad kawon Bungaya, 125.

Defeat of Bungaya, 203.

*Otherwise dated 1415 (1493 A.D.). Cf. Korn 2:3; Korn 3:17; Korn 5:32; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:17; Pangrincik Babad:42; Pawawatekan:30.

18. Babad kawon Tarukan, 1444.

Defeat of Tarukan, 1522.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:21; Korn 2:5; Korn 3:18; Korn 5:34; Babad Tusan:15; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:18; Pawawatekan:31.

19. Babad kawon Ularan 1447.

Defeat of Ularan, 1525.

*Cf. Korn 2:6; Korn 3:19; Korn 5:35; Babad Tusan:16; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:19; Pawawatekan:32.

20. Babad kawon Gula Banjang, 1166.

Defeat of Gula Banjong [Balabanjong], 1244.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:43; Korn 5:27; Babad Tusan:17; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:20; Pangrincik Babad:16.

21. Babad kawon sampi[ng] Jeruk, 1480.

Defeat of the faction of Jeruk, 1558.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:62; Babad Bhumi:44; Babad Bhumi:106; Babad Bhumi:138; Korn 3:20; Korn 5:40; Babadtusan:18; Pangrincik Babad:17; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:12; Pawawatekan:35.

22. Babad blabur ing Banyu Anyar, 1467.

Flood at Banyu Anyar, 1545.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:26; Korn 3:21; Korn 5:38; Babad Tusan:20; Pawawatekan:38.

23. Babad meru Besakih, 1011.

Meru of Besakih, 1089.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:12; Korn 2:20; Korn 5:26; Pangrincik Babad:19; Pawawatekan:36.

24. Babad duk suwung kedaton ring Gelgel, 1490.

Time of desertion of the palace in Gelgel, 1568.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:45; Korn 5:41; Babad Tusan:19; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:21;

Pangrincik Babad:20.

25. Babad Yeh Jina 1466.

The Jina River, 1544.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:26; Korn 3:21; Korn 5:37; Babad Tusan:20; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:22; Pangrincik Babad:21; Pawawatekan:38.

26. Babad kawon Belambangan, 1520.

Defeat of Balambangan, 1598.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:28; Babad Bhumi:46; Korn 3:22; Korn 5:45; Babad Tusan:21; Babad Tusan:38; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:23; Pangrincik Babad:22; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:9; Pawawatekan:39.

27. Babad Panang, 724.

Panang [Padang?], 802.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:47; Babad Bhumi:102; Babad Tusan:22; Pangrincik Babad:23.

28. Babad kawon Badung, 1490.

Defeat of Badung, 1568.

*There is no clear trace of this battle in the babads. The *Usana Jawa* says that there was a conflict between the second Gelgel ruler Ratu Anom and the aristocrat Arya Yasan of Tambangan (Nambangan in Badung), though it was fought with curses rather than with sharp weapons (Berg 1927:134-35). In entry No. 24 above an incident involving the Gelgel palace is accorded the same date – perhaps there is a connection. Cf. Korn 5:41; Babad Tusan:23; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:24; Pangrincik Babad:24; Pawawatekan:41.

29. Babad dane Tambangan teke, 1540.

Dane Tambangan comes, 1618.

*According to the Pangrincik Babad, Dane Kambangan came to Bali in this year. The identity of this individual is unknown. Kambangan is an alternative name for Bali, and also the name of an island off the south coast of Java. If indeed Tambangan is the right spelling one would think of Tambangan (Nambangan) in Badung. Cf. Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:25; Pangrincik Babad:25.

30. Babad rundah Dane Pagatepan, 1477.

Collapse of Dane Pagatepan, 1555.

*Pagatepan was an aristocratic family at the court of the Gelgel king. It was descended from the Majapahit warrior Arya Kanuruhan, as were the Brangsinga and Tangkas families (Berg 1927:126). The event alluded to here can not be determined from the narrative babad texts. Pagatepan is said to have fought loyally for the king Dalem Bekung on the occasion of the Batan Jeruk and Pande rebellions in 1558 and 1578, respectively (Warna 1986:85, 90). Cf. Korn 5:62; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:26; Pangrincik Babad:26.

31. Babad wintang busbusan [kuskusan] sumambur pencor, 1540.

The comet gushes forth pencor [penjor], 1618.

*Three comets made their appearance in late 1618, in rapid succession to each other. The last of them was shining with unusual radiance. Naturally, this gave rise of various religious and learned speculations in Europe, involving Galileo Galilei among others (Drake & O'Malley 1960). Clearly, one of these comets, perhaps the last one, is alluded to here. This is one of the most obvious indications of the reliability of some of the early dates in these lists. A penjor is an offering that consists of a bamboo pole with decorations; its shape might have had a superficial likeness with the comet in question. Cf. Pangrincik Babad:27.

32. Babad Sumanggon asalinan, 1540.

The Sumanggen is changed, 1618.

*A Sumanggen is a section of a Balinese temple. Cf. Pangrincik Babad:28.

33. Babad duk layan kegepok, 1541.

The time when the enemy was beaten, 1619.

*In the *Pangrincik Babad:29*, it is Bayan (North Lombok) rather than 'layan' (the enemy) that is attacked in this year. A Makassarese diary tells us that an invasion army from South Sulawesi undertook an outright conquest of the various Sumbawan principalities in 1619, marching from the East towards the West. Very likely this enterprise touched Lombok as well. According to Dutch sources the king of Bali had to face both the Makassarese and internal enemies around 1620, and asked the VOC for naval assistance to guard Lombok from the former, something the Dutch (of course) declined to send (De Jonge 1869:207; Colenbrander & Coolhaas 1919-53 VII:625). The outcome of these conflicts is not known; Lombok was lost for the Balinese sometime in the interval 1620-36 but apparently the king of the island managed to hold his own in the end, for a few years later we find Bali as a strong polity again.

34. Babad Sakenan, 929.

Sakenan, 1007.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:104; Babad Bhui:137; Korn 5:63; Babad Tusan:25; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:28; Pangrincik Babad:32; Pawawatekan:42.

35. Babad tutumpur, 1524.

Epidemic disaster, 1602.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:29; Babad Bhumi:58; Korn 5:46; Babad Tusan:26; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:30; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:10.

36. Babad rundah Pinatih, 1527.

Collapse of Pinatih, 1605.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:30; Babad Bhumi:59; Korn 5:48; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:31; Pangrincik Babad:33.

37. Babad kawon Padanglwah 1616.

Defeat of Padanglwah, 1694.

*A place in the kabupaten of Badung, which formerly was an important vassal of the Mengwi kingdom. The event described might therefore be an episode in the formation of the Mengwi realm, in the decades around 1700.

38. Babad siyatiri Kukuh 1673.

The fight of the Kukuh clan [or village], 1751.

*The Kukuh are a category of Sudras, traditionally tied to temple service. It is also a village in northwestern Tabanan.

39. Babad duk penyeneng, Batara Dalem Ktut ring puri Gelgel, isaka 1378.

Time of Batara Dalem Ketut's reign in the palace of Gelgel, 1456.

*Similar as in Babad Bhoemi:105, but adds the information that Dalem Ketut ruled in Gelgel. Nevertheless, the entries 39-41 may be derived from the Babad Bhumi.

40. Mwah duk penyeneng, Batara Dalem Dimade, isaka 1564.

And the time of Batara Dalem Dimade's reign, 1642.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:38; Babad Bhumi:111.

41. Samalih linan Ida Batara Dalem ring Belahpane, kamuk antuk wong Bangli, isaka 1722.

Furthermore, the death of Ida Batara Dalem at Belahpane, because of amok performed by the people of Bangli, 1800.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:130.

42. Pascat linakiteng, ring aserama ganal, banwe pekangsu, ring metri meduwa, sukale mayoga, silaras mijangga, bayuwa Indura, mudi harmawa, sakakala, Berahma (3) meyoga (4) ring naga (8) Perabu (1), rakua murdi buana.

*This colophon is almost unintelligible, and I have made no attempt to translate it. The important thing is the chronogram that indicates when the text was written: 1843 (1921).

KORN 5 (COLLECTION V.E. KORN 435:240).

This text contains an element of invention; the author has a great interest in the career of the renowned ruler Gusti Panji Sakti of Buleleng, who is otherwise not mentioned by the lists, which concentrate on events in South and East Bali. In order to invent a chronology of Buleleng history, the author grabs the date 1598, the defeat of Balangbangan, which is found in several earlier lists. He associates it with the conquest of this area at the hands of Gusti Panji Sakti, which is spoken of in the *Babad Buleleng* (and known from Dutch sources to have actually taken place in 1697). He then follows the historical thread up to the year 1918. Many of the dates in the text are taken from the *Pasangkalan* (LOR 22.990), written in 1906 – see the postscript. While the value of the early dates is dubious, the text contains much accurate information on 19th and early 20th century history. It starts with the following preface: “Nihan peketangan lalawasan, anceng kedik-kedik, muah paheling lintange bauan, punika kakumpulang dados ababad, kawastanin “Purwa sangkala” ipun sakadi ring sor puniki” (This is an ancient enumeration, a small document, and a commemoration surpassing the present, that is collected from the babad events, called “Purwa sangkala”, according to what follows below).

1. Nguni duk sira ‘Mpu Isaka atengeran ‘Mpu Sangkala, taler maparab Sanghiang Ageni Jaya, turun ka Jawa d’wipa, aneher dadi guruning wang nusa Jawa, ika wiwitaning isaka warsa Yusaning Loka, 1.

In ancient time, ‘Mpu Isaka is called ‘Mpu Sangkala; he is also known as Sanghiang Ageni Jaya. He descends to the island of Java, then becoming the guru of the people of the Java island; this is the origins of the “isaka” lifespan of the world, 79.

*The legend of Aji Saka (‘Mpu Isaka) who instigated the Saka era is rather Javanese than Balinese. The source of this entry is the *Pasangkalan*, whose compiler probably had knowledge of non-Balinese sources, as seen by some entries below.

2. Malih duk mulih sira ‘Mpu Isaka mareng Jambudipa Kling, rupa bumi, 11.

Furthermore, the return of Mpu Isaka to Jambudipa-Kling, 89.

*Jambudipa is in the first hand North India, while Kling (Kalinga) more or less denotes South India, although the concepts of South Asian geography were probably vague among the Balinese.

3. Duk alah Ularam [Ularan?] Lami, diala bumi, 14.

Defeat of Ularam Lami, 92.

*May be a fictive ancient counterpart to the later defeat of Ularan in 1525 – see

entry No. 35.

4. Duk alah Jambrana, diala tengah, 24.

Defeat of Jembrana, 102.

*Once again, the compiler of the *Pasangkalan*, the source of Korn 5, may have invented an early counterpart to the defeat of Jembrana in 1526 – see entry No. 36.

5. Banyu kang lami, anom sagara, 42.

Water of long time, 120.

*This is unclear.

6. We Gangga, banyu tirta, 44.

The Ganges River, 122.

*The sacred river of India, renowned through the Hindu-Javanese body of texts.

7. We Kadewatan, brahmana atirta, 47.

The Kadewatan River, 125.

*Kedewatan is a place northwest of Ubud, at the border between Gianyar and Badung.

8. Alah Grih karihin, gaja kumbang, 68.

The first defeat of Gerih, 146.

*Gerih is situated close to Mengwi, in present-day Badung Regency. This fictive entry is in anticipation of the later defeat of Gerih in 1471 – see entry No. 31.

9. Alah Labuwan Jong karihin, buta angleng, 95.

First defeat of the ships' harbour, 173.

*Yet a fictive precursor or counterpart of the later defeat of the ships' harbour in 1444 – see entry No.29.

10. Babad wontening Tusan, muah We Melangit, pucang bolong, 99.

Coming to being of Tusan, and of the Melangit River, 177.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:1; Babad Bhumi:36; Babad Bhumi:95; Korn 2:14; Korn 3:2; Babad Tusan:1; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:1; Pangrincik Babad:1; Pawawatekan:18.

11. Ananing Batur Hyang, geseng sasi wak, 110.

Coming to being of Batur Hyang, 188.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:2; Babad Bhumi:38; Babad Bhumi:96; Korn 3:4; Korn 4:2; Babad Tusan:2; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:2; Pangrincik Babad:3; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:1; Pawawatekan:11; Pawawatekan:17.

12. Ananing Hyang Gunung Agung, wak sasi wak, 111.

Coming to being of Gunung Agung, 189.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:3; Babad Bhumi:37; Babad Bhumi:97; Korn 2:13; Korn 3:3; Korn 4:3; Babad Tusan:3; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:2; Pangrincik Babad:2; Pangrincik Babad:51; Sasa Samuscaya Pakenca:2; Pawawatekan:5.

13. Ranu Kuning, wedang sumirat ing ksiti, 114.

The Yellow Lake, 192.

*Might have to do with Lake Bratan in northern Tabanan. At the side of the lake is Candi Kuning, where remains from about the 14th-15th century have been found (Oey 1990:227).

14. Anahing Segara Rupek, rantasing nusa Bali ka nusa Jawa, segara nanggung bhumi, 124.

Coming to being of the Bali Strait, dividing the islands of Bali and Java, 202.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:5; Babad Bhumi:100; Korn 2:16; Korn 3:7; Korn 4:9; Babad Tusan:37; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:8; Pangrincik Babad:10; Pawawatekan:6.

15. Alah sira Mayadanawa di Bali, de Hyang Indra, duk ananing We Patangga, kang inaranan We Patanu kala mangke, bhuta anggandong wong, 165.

Defeat of Mayadanawa of Bali by Indra, time when the Patangga River comes into being, which is nowadays called the Patanu River, 243.

*Refers to a well-known myth which is related in the *Usana Bali*; the ruler Mayadanawa oppresses the religion of the people, and is therefore attacked by the army of the gods, and finally slain. The divine troops are associated with Majapahit, and the *Usana Bali* appears to be an allegoric text that tells of the vanquishing of the Old Balinese culture and the victory of Majapahit culture (Berg 1927:114-16). The legend is

here combined with the chronogram 'bhuta anggandong wong', found in several lists. Cf. Babad Gumi:6; Babad Bhumi:41; Korn 2:32; Korn 3:15; Korn 3:23; Korn 4:14; Babad Tusan:11; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:14; Pangrincik Babad:14; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:4; Pawawatekan:4; Pawawatekan:26; Pawawatekan:60.

16. Babad Gunung Mahameru, wluta lenging sela, 193.

Gunung Mahameru, 271.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:7; Babad Bhumi:101; Korn 2:31; Korn 3:13; Korn 4:12; Babad Tusan:9; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:12; Pangrincik Babad:6; Pasasangkalan:77; Pawawatekan:24.

17. Ananing meru Beraban, Rabut Hyang pretima mas kunang wadon, gajah lawang bhumi, 198.

Coming to being of the meru of Beraban, the sanctuary of the golden ancestral image, furthermore the heavenly nymph, 276.

*Baraban is a place in southern Tabanan, close to the outlet of the Ile River.

18. Ananing Candidasa, wani sasih angalih, 1102 [recte 211].

Coming to being of Candidasa, 1180 [recte 289].

*Babad Gumi:4; Babad Bhumi:39; Babad Bhumi:98; Korn 4:4; Korn 5:18; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:4; Pangrincik Babad:4; Sara Samuscaya Pakence:3; Pawawatekan:19.

19. Ananing Candi ring Kore, kele-tok palungon tiba, 295.

Coming to being of the candi of Kore, 373.

*Kore is a place in eastern Sumbawa, next to Sanggar, that was of some note in olden times. No place on Bali called Kore is known to me.

20. Duk pulo Parca Sumatra, rantas ka nusa Jawa, brahmana kawahan gni, 348.

Time of the island of Parca-Sumatra, divided from the island of Java, 426.

*The name Pulau Perca for Sumatra is often used in Minangkabau texts in the premodern era. Its inclusion in a Balinese list is interesting.

21. Anahing kori aneng Sumampan, wiku anotol kupat, 427.

Coming to being of the gateway that is situated in Sumampan, 505.

22. Banyuanyar, duk wawu ane ngiseni, wiku lumak ring gunung, 727.

Banyuanyar, the time when it has been filled up, 805.

*A fictive anticipation of later entries about Banyu Anyar – Nos. 33 and 38.

23. Yah Bebek duk ring Sampalan, kali angalih leng, 924.

The Bebek River at the time of Sampalan, 1002.

*Babad Gumi:9; Korn 2:12; Korn 3:5; Korn 4:8; Babad Tusan:5; Babad Tusan:35; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:7; Pangrincik Babad:7; Pawawatekan:21.

24. Babad ananing Blahbatuh, gajah angapit lawang, 928.

Coming to being of Blahbatuh, 1006.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:10; Babad Bhumi:103; Korn 4:10; Babad Tusan:7; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:10; Pangrincik Babad:11; Pawawatekan:14.

25. Duk Darma aneng Buruwan, muah candi Darma, lawang angapit lawang, 929.

Time of Darma in Burwan, and a candi in Darma, 1007.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:11; Korn 2:17; Korn 3:8; Babad Tusan:6; Babad Tusan:31; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:9; Pangrincik Babad:5; Pangrincik Babad:50; Pawawatekan:10; Pawawatekan:22.

26. Duk anahing meru ring Besakih, sabda purus patining wong, 1011.

Coming to being of a meru in Besakih, 1089.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:12; Korn 2:20; Korn 4:23; Pangrincik Babad:19; Pawawatekan:36.

27. Kaon Blabanjo, sang winaya gana retu watu tunggal, 1166.

Defeat of B[a]labanjo[ng], 1244.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:43; Korn 4:20; Babad Tusan:17; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:20; Pangrincik Babad:16.

28. Darma ring Pasereh-dang, kaya bhuta anom daging, 1253.

Darma of Pasereh-dang, 1331.

*Perhaps a corruption of the Sadeng war which took place in 1331 according to the *Nagarakertagama* (Robson 1995:59).

29. Kalah Labuwan Jong, rasa rasa kaya wani, 1366.

Defeat of the ships' harbour, 1444.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:13; Korn 2:7; Pawawatekan:33.

30. Duk perang ring titi wesi, bahan liman kaya wani, 1383.

Time of warfare at the iron bridge, 1461.

*Could also be the name of a place, Titi Wesi.

31. Kalah Grih, kaya tulup guna ning wong, 1393.

Defeat of Gerih, 1471.

*The same chronogram occurs in Korn 3:2, and in a copperplate inscription from Selat (LOR 17.652), all of them referring to (seemingly) different events.

32. Kalah Tenganan, muah kalah Bungaya, bhuta untu anjala sasi, 1415.

Defeat of Tenganan, 1493.

*Cf. Korn 3:14; Korn 4:13; Babad Tusan:10; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:13; Pawawatekan:25 for Tenganan; and Korn 2:3; Korn 3:17; Korn 4:17; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:17; Pangrincik Babad:42; Pawawatekan:30 for Bungaya.

33. Kalah Banyu Anyar, sanga wani anjala dara, 1419.

Defeat of Banyu Anyar, 1497.

*Babad Gumi:22; Korn 2:4; Korn 4:5; Babad Tusan:34; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:5; Pangrincik Babad:8.

34. Kalah Tarukan, catur bhuja warna ning wong, 1424.

Defeat of Tarukan, 1502.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:21; Korn 2:5; Korn 3:18; Korn 4:18; Babad Tusan:15; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:18; Pawawatekan:31.

35. Kalah Ularan, kuda warna anjala sasi, 1447.

Defeat of Ularan, 1525.

*Cf. Korn 2:6; Korn 3:19; Korn 4:19; Babad Tusan:16; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:19; Pawawatekan:32.

36. Kalah Jambrana, brahmana kawahan anjala sasi, 1448.

Defeat of Jembrana, 1526.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:23; Babad Bhumi:40; Korn 2:8; Korn 3:10; Korn 4:7; Babad Tusan:4; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:6; Pangrincik Babad:9; Pawawatekan:20; Pawawatekan:34.

37. Ananing Yeh Jinah, rasa rasa kawahan wani, 1466.

Coming to being of the Jina River, 1544.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:26; Korn 3:21; Korn 4:25; Babad Tusan:20; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:22; Pangrincik Babad:21; Pawawatekan:38.

38. Kalah Patembokan, muah duk balabur ing Banyu Anyar, kuda rasa anjala sasi, 1467.

Defeat of Patembokan, and time of flooding at Banyu Anyar, 1545.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:27; Babad Bhumi:42; Korn 2:19; Korn 3:16; Korn 4:15; Babad Tusan:12; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:15; Pangrincik Babad:15; Pawawatekan:27.

39. Kalah Kapal, wani liman kawahan wani, 1481.

Defeat of Kapal, 1559.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:20; Korn 2:2; Korn 3:12; Korn 4:11; Babad Tusan:8; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:11; Pangrincik Babad:12; Pawawatekan:23; Pawawatekan:29.

40. Rundah duk kaon samping Jeruk, d'wara brahmana catur bhumi, 1479.

Collapse, the time of defeat of the faction of Jeruk, 1557.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:62; Babad Bhumi:44; Babad Bhumi:106; Babad Bhumi:138; Korn 3:20; Korn 4:21; Babad Tusan:18; Pangrincik Babad:17; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:12; Pawawatekan:35.

41. Rundah Badung, duk suwunge ring puri, pagingsire ka desa Buwahan, nora leng catur bhumi, 1490.

Collapse of Badung; time of desertion of the palace; withdrawal to desa Buwahan, 1568.

Cf. Korn 4:28; Babad Tusan:23; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:24; Pangrincik Babad:24; Pawawatekan:41 for Badung; and Babad Bhumi:45; Korn 4:24; Babad Tusan:19; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:21; Pangrincik Babad:20 for the desertion of the palace.

42. Duk Ratu Ngurah Panji Sakti, wawu rauh ring Den Bukit, saking Gelgel, malinggi ring desa Panji, aneher dados agung kapertama ring sawengkening bumi Den Bukit, nora menge segara bhumi, 1490.

Time when king Ngurah Panji Sakti arrives in Den Bukit [Buleleng] from Gelgel; he resides in desa Panji; thereafter he becomes great, the first man in the area of Den Bukit, 1568.

*Gusti Panji Sakti is the ancestor of the royal line of Buleleng, and a great hero in Balinese babad tradition. A natural son of Dalem Seganing of Gelgel, he obtains leadership in Buleleng thanks to his supernatural power (sakti). The entries in Korn 5 more or less follow the tradition otherwise found in the *Babad Buleleng* (Worsley 1972). But the precise chronology found here depends on the compiler's fantasy – the Buleleng dates are not found in the *Pasangkalan* which is otherwise largely the source of Korn 5. The rise of Gusti Panji Sakti can be determined to c.1660, from Dutch data (De Graaf 1949). The present chronology seems to have been constructed departing from the date 1598 for the defeat of Balambangan – see entry 45 below. This was connected with an episode of Panji Sakti's career found in the babads.

43. Duk alah sira Pande, geseng nora bhuta tunggal, 1500.

Defeat of Pande, 1578.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:63; Babad Bhumi:107; Korn 3:24; Korn 4:16; Babad Tusan:13; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:16; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:13.

44. Duk anahing pura negara Sukasadda, kawangun de Ratu Panji Sakti, pangingsire saking pura Panji, rasa rasa bhuta wani, 1506.

Coming to being of the state residence of Sukasadda, built by king Panji Sakti, withdrawing from the residence of Panji, 1584.

*From his original seat in Panji, the founder king of Buleleng erected the palace of Sukasadda at the coast, in imitation and defiance of the Gelgel court – Sukasadda is also another name for Gelgel (Worsley 1972:149).

45. Duk kalah Blangbangan de Ratu Panji Sakti, aneher umarek ring Ratu Solo, laris kapaicain gajah, kabuat ka Den Bukit, mangge palinggihan, nora tinggal bhuta manuk, 1520.

Defeat of Balambangan by king Panji Sakti; he then appears before the king of Solo; afterwards he is presented with an elephant which is brought to Den Bukit, which is now its residence, 1598.

*According to contemporary Dutch data, Balambangan was occupied by Gusti Panji Sakti with the help of Makassarese mercenaries, in 1697. According to the *Babad Buleleng*, he obtained an elephant from the king of Solo after his victory (Worsley 1972:161). As the year 1697 for the Balambangan invasion was not preserved by Balinese texts, the compiler of Korn 5 quite simply grabbed another (in itself historical) date as an anchor-point for his chronology. Cf. Babad Gumi:28; Babad Bhumi:46; Korn 3:22; Korn 4:26; Babad Tusan:21; Babad Tusan:38; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:23; Pangrincik Babad:22; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:9; Pawawatekan:39.

46. Duk anahing tumpur, wani mangalih bhuta tunggal, 1521.

Time when a disaster arises, 1599.

*Dated 1602 in the other lists. Cf. Babad Gumi:29; Babad Bhumi:58; Korn 4:35; Babad Tusan:26; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:30; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:10.

47. Duk anahing desa Buleleng, winangun pura Singaraja, de Ratu Ngurah Panji Sakti, karane ingarahan Buleleng, apan uryaning janggala tinaneman Buleleng, rasa manon bhuta tunggal, 1526.

Coming to being of desa Buleleng; erection of the residence of Singaraja by king Ngurah Panji Sakti; the original proclamation of the name Buleleng, since Janggala was replanted as Buleleng, 1604.

*Buleleng is here associated with the ancient kingdom of Janggala. The date 1604 for the beginning of the Buleleng kingdom is often found in modern Balinese texts – nevertheless it is fictitious.

48. Rundah Pinatih, kuda mangapit bhuja tunggal, 1527.

Collapse of Pinatih, 1605.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:30; Babad Bhumi:59; Korn 4:36; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:31; Pangrincik Babad:33.

49. Kalah Jembrana, de Ratu Panji Sakti, gopura anggapit bhutaki wong, 1529.

Defeat of Jembrana by king Panji Sakti, 1607.

*Various babads briefly mention that Panji Sakti conquered Jembrana as a part of the territorial expansion of Buleleng. According to Jembranese tradition two lords in the

area were subjugated, namely Arya Pancoran and Gusti Brangbangmurti (Hägerdal 2002:155-6). The latter was a descendant of the Agung minister family from Gelgel, enemies of Panji Sakti.

50. Duk ananing edeh, nora geni bhuta tunggal, 1530.

Time when a measles epidemic arises, 1608.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:31; Babad Tusan:27; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:32.

51. Duk Ratu Panji Sakti, mayuda ka Mengwi, awekasan pada ngaku apasanakan, wak geni bhuta tunggal, 1531.

Time when king Panji Sakti wages war against Mengwi; in the end, they confess to be relatives, 1609.

*According to the genealogies the Mengwi ruler descended from the elder son of Arya Kapakisan, and Panji Sakti from the younger.

52. Duk ing Daya urugan, catur geni bhuta tunggal, 1534.

Time of Daya being buried, 1612.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:62; Babad Bhumi:109; Korn 2:23; Babad Tusan:24; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:27; Pangrincik Babad:31.

53. Duk Ratu Panji Sakti, mayuda ka Badung, rames yudane ring desa Taensiat, kang inaranan Tainsiap kala mangke, rasa kaya bhuta tunggal, 1536.

Time when king Panji Sakti wages war with Badung; the fighters mix at the desa Taensiat, which is called Tainsiap nowadays, 1614.

*Taensiat is a place situated north of Denpasar; it is nowadays included in the extended city. The *Babad Buleleng* says that Panji Sakti's attack on Badung was a draw (Worsley 1972:165).

54. Duk ulah Biasa-gili, (Labuhan Lombok) muwah duk ring Gunung Besakih metu gni, brahmana gni bhuta tunggal, 1537.

Time of pursuing of Biasa-gili (Labuhan Lombok); and the time when Gunung Besakih [Gunung Agung] spits fire, 1615.

*A conflict on Lombok at this time? The entry is not the invention of the *Pasangalan*, the source of Korn 5, since a similar candrasangkala is found in *Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:29*. Labuhan Lombok is situated on Lombok's east coast, and there was certainly Makassarese aggression in these waters from about this time. It is known from

Makassarese diaries that an expedition was undertaken to Bima on the island of Sumbawa in 1618, which was followed by outright conquest of the various small kingdoms on the island in 1619 and 1626 (Noorduyn 1987b). Lombok was standing under loose Balinese suzerainty in the early 17th century, and it is known that Makassarese forces were behaving in a threatening way towards this island, so that the Balinese king asked for Dutch assistance in 1620. This was to no avail; his overlordship was exchanged for that of Makassar in the 1620s or 1630s (Hägerdal 1998:70-71). The chronogram would rather be interpreted as 1538, as brahmana usually has the numerical value of eight. If so, we get 1616 A.D. In any case, the date is not too far removed from the first Makassarese expeditions in 1618-19. Cf. Babad Gumi:33; BabadGumi:34; Babad Bhumi:57; Babad Bhumi:110; Babad Tusan:29; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:29; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:33; Pangrincik Babad:35.

55. Duk rundah Dalem Gelgel, kaparebut kawibawane de Sagung Maruti, mawanan pura agonge ring Gelgel kaging sirang ka pura Klungkung mangke; muah duk witning ratu santana Nambangan, matuluk ka negara Nambangan nguni, kang mengaran bumi Badung rikala mangke, nora catur bhuta sasi, 1540.

Time of collapse of the Gelgel king; the wealth is snatched by Sagung Maruti; for the grand residence of Gelgel is now taken by him [the Gelgel king] to Klungkung. Also, it is the time when the royal family of Nambangan originates, stirring up a fire at the ancient state of Nambangan, which nowadays is called the land of Badung, 1618.

* In the *Babad Gumi*:48-52, the rise of Anglurah Agung (Sagung Maruti) is put in 1664-66, well in accordance with contemporary information found in the Dutch Dagregister of Batavia. The date given here is probably an invention by the compiler.

56. Duk alah Buleleng de Ratu Karangasem, larapane apon santana ratu Buleleng acengilan asanak, manon gopura bhuta tunggal, 1592.

Defeat of Buleleng by the king of Karangasem; the refined gift to the family of the Buleleng kings makes for family disputes, 1670.

*According to Balinese tradition, Karangasem used cunning tricks in order to set the Buleleng princes against each other and then took over the realm (Van Bloemen Waanders 1868:385-6; Vickers 1986). The takeover was an outdrawn process, starting in about 1757. Thus, the year 1670 is quite far off the mark. At this point the spurious Buleleng dates end, and the rest of the list is mostly derived from the *Pasangkalan*.

57. Duk alah perange Arya Tegeh Kori ring Badung mameseh ring pasanakan, raris rarud ngungsi desa Kapal (Mangwi), lawang sunya rasa tunggal, 1609.

Defeat in warfare of Arya Tegeh Kori of Badung, when he opposes his relatives; he then flees to the desa Kapal (in Mengwi), 1687.

*The dynasty of Arya Tegeh Kori is sometimes mentioned as ruling in Badung

before the coming of the Pamecutan line which superseded them. The *Pasangkalan* mentions Arya Tegeh Kori on the dates 1593 (1671), 1604 (1682), and Ca. Wa. Wayang Kasada 1609 (23 July 1687). Since the latter date is internally coherent it is presumably genuine – see the post script.

58. Babad duk ana toya tiga rasane, wawu wetu ring lambung gunung Besakih, ring predesa Pamugari, ane tis, ana dangle (dumelada) ane anget akeh wong adusing kana, sapta gni rasa rupa, 1637.

Time of three gleaming streams pouring out along the mountainside of Gunung Besakih [Gunung Agung], at the district of Pamugari; one is cool, one is brackish (simple), one is hot; a lot of people are affected by smoke there, 1715.

*One may ask if the historical eruption of Gunung Agung in 1711-12 is alluded to here – see Babad Gumi:77.

59. Duk Ratu Pemecutan Badung, mahayu pura panataran Nambangan, brahmana gni rasa tunggal, 1638.

Time of king Pemecutan of Badung, beautifying the family temple of Nambangan, 1716.

*The Pamecutan dynasty of Badung is indeed known from contemporary Dutch sources from the early 18th century onwards. The source of the entry, *Pasangkalan*, rather says that Ratu Pemecutan received religious learning in the pura panataran, on 21 April 1716. The coherent date speaks for the authenticity of the event.

60. Wong ring Anggantiga, waduwun tumuwuh tan pasuku, gni samudra rasa bhumi, 1643.

The People of Anggantiga; the retainers are increasing; there are no warriors, 1721.

*This cryptic entry seemingly refers to the entries in the text *Pawawatekan* (Nos. 9 and 55), about commotion and dynastic troubles at Anggantiga (Angantelu) in 1565 (1643 A.D.). It is not found in the *Pasangkalan*. The compiler thus had access to dates transferred into Christian years, which he mistook for Saka years. The same mistake is maybe found in the next entry below.

61. Duk linan Ida I Dewa Agung ring Klungkung, rupaning bayu rasa tunggal, 1651.

Time of death of Ida I Dewa Agung of Klungkung, 1729.

*The source of this entry is the *Pasangkalan*, which says that Dewa Gde ring Klungkung died on Wa. Pwa. Kuningan, day 1, Karo 1651. The date is not internally coherent, however. There is a possibility that it refers to the death of a Gelgel king which was noted by the Dutch embassy of Bacharach in 1651, and which may have been accessible to well-informed Balinese via the writings of Van Eck (1878-80) and others.

Like in the preceding entry, the compiler could then have mistaken a Christian year for a Saka year. If so, this is one of the very few examples where European historiography has influenced the lists of candrasangkala.

62. Rundah sira Pagatepan, kuda sapta rasa bhumi, 1677.

Collapse of Pagatepan, 1755.

*Dated 1555 in a few other lists in this collection. Cf. Korn 4:30; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:26; Pangrincik Babad:26.

63. Duk mahayu parane ring Sakenan (Badung), brahmana manon kuda tunggal, 1727.

Time of beautifying the character of Sakenan (in Badung), 1805.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:104; Babad Bhui:137; Korn 4:34; Babad Tusan:25; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:28; Pangrincik Babad:32; Pawawatekan:42.

64. Mimitan ketug lindu raris urugan antuk embah jagate ring Buleleng pawilangan kaulane padem urugan 253 diri, brahmana majata tunggangan tunggal, 1737.

Occurance of an earth-shock; afterwards, a stream of mud flows over Buleleng; the subjects who are buried are counted to 253 souls, 1815.

*The great mudslide of Buleleng 22 November 1815, mentioned in several contemporary sources. A Balinese panglingeling estimates that 10,353 souls died in the disaster (Worsley 1972:237).

65. Kaon Mangwi karihin olih Badung, babahan tiga wiku tunggal, 1739.

First defeat of Mengwi at the hands of Badung, 1817.

*The decrepit Mengwi realm was defeated and temporarily annexed by Badung in 1823 (Schulte Nordholt 1996:110). 1817 was rather the year of enthronement of the main ruler of Badung who effected this defeat.

66. Pasubayan ratu tiga, Gianyar, Badung, Tabanan, nyikiang bebaos ma'ala ayu tunggal. I Dewa Manggis ratu Gianyar, mabhiseka agung, tigang sagara magunung tunggal, 1743.

Concordate of three kings, Gianyar, Badung, Tabanan; united, they speak of bad and good as one. I Dewa Manggis, king of Gianyar, undergoes a great consecration ceremony, 1821.

*Dewa Manggis VI is said in various sources (Van Eck 1878-80; Geertz & Geertz 1975) to have come to the throne around 1820. The concordate of the three kings took

place on 3 or 11 January 1822 according to the *Pasangkalan*.

67. Duk wong Bugise ring Tuban, matulang yuda ka Mataram Sasak, masa rusak ratu Karangasame; wus punika wenten bedil setinggar katah saking Mataram, makirimang ke Badung, brahmana kawahan kuda tunggal, 1747.

The time when Bugis people of Tuban assist in warfare in Mataram Sasak; time of collapse of the Karangasem king; rifles are seen, lots of them, from Mataram, being brought to Badung, 1825.

*As it stands, the date seems to refer to the warfare between the kingdoms of Mataram and Karangasem-Lombok in about 1838. Mataram finally defeated Karangasem-Lombok and killed its ruler Ratu Gusti Ngurah Panji. The date could also allude to the Sakra War in 1826, so that two events are confused. The source of the entry, the *Pasangkalan*, also says that the Bugis colony in Tuban near Badung was founded in the year 1817. That the Badungese rulers used Bugis soldiers is well attested.

68. Duk rusak sentana Ratu Buleleng kerejek antuk Anak Agung Pahang wit Ratu turunan Karangasem, panca pandawa makuda purnama sada, 1755.

Time of destruction of the family of the Buleleng kings, by Anak Agung Pahang, who originated from the descent line of the Karangasem kings, 1833.

*The mentally ill Anak Agung Pahang, king of Buleleng 1818-22, was opposed by the descendants of Gusti Panji Sakti, who tried to murder him during a wayang performance. The coup miscarried, and a frightful retribution was meted out on the Panji Sakti line, who were massacred wherever they could be found. The date 1833 is evidently too late; the death of Anak Agung Pahang is variously dated, but he was certainly dead when Pangeran Said Hasan al-Habashi visited Bali on behalf of the Dutch in 1824 (Coll. G.J.C. Schneither 131, Nat. Archief). The date is not found in the *Pasangkalan*, and might be the calculation of the compiler.

69. Duk Anak Agung Ngurah Made Karangasem ratu Buleleng (wit ratu Karangasem) manangun yuda marep Sri Gopormen Welanda, tur raris kaon jagate ring Buleleng, gajah rasa pandita tunggal, 1768.

The time when Anak Agung Ngurah Made Karangasem, king of Buleleng (descended from the kings of Karangasem) provokes a fight with the Dutch Government; and the land of Buleleng is then defeated, 1846.

*The first Dutch expedition to Buleleng in 1846. The Balinese were quickly defeated, though not decisively. The expedition had to be followed by two others, in 1848 and 1849. Cf. Babad Bhumi:140: Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:27; Anjang Nirartha:11.

70. Duk pangawit ratu Bali sami nangun pasobaya, masawitra ring Sri Gopormen Walanda, lawang nem wiku tunggal, 1769.

The time when the kings of Bali together begin to make a conciliation, fraternizing the Dutch Government, 1847.

*The correct date is 1849, when the third Dutch expedition to Bali was concluded through a conciliation between the Dutch authorities and the South Balinese princes (Van der Kraan 1995:158-64).

71. Duk perang Banjar (Buleleng), marep ring Sri Gopormen Welanda, nora leng gunung tunggal, 1790.

Time of the Banjar War (in Buleleng), against the Dutch Government, 1868.

*A Brahmana chief in Banjar fought the Dutch colonial authorities in this year. Successful at first, he was finally defeated by the colonial troops (Rubinstein 1996). Cf. Babad Bhumi:141.

72. Duk karya malebonang Raja Batari Idewa Agung Istri ring Klungkung, catur gopura kuda tunggal, 1794.

Time of a cremation ceremony for Raja Batari I Dewa Agung Istri of Klungkung, 1872.

*This lady, Dewa Agung Istri Kanya, was co-ruler of Klungkung with her brother from c.1815, and is remembered as a culturally gifted and resolute potentate. She is said to have passed away in 1868, but the cremation ceremony may have been delayed for a number of years (Vickers 1989:66-8).

73. Duk I Gusti Ngurah Ktut Jlantik, sentana Ratu Buleleng, jumenang Regen ring Buleleng, maselong ka Padang Sumatra, kapisisip antuk Sri Gopormen kala pangadeg Tuan L. de Scheemaker, asisten Residen Buleleng, bhuta leng gunung bhumi, 1795.

Time when I Gusti Ngurah Ketut Jelantik, heir of the Buleleng kings and established as regent of Buleleng, is deported [lit. "Ceylon-ized"] to Padang in Sumatra, exiled by the Government during the tenure of Mr. L. de Scheemaker, assistant resident of Buleleng, 1873.

*The year commonly given for the raja's exile is 1872. He was accused by his Dutch colonial suzerains to have pursued nasty practices (Schulte Nordholt 1996:171).

74. Ngawit wenten Sekolah aksara Wolanda ring Buleleng, ne dados guru mawasta I Ranta saking Banyuning, rasa bolong gunung sinunggal, 1796.

Beginning of the Dutch-language school in Buleleng; he who becomes teacher is called I Ranta from Banyuning, 1874.

*The date given in European texts for the opening of the school is usually 1875.

Banyuning is a village in central Buleleng.

75. Duk makeplug Gunung Krakatau, mawanan rusak jagate tampek irika, saking kala punika katah batu kumbang sambrag ring kakisik pulu Bali, bhuta geseng naga sasi, 1805.

Time of eruption of Gunung Krakatau, causing destruction of the stricken land; from that time, many stones are swept ashore on the beaches of Bali, 1883.

*The well-known Krakatau eruption caused enormous tidal waves which had its consequences in large parts of maritime Asia including Bali. Cf. Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:36.

76. Duk masa rundah ratu Gianyar I Dewa Manggis, saking pakaryan para punggawa irika manungkus; kalarisan I Dewa Manggis, magedos malinggih ring Ksatria Klungkung; rasa taya gajah tunggal, 1806.

Time of collapse of the king of Gianyar, I Dewa Manggis, due to the doings of the opposing punggawas; I Dewa Manggis is then exiled, residing in Ksatria in Klungkung, 1884.

*Dewa Manggis VII was outmanoevred through intrigues that included his most important vassals. Dewa Agung of Klungkung took him in custody and forced him to live in exile in Satria (Ksatria), where he passed away in 1891. His sons later asserted the independence of Gianyar again. Cf. Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:37.

77. Duk ngawit jagat Badunge masatru ka Mangwi, wiku lina gajah bhumi, 1807.

Beginning of the enmity of the land of Badung towards Mengwi, 1885.

*A quarrel arose between Badung and Mengwi in this year due to a cremation. The patih of Mengwi shut off irrigation water to Badung, with disastrous effects for the latter kingdom (Schulte Nordholt 1996:179).

78. Duk I Gusti Ngurah Ktut Jlantik rauh ka Buleleng mawali saking paselongan ring Padang, naga mati makunjara asasih, 1808.

The time when I Gusti Ngurah Ketut Jelantik arrives to Buleleng, coming back from the exile in Padang, 1886.

*The former raja-regent of Buleleng was allowed by the Dutch to return to his homeland, where he passed away in 1893.

79. Ngawit jajahan Mengwine kalih manca mawasta Kaba-kaba, muah Blayu kaduwe antuk Tabanan, gni sumirating naga sasi, 1813.

Beginning of the occupation of Mengwi; two manca[-ships] called Kaba-kaba and Blayu are acquired by Tabanan, 1891.

*When Tabanan attacked the Mengwi kingdom in conjunction with Badung, in 1891, members from the Kaba-kaba residence, who had fled to Tabanan some years before, were able to return under Tabananese auspices. The lord of Blayu was attacked and committed suicide, and his lands were also incorporated with Tabanan (Schulte Nordholt 1996:187). Cf. Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:38.

80. Dewa Ngurah Pahang, mobos saking Ksatria, budal ka Gianyar, mungkasang Gianyare ka Bangli, jala sasi gaja bhumi, 1814.

Dewa Ngurah Pahang, set free from Ksatria, flees to Gianyar; ending his stay in Gianyar he goes to Bangli, 1892.

*After the death of the ex-raja Dewa Manggis VII of Gianyar, in Klungkungese confinement, his son Dewa Pahang fled (in 1893 according to one account) and succeeded in making himself ruler of a restored Gianyar kingdom (Wiener 1995:252).

81. Duk kaon Sasake antuk sri Gopormen Walanda, tur raris agunge lingsir magedos malinggihang ring Batawi, masa punika malaspasin pura luhur Ulu Watu (Badung); kumbang wong asti daroni, 1816.

Time of defeat of Sasak [Lombok] by the Dutch Government; and then the Agung steps down and is driven in exile, taking up residence in Batavia; at this time there is a dedication ceremony at the ancestral temple Ulu Watu (in Badung), 1894.

*The Dutch government interfered in the war between the Balinese raja of Lombok and the East Sasaks in 1894. After an initial defeat, the Dutch managed to break all resistance and take the raja prisoner. He was sent to Batavia where he passed away in 1895 (Cool 1896).

82. I Dewa Gde Raka gumanti agung ring Gianyar, ngontos salinan I Dewa Ngurah Pahang, nora atangan naga sabhumi, 1820.

I Dewa Gede Raka succeeds as the Agung of Gianyar; up for replacement of I Dewa Ngurah Pahang, 1898.

*Dewa Gede Raka alias Dewa Manggis VIII succeeded his brother Dewa Pahang, who had died in 1896; beset with difficulties he saved his kingdom by contacting the Dutch colonial authorities in 1900 (Wiener 1995:252).

83. Duk pabisekayen Sri Maharaja Putri Wilhelmina, jumenang ratu ring panegara Walanda, nora atangan naga sabhumi, 1820.

Time of consecration of Queen Wilhelmina, established as queen of the realm of Holland,

1898.

*After the death of her father, Willem III, in 1890, Wilhelmina was under the regency of her mother Emma. In 1898 she was finally crowned, a pompous event that was noted even on distant Bali.

84. Duk jagate ring Gianyar ngawit kaatur ring Sri Gopormen, antuk Idewa Gde Raka, wani angalih gaja sabhumi, 1821.

The time when the land of Gianyar first is offered to the Dutch Government, by I Dewa Gede Raka, 1899.

*In order to survive, Dewa Gede Raka freely submitted to the Dutch authorities by the end of Saka 1821, actually at the beginning of 1900 A.D. (Agung 1991:147-8).

85. Ring Buleleng karawuhan penyakit kacacar; geni angapit gaja tunggal, 1823.

In Buleleng a smallpox epidemic arrives, 1901.

*Smallpox was a frightful killer in traditional Bali; frequent epidemic waves are mentioned in the sources. The Dutch reports mention 1902 as the high tide of this epidemic wave in Buleleng.

86. Geseng Pura Panataran Batur, geni saking mur Gunung Batur, makeplug nganyudang endut parangan, matemahan embah geni, ngalancah pategalane ring jajahan Batur; kumbang angalih naga sasi, 1826.

Burning of the Pura Panataran in Batur, due to fire coming from Gunung Batur; the eruption of mud and rocks turns into a stream of fire that flows over the dry field area in the Batur region, 1904.

*The date mentioned in European texts for this event is 1905, when erupting lava streams caused some destruction.

87. Geseng Pura Luhur ring Besakih, penembahan I Dewa Agung Klungkung, wit kasamber kilat; kuda angalih gaja tunggal, 1827.

Burning of the ancestral temple of the revered one, I Dewa Agung of Klungkung, at Besakih; the origin-point is struck by lightning, 1905.

*The Dutch conquest of Klungkung in 1908 is said to have been preceded by various bad omens that foreboded the fall of Dewa Agung (Wiener 1995:278-301).

88. Duk kaon Badung muah Tabanan, antuk kumpeni Walanda, tunggal masa, gaja angapit naga sasi, 1828.

Time of defeat of Badung and Tabanan, by the Dutch “Company”, at the same time, 1906.

*The Dutch expedition of 1906 landed at Badung which was defeated, the royal families and their entourages dying in suicidal attacks. Tabanan submitted without a fight, and the king and one of his sons committed suicide (Agung 1991:198-218).

89. Duk kaon Klungkung, antuk kumpeni Walanda, taya geni gaja rupa, 1830.

Time of defeat of Klungkung, by the Dutch “Company”, 1908.

*The final defeat of the old Balinese order; after a few incidents a Dutch force marched against Klungkung whose king made a suicidal attack together with his family and entourage, on 28 April 1908 (Wiener 1995:3-7).

90. Duk ngawit jagate ring Bangli, kaduwe antuk Sri Gopormen Walanda saking kaaturang papolosan antuk I Dewa Gde Tangkeban, ratu ring Bangli; taya geni gaja rupa, 1830.

Time when the land of Bangli is first acquired by the Dutch Government, offered in sincerity by I Dewa Gede Tangkeban, king of Bangli, 1908.

*After the fall of Klungkung to the Dutch, Bangli capitulated and was allowed to keep its ruling line (Agung 1991:259-60).

91. Duk rawuh S.P. Tuan Besar Gubernur Jendral Mr. J.P. Graaf van Limburg Stirum, tedun ring Palabuah Buleleng, raris mider ka jagat Bali muah Lombok, nora kawahan gaja tunggal, 1840.

Time of arrival of the Noble Sir Governor General Mr. J.P. Graaf van Limburg Stirum, coming ashore at the harbour of Buleleng; he is then touring the lands of Bali and Lombok, 1918.

*The governor general of the Dutch East Indies paid a visit to Bali in this year, surrounded by much pomp and circumstance (Schulte Nordholt 1996:263).

BABAD TUSAN (INCLUDED IN BUNGKAHING SUNDARI-TERUS, LOr 13.192).

The *Babad Tusan* is included in a larger text called *Bunkahing Sundari-Terus* (No. 282, Gedong Kirtya), that was transcribed on 7 May 1973 by I Gusti Ngurah Suarna. It stands independent from the rest of the manuscript, which is about divination. It includes a number of stock dates that are to be found in the other year-lists studied. The most interesting additions to our knowledge are the last two chronograms, about the Batuparang campaign in 1567 Saka / 1645 A.D. This piece of information can be confirmed from a Dutch VOC letter not published or mentioned in any printed work before 1998 - a definitive proof that these chronograms may sometimes include information of surprising accuracy. The copying of the text seems to be very sloppy, however, as can be seen in a comparison with other lists.

Iti Babad Tusan.

1. Panjeneng bumi, pucung bolong, 99.

Coming to being of the world [or: the land], 177.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:1; Babad Bhumi:36; Babad Bhumi:95; Korn 2:14; Korn 3:2; Korn 5:10; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:1; Pangrincik Babad:1; Pawawatekan:18.

2. Babad Tampa Hyang, geseng sasih wah, 11.

Tampa Hyang, 89.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:2; Babad Bhumi:38; Babad Bhumi:96; Korn 3:4; Korn 4:2; Korn 5:11; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:2; Pangrincik Babad:3; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:1; Pawawatekan:11; Pawawatekan:17.

3. Gunung Agung, wak sasiwak, 111.

Gunung Agung, 189.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:2; Babad Bhumi:38; Babad Bhumi:96; Korn 3:4; Korn 4:2; Korn 5:12; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:2; Pangrincik Babad:3; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:1; Pawawatekan:11; Pawawatekan:17.

4. Kawon Jambrana, naga jala catur sasih, 1448.

Defeat of Jambrana, 1526.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:23; Babad Bhumi:40; Korn 2:8; Korn 3:10; Korn 4:7; Korn 5:36; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:6; Pangrincik Babad:9; Pawawatekan:20; Pawawatekan:34.

5. We Unda duka Samparan, kali anga-liha jurang, 924.

The Unda River at the time of Samparan [Sampalan], 1002.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:23; Babad Bhumi:40; Korn 2:8; Korn 3:10; Korn 4:7; Korn 5:36; Babad Tusan:35; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:6; Pangrincik Babad:9; Pawawatekan:20; Pawawatekan:34.

6. Candi Dharma, lawang apit lawang, 929.

Candi of Dharma, 1007.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:11; Korn 2:17; Korn 3:8; Korn 5:25; Babad Tusan:31; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:9; Pangrincik Babad:5; Pangrincik Babad:50; Pawawatekan:10; Pawawatekan:22.

7. Candi Bara Batuh, gajah ngapit lala, 929 [recte 928].

Candi of Bara Batuh [Blahbatuh], 1007 [recte 1006].

*Cf. Babad Gumi:10; Babad Bhumi:103; Korn 4:10; Korn 5:24; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:10; Pangrincik Babad:11; Pawawatekan:14.

8. Katon [kawon] Kapal, kakambingan kawahin wani, 1481.

Defeat of Kapal, 1559.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:20; Korn 2:2; Korn 3:12; Korn 4:11; Korn 5:39; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:11; Pangrincik Babad:12; Pawawatekan:23; Pawawatekan:29.

9. Gunung Mahameru, wetu tahelenging sela, 193.

Gunung Mahameru, 271.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:7; Babad Bhumi:101; Korn 2:31; Korn 3:13; Korn 4:12; Korn 5:16; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:12; Pangrincik Babad:6; Pasasangkalan:77; Pawawatekan:24.

10. Kawon Tenganan, bhuta untu anjala sasih, 1475 [recte 1415].

Defeat of Tenganan, 1553 [recte 1493].

*Cf. Korn 3:14; Korn 4:13; Korn 5:32; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:13; Pawawatekan:25.

11. Kawon Bali, bhuta angandong wong, 126.

Defeat of Bali, 204.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:6; Babad Bhumi:41; Korn 2:32; Korn 3:15; Korn 3:23; Korn 4:14; Korn 5:15; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:14; Pangrincik Babad:14; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:4; Pawawatekan:4; Pawawatekan:26; Pawawatekan:60.

12. Kawon Patembokan, kuda untu [retu?] anjala sasih, 108 [recte 1467].

Defeat of Patembokan, 186 [recte 1545].

*Cf. Babad Gumi:27; Babad Bhumi:42; Korn 2:19; Korn 3:16; Korn 4:15; Korn 5:38; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:15; Pangrincik Babad:15; Pawawatekan:27.

13. Rundah Pande, tanora mana bhumi, 1500.

Collapse of Pande, 1578.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:63; Babad Bhumi:107; Korn 3:24; Korn 4:16; Korn 5:43; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:16; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:13.

14. Kawon Uwayang, bhuta yantu anjala sasih 1475.

Defeat of Uwayang, 1553.

*The placename is otherwise unknown, and the date occurs only in this list.

15. Kawon Tatarukan, tahe warni anjala sasih 1444.

Defeat of Tatarukan, 1522.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:21; Korn 2:5; Korn 3:18; Korn 4:18; Korn 5:34; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:18; Pawawatekan:31.

16. Kawon Ularan, kuda warna anjala sasih 1447.

Defeat of Ularan, 1525.

*Cf. Korn 2:6; Korn 3:19; Korn 4:19; Korn 5:35; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:19; Pawawatekan:32.

17. Kawon Bala Batjong, raratanti 1144.

Defeat of Bala batjong [Bala Banjong], 1222.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:43; Korn 4:20; Korn 5:27; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:20; Pangrincik Babad:16.

18. Kawon samping Jeruk, nora brahmana catur bumi 1480.

Defeat of the faction of Jeruk, 1558.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:62; Babad Bhumi:44; Babad Bhumi:106; Babad Bhumi:138; Korn 3:20; Korn 4:21; Korn 5:40; Pangrincik Babad:17; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:12; Pawawatekan:35.

19. Suwung kawaton [kadaton] ing Gelgel, nora leng waya bumi 1490 (1568).

Desertion of the palace of Gelgel, 1568.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:45; Korn 4:24; Korn 5:41; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:21; Pangrincik Babad:20.

20. Yeh Jina mambebet, sad rasa catur bumi, 1466.

The Jina River is flooding, 1544.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:26; Korn 3:21; Korn 4:25; Korn 5:37; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:22; Pangrincik Babad:21; Pawawatekan:38.

21. Kawon Barangbangan, nora tingas buta buta bu, 1520.

Defeat of Balambangan, 1598.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:28; Babad Bhumi:46; Korn 3:22; Korn 4:26; Korn 5:45; Babad Tusan:38; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:23; Pangrincik Babad:22; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:9; Pawawatekan:39.

22. Segara ring Padang, sagara anangung gunung, 124 [recte 724].

The Sea of Padang, 202 [recte 802].

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:47; Babad Bhumi:102; Korn 4:27; Pangrincik Babad:23.

23. Kawon Badung, nora leng wana nemu bumi 1490.

Defeat of Badung, 1468.

*Cf. Korn 4:28; Korn 5:41; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:24; Pangrincik Babad:24; Pawawatekan:41.

24. Babad Batu urugan, camauna bhuta ning bumi, 1534.

Batu[r] is buried, 1612.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:62; Babad Bhumi:109; Korn 2:23; Korn 5:52; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:27; Pangrincik Babad:31.

25. Sakenan, sasih angapit lawang, 921.

Sakenan, 999.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:104; Babad Bhumi:137; Korn 4:34; Korn 5:63; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:28; Pangrincik Babad:32; Pawawatekan:42.

26. Tutumpur, warna ngapi tunggal, 1524.

Epidemic disaster, 1602.

*Dated 1602 in the other lists. Cf. Babad Gumi:29; Babad Bhumi:58; Korn 4:35; Korn 5:46; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:30; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:10.

27. Ganhendeh, nora ki bhuta sasih, 1530.

Ganhendeh [?], 1608.

*Perhaps a corruption of “Duk edeh”, time of measles, mentioned in other lists with the chronogram nora gina bhuta sasih, meaning likewise 1530. Cf. Babad Gumi:31; Korn 5:50; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:32.

28. Kawon Bima Cili, kunda api bhuta tunggal, 1537.

Defeat of Bima Cili, 1615.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:60; Pangrincik Babad:34.

29. Gunung Besakih metu api, brahmana maguna bhuta tunggal, 1538.

Gunung Besakih spits fire, 1616.

*Cf. BabadGumi:33; BabadGumi:34; Babad Bhumi:57; Babad Bhumi:110; Korn 5:54; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:33; Pangrincik Babad:35.

30. Ajeneng jero ring Kesiman, lawa maguna manca bumi, 1539.

Establishment of a residence in Kesiman, 1617.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:61; Korn 5:55.

31. Lawangan ring Burwan, lawang angapit lawang, 929.

The gateway of Burwan, 1007.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:11; Korn 2:17; Korn 3:8; Korn 5:25; Babad Tusan:6; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:9; Pangrincik Babad:5; Pangrincik Babad:50; Pawawatekan:10; Pawawatekan:22.

32. Yeh Tanu getih, jalati ngali wong, 124.

The Tanu [Petanu] River is blooded, 202.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:99.

33. Gunung Pawitra, bhuta tingaling wang, 127.

Gunung Pawitra, 205.

*A mountain on Java mentioned in the *Nagarakertagama* and *Tantu Panggelaran*, where there was a Resi sanctuary. It is supposed to have been Gunung Penanggungan of later times (Robson 1995:127).

34. Kawon Toyanyare, sanga wanikwani watu, 1419.

Defeat of Toyanyar, 1497.

*From this, it would seem that Toyanyar (Tianyar, in Karangasem) is the same place as Banyu Anyar, the defeat of which is mentioned to have taken place the same year in the *Babad Gumi* and several other lists. Babad Gumi:4; Babad Bhumi:39; Babad Bhumi:98; Korn 4:4; Korn 5:18; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:4; Pangrincik Babad:4; Sara Samuscaya Pakence:3; Pawawatekan:19.

35. Yeh Unda, gunung angalih jurang, 924.

The Unda River, 1002.

*Cf. Korn 2:12; Korn 3:5; Korn 4:8; Korn 5:23; Babad Tusan:5; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:7; Pangrincik Babad:7; Pawawatekan:21.

36. Kawon Gulyang, bhuta anjala catur wang, 1445.

Defeat of Gulyang, 1523.

*Gulyang is a village in the southernmost part of kabupaten Bangli. This is the only entry mentioning a conflict at this place.

37. Sagara Rupek, sagara nanggung bumi, 124.

The Bali Strait, 202.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:5; Babad Bhumi:100; Korn 2:16; Korn 3:7; Korn 4:9; Korn 5:14; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:8; Pangrincik Babad:10; Pawawatekan:6.

38. Kawon Balumbungan, nora katon gating wong 1520.

Defeat of Balambangan, 1598.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:28; Korn 3:22; Korn 4:26; Korn 5:45; Babad Tusan:21; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:23; Pangrincik Babad:22; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:9; Pawawatekan:39.

39. Kagraha ring Wawos Pahit, duk obah, nora dewa katon arupa, 1200 [recte 1210].

Absorption of Majapahit, disturbed times, 1278 [recte 1288].

*The Balinese sources do not know of 1400 Saka (1478 A.D.), the traditional albeit incorrect date for the fall of Majapahit in Javanese historiography. 1288 is actually closer to the founding of this kingdom (1293 A.D.). Cf. Pawawatekan:67.

40. Perang ring Langkungan, uang sad lwah tunggal, 1461.

Warfare in Langkungan, 1539.

*Langkungan is perhaps Langkong or Langko, the ancient Sasak principality of South-Central Lombok. What war is alluded to is not possible to guess. Perhaps the compiler wants to remind his readers of earlier Balinese military enterprises to Lombok, far back in time, since the following two entries deal with Lombok affairs (at the time of the compiler?).

41. Kawon Batuparang, Parigi, Samalyan, Bayan, resigana bhuta tunggal 1567.

Defeat of Batuparang, Parigi, Samalyan, Bayan, 1645.

*A number of places situated on Lombok. Batuparang is an alternative name for Selaparang, the main negara of the island, the centre of which was situated near the east coast (Sejarah Daerah 1977/78:19). Parigi is slightly to the north of Selaparang. Samalyan is presumably Sambelia in the northeast of the island. Bayan, finally, is a well-

known centre in North Lombok. For the historical context, see the next entry.

42. Kapangan ulan, duk ing Gusti Agung kantoning Padang, samangkana dina Ca., Wa., wara Dukut, sasih ka 3, duking Gusti Agung maputusan ka Batuparang, samangkana, resi gana bhuta tunggal 1567.

Eclipse of the moon, at the time when Gusti Agung is still in Padang, the day being August 7; the time when Gusti Agung sends a message to Batuparang, 1645.

*The information on a Balinese expedition to Lombok that defeated Batuparang and other places is interestingly confirmed in a VOC letter to the king of Bali, dated January 18, 1646. It is preserved in the Batavian Letter-book, VOC 773, f. 14. According to this letter, Batuparang has been defeated by the warriors of the Balinese king, apparently in 1645, and a subject of the VOC called Mustafa has been taken prisoner on the charge of having tried to assist that place with war munitions. The VOC authorities have met with the king's emissaries, who have arrived to Batavia with the prisoner. They assert that all is a regrettable mistake, and asks the king to excuse the man and hand back what remains of his goods (Hägerdal 1998:71). The Gusti Agung mentioned as leader in the Balinese text would have been the leader of the Agung minister family, who may then still have adhered to the paramount king of Gelgel. The date is internally consistent, if there was an anomaly of the New Year in this year. A lunar eclipse did actually occur on 7 August 1645. Cf. *Pawawatekan*:78, where retainers of Gusti Agung are said to have defeated a Sasak aristocrat called Raden Sebit of Langko, in May 1645.

TATTWA BATUR KALAWASAN (COLLECTION C.C. BERG B:41).

This work was copied by Soegiarto on January 9, 1930. It is mainly a text about cosmogony. However, on page 20A it also includes a yearlist, which runs as follows.

1. Babad duk wenten ing Tusan, pudung belong, 99.

Time when Tusan comes into being, 177.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:1; Babad Bhumi:36; Babad Bhumi:95; Korn 2:14; Korn 3:2; Korn 5:10; Babad Tusan:1; Pangrincik Babad:1; Pawawatekan:18.

2. Babad Gunung Agung, wak sasiwak, 11 [recte 111].

Gunung Agung, 89 [recte 189].

*Cf. Babad Gumi:3; Babad Bhumi:37; Babad Bhumi:97; Korn 2:13; Korn 3:3; Korn 4:2; Korn 5:12; Babad Tusan:3; Pangrincik Babad:2; Pangrincik Babad:51; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:2; Pawawatekan:5.

3. Babad Tampahyang, geseng sasiwak, 11.

Tampahyang, 89.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:2; Babad Bhumi:38; Babad Bhumi:96; Korn 3:4; Korn 4:2; Korn 5:11; Babad Tusan:2; Pangrincik Babad:3; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:1; Pawawatekan:11; Pawawatekan:17.

4. Babad Candidasa, wak sasih, angalih, 211.

Candidasa, 289.

*Babad Gumi:4; Babad Bhumi:39; Babad Bhumi:98; Korn 4:4; Korn 5:18; Pangrincik Babad:4; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:3; Pawawatekan:19.

5. Babad kawon Banyu Anyar, sangawan ikawwahan watu, 1419.

Defeat of Banyu Anyar, 1497.

*Babad Gumi:4; Babad Bhumi:39; Babad Bhumi:98; Korn 4:4; Korn 5:18; Babad Tusan:34; Pangrincik Babad:4; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:3; Pawawatekan:19.

6. Babad Jambrana kawon, brahmana kawahan wancala sasih, 1448.

Jembrana defeated, 1526.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:23; Babad Bhumi:40; Korn 2:8; Korn 3:10; Korn 4:7; Korn 5:36; Babad Tusan:4; Pangrincik Babad:9; Pawawatekan:20; Pawawatekan:34.

7. Babad Yeh Bebek duk ring Sampalan, kalih angalih jurang, 924.

The Bebek River at the time of Sampalan, 1002.

*Cf. Korn 2:12; Korn 3:5; Korn 4:8; Korn 5:23; Babad Tusan:5; Babad Tusan:35; Pangrincik Babad:7; Pawawatekan:21.

8. Babad Sagara Rupek, sagara ananggung bhumi, 124.

The Bali Strait, 202.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:5; Babad Bhumi:100; Korn 2:16; Korn 3:7; Korn 4:9; Korn 5:14; Babad Tusan:37; Pangrincik Babad:10; Pawawatekan:6.

9. Babad candi di Dharma, lapat angapit lawang, 929.

Candi at Dharma, 1007.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:11; Korn 2:17; Korn 3:8; Korn 5:25; Babad Tusan:6; Babad Tusan:31; Pangrincik Babad:5; Pangrincik Babad:50; Pawawatekan:10; Pawawatekan:22.

10. Babad ring Blahbatuh, gajah angapit lawang, 928.

Story of Blahbatuh, 1006.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:10; Babad Bhumi:103; Korn 4:10; Korn 5:24; Babad Tusan:7; Pangrincik Babad:11; Pawawatekan:14.

11. Babad kawon Kaphal, lanan kawahan wani, 1481.

Defeat of Kaphal, 1559.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:20; Korn 2:2; Korn 3:12; Korn 4:11; Korn 5:39; Babad Tusan:8; Pangrincik Babad:12; Pawawatekan:23; Pawawatekan:29.

12. Babad Gunung Mahameru, wlut alenging sela, 193.

Gunung Mahameru, 271.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:7; Babad Bhumi:101; Korn 2:31; Korn 3:13; Korn 4:12; Korn 5:16; Babad Tusan:9; Pangrincik Babad:6; Pasasangkalan:77; Pawawatekan:24.

13. Babad kawon Tenganan, bhuta unta anjala sasih, 1415.

Defeat of Tenganan, 1493.

*Cf. Korn 3:14; Korn 4:13; Korn 5:32; Babad Tusan:10; Pangrincik Babad:13; Pawawatekan:25.

14. Babad kawon Bali, bhuta anggandong wong, 125.

Defeat of Bali, 203.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:6; Babad Bhumi:41; Korn 2:32; Korn 3:15; Korn 3:23; Korn 4:14; Korn 5:15; Babad Tusan:11; Pangrincik Babad:14; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:4; Pawawatekan:4; Pawawatekan:26; Pawawatekan:60.

15. Babad kawon Patembokan, duk darasa anjala sasih, 1467.

Defeat of Patembokan, 1545.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:27; Babad Bhumi:42; Korn 2:19; Korn 3:16; Korn 4:15; Korn 5:38; Babad Tusan:12; Pangrincik Babad:15; Pawawatekan:27.

16. Babad kawon Pande, gesengne rabhuta tunggal, 1500.

Defeat of Pande, 1578.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:63; Babad Bhumi:107; Korn 3:24; Korn 4:16; Korn 5:43; Babad Tusan:13; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:13.

17. Babad kawon Bungaya, 1415.

Defeat of Bungaya, 1493.

*Cf. Korn 2:3; Korn 3:17; Korn 4:17; Korn 5:32; Pangrincik Babad:42; Pawawatekan:30.

18. Babad kawon Tatarukan, catur bhuja warnaning wong, 1444.

Defeat of Tatarukan, 1522.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:21; Korn 2:5; Korn 3:18; Korn 4:18; Korn 5:34; Babad Tusan:15; Pawawatekan:31.

19. Babad kawon Ulangan, kuda warna anjala sasih, 1447.

Defeat of Ulangan [Ularan], 1525.

*Cf. Korn 2:6; Korn 3:19; Korn 4:19; Korn 5:35; Babad Tusan:16; Pawawatekan:32.

20. Babad kawon Blabanjong, sang winayagana pgatuwatutunggal, 1166.

Defeat of B[a]labanjong, 1244.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:43; Korn 4:20; Korn 5:27; Babad Tusan:17; Pangrincik Babad:16.

21. Babad duk suwung kadaton, nora leng kawahan watu, 1490.

Time of desertion of the palace, 1568.

*Babad Bhumi:45; Korn 4:24; Korn 5:41; Babad Tusan:19; Pangrincik Babad:20.

22. Babad Yeh Jina, rasa rasa kawahan wani, 1466.

The Jina River, 1544.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:26; Korn 3:21; Korn 4:25; Korn 5:37; Babad Tusan:20; Pangrincik Babad:21; Pawawatekan:38.

23. Babad kawon Blangbangan, nora tinggal bhuta kiwong, 1520.

Defeat of Balambangan, 1598.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:28; Babad Bhumi:46; Korn 3:22; Korn 4:26; Korn 5:45; Babad Tusan:21; Babad Tusan:38; Pangrincik Babad:22; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:9; Pawawatekan:39.

24. Babad kawon Badung, nora leng catur bhumi, 1490.

Defeat of Badung, 1568.

*Cf. Korn 4:24; Korn 5:41; Babad Tusan:23; Pangrincik Babad:24; Pawawatekan:41.

25. Babad duke Dane Kambangan, nora catur bhuta sasih, 1540.

Time of Dane Kambangan, 1618.

*Cf. Korn 4:29; Pangrincik Babad:25.

26. Babad rundah I Dane Pagatepan, kudda pusi nalur bhumi, 1677.

Collapse of I Dane Pagatepan, 1755.

*Cf. Korn 4:30; Korn 5:62; Pangrincik Babad:26.

27. Babad dayahurugan, catur gni bhuta sasih, 1534.

Daya is buried, 1612.

*Cf. Korn 4:24; Korn 5:41; Babad Tusan:23; Pangrincik Babad:24;
Pawawatekan:41.

28. Babad Sakenan, rsi mangapit lawong tunggal, 1727.

Sakenan, 1805.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:104; Babad Bhui:137; Korn 4:34; Korn 5:63; Babad Tusan:25;
Pangrincik Babad:32; Pawawatekan:42.

29. Babad kawon Binga sigili sabwa Lombok, brahmana gni duta sasih, 1537.

Defeat of Binga sigili sabwa Lombok [?], 1615

*Probably a corruption of the chronogram found in *Korn 5:54*, about the pursuing of Biasa-gili, Labuhan Lombok in the year “brahmana gni bhuta tunggal”. Brahmana is usually 8 rather than 7, giving 1616 A.D. as the year. The first Makassarese expeditions to the Sumbawa region, which also may have touched Lombok, took place in 1618-19, so there might be question of a near-exact date (Noorduyn 1987b).

30. Babad tumpur, wana matangalih bhuta tunggal, 1527 [recte 1524].

Epidemic disaster, 1605 [recte 1602].

*Dated 1602 in the other lists. Cf. Babad Gumi:29; Babad Bhumi:58; Korn 4:35;
Korn 5:46; Babad Tusan:26; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:10.

31. Babad rundah Pinatih, kudda mangapit bhuta tunggal, 1527.

Collapse of Pinatih, 1605.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:30; Babad Bhumi:59; Korn 4:36; Korn 5:48; Pangrincik
Babad:33.

32. Babad hedeh, nora gni bhuta sasih, 1530.

Measles, 1608.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:31; Korn 5:50; Babad Tusan:27.

33. Babad Basakih mdal [mtu?] api, brahmana gni bhuta tunggal, 1538.

Basakih [Gunung Agung] spits fire, 1616.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:33; Babad Gumi:34; Babad Bhumi:57; Babad Bhumi:110; Korn 5:54; Babad Tusan:29; Pangrincik Babad:35.

34. Babad kidung Kundang Diya, wak watu gunung, 777.

The kidung Kundang Diya, 855.

*Cf. Korn 1:87; Pangrincik Babad:36.

35. Babad kidung Guwargahir, sang apaksa wiku, 729.

The kidung Guwargahir, 807.

*Cf. Korn 1:88.

36. Babad kidung Undakan Bandana, darganawa anrong, 755.

The kidung Undakan Bandana, 833.

*Cf. Korn 1:89; Pangrincik Babad:39.

37. Babad kidung Mrtamasa, durga marga apit lemah, 1285.

The kidung Mrtamasa, 1363

*Cf. Korn 1:90; Korn 2:29; Pangrincik Babad:37.

38. Babad kidung Manyura, kukunang narung sasih, 1215.

The kidung Manyura, 1293.

*Cf. Korn 1:92; Korn 2:26; Pangrincik Babad:38.

39. Babad kidung Undakan Pangrus, rupa rasa guna jala, 1361.

The kidung Undakan Pangrus, 1439.

*Cf. Korn 1:93; Korn 2:25.

40. Babad Wilet Manyura, jala dara ngemu warsa, 1514.

Wilet Manyura, 1592.

*Cf. Korn 1:94; Korn 2:30; Pangrincik Babad:40.

41. Babad Tembang Si Ten Pgat, hasta yana catur ulan, 1468.

Tembang Si Ten Pegat, 1546.

*Cf. Korn 1:95; Korn 2:27.

PANGRINCIK BABAD (LOr 3931:4).

The text is found in two manuscript copies in the collection of Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk, who resided on Bali in 1870-94, namely LOr 3931:4 and LOr 3981:2. Both manuscripts include a number of further texts. The LOr 3931, which has been used here, includes works on cosmogony and legendary history, namely *Tantu Panggelaran*, *Usana Bali*, *Tatwa Sawang-suwung* and three minor texts on chronogram words. In the *Pangrincik Babad* we have a cluster of dates – largely confirmed by external sources – that concentrates on early 17th century events, up to 1620. So it is perhaps not farfetched to ask if it could have been compiled as early as in the Gelgel period. This list, or a list similar to this, has influenced many of the other year-lists, as seen from the ordering of the entries.

Ni ana Pangrincik Babad.

1. Babad duk kalah Tusan, pucung balong [99].

Time of defeat of Tusan, 177.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:1; Babad Bhumi:36; Babad Bhumi:95; Korn 2:14; Korn 3:2; Korn 5:10; Babad Tusan:1; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:1; Pawawatekan:18.

2. Babad Gunung Agung, wak sasi wak [111].

Gunung Agung, 189.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:3; Babad Bhumi:37; Babad Bhumi:97; Korn 2:13; Korn 3:3; Korn 4:2; Korn 5:12; Babad Tusan:3; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:2; Pangrincik Babad:51; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:2; Pawawatekan:5.

3. Babad Gunung Ta[m]pahyang, geseng sasi wak [110].

Gunung Tampahyang, 188.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:2; Babad Bhumi:38; Babad Bhumi:96; Korn 3:4; Korn 4:2; Korn 5:12; Babad Tusan:2; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:3; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:1; Pawawatekan:11; Pawawatekan:17.

4. Babad Candidasa, wani sasi angalih [211].

Candidasa, 289.

*Babad Gumi:4; Babad Bhumi:39; Babad Bhumi:98; Korn 4:4; Korn 5:18;

Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:4; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:3; Pawawatekan:19.

5. Babad candi ring Dharma, lawang angapit lawang [929].

Candi at Dharma, 1007.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:11; Korn 2:17; Korn 3:8; Korn 5:25; Babad Tusan:6; Babad Tusan:31; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:9; Pangrincik Babad:50; Pawawatekan:10; Pawawatekan:22.

6. Babad Gunung Mahameru, wlut langi sela [193].

Gunung Mahameru, 271.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:7; Babad Bhumi:101; Korn 2:31; Korn 3:13; Korn 4:12; Korn 5:16; Babad Tusan:9; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:12; Pasingkalan:77; Pawawatekan:24.

7. Babad Yeh Unda duk Omalan, kali angali yurang [924].

The Unda River at the time of Omalan [Sampalan], 1002.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:9; Korn 2:12; Korn 3:5; Korn 4:8; Korn 5:23; Babad Tusan:5; Babad Tusan:35; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:7; Pawawatekan:21.

8. Babad Banyu Anyar kawon, marga tunggal catur bumi [1419].

Banyu Anyar defeated, 1497.

*Babad Gumi:4; Babad Bhumi:39; Babad Bhumi:98; Korn 4:4; Korn 5:18; Babad Tusan:34; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:5; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:3; Pawawatekan:19.

9. Babad Jambrana kawon, brahmana catur bhuja tunggal [1448].

Jembrana defeated, 1526.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:23; Babad Bhumi:40; Korn 2:8; Korn 3:10; Korn 4:7; Korn 5:36; Babad Tusan:4; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:6; Pawawatekan:20; Pawawatekan:34.

10. Babad Sagara Rupek, sagara nanggung bumi [124].

The Bali Strait, 202.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:5; Babad Bhumi:100; Korn 2:16; Korn 3:7; Korn 4:9; Korn 5:14; Babad Tusan:37; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:8; Pawawatekan:6.

11. Babad Balabatuh, gajah apit langwang [928].

Blahbatuh, 1006.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:10; Babad Bhumi:103; Korn 4:10; Korn 5:24; Babad Tusan:7; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:10; Pawawatekan:14.

12. Babad Kapal, sasih brahmana catur bumi [1481].

Kapal, 1559.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:20; Korn 2:2; Korn 3:12; Korn 4:11; Korn 5:39; Babad Tusan:8; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:11; Pawawatekan:23; Pawawatekan:29.

13. Babad kawon Tenganan, ngemu watu kaya wani [1415].

Defeat of Tenganan, 1493.

*Cf. Korn 3:14; Korn 4:13; Korn 5:32; Babad Tusan:10; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:13; Pawawatekan:25.

14. Babad kawon Bali, buta anggandong wong [125].

Defeat of Bali, 203.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:6; Babad Bhumi:41; Korn 2:32; Korn 3:15; Korn 3:23; Korn 4:14; Korn 5:15; Babad Tusan:11; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:14; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:4; Pawawatekan:4; Pawawatekan:26; Pawawatekan:60.

15. Babad kawon Patembokan, bhuja warna toya watu [1442].

Defeat of Patembokan, 1520.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:27; Babad Bhumi:42; Korn 2:19; Korn 3:16; Korn 4:15; Korn 5:38; Babad Tusan:12; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:15; Pawawatekan:27.

16. Babad kawon Banjong, masa sadra ulan raditya [1166].

Defeat of [Bala] Banjong, 1244.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:43; Korn 4:20; Korn 5:27; Babad Tusan:17; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:20.

17. Babad kawon sampi[ng] Jruk, nora brahmana catur bumi [1480].

Defeat of the faction of Jeruk, 1558.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:62; Babad Bhumi:44; Babad Bhumi:106; Babad Bhumi:138; Korn 3:20; Korn 4:21; Korn 5:40; Babad Tusan:18; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:12; Pawawatekan:35.

18. Babad kawon Banyu Anyar, sasi lana warnaning wong [1461].

Defeat of Banyu Anyar, 1539.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:25.

19. Babad meru ring Basakih katunjel dening wong edan, janma eka nora watu [1011].

Meru in Besakih burnt down by mad people, 1089.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:12; Korn 2:20; Korn 4:23; Korn 5:26; Pawawatekan:36.

20. Babad kawon Gelgel, nora leng warnaning wong [1490].

Defeat of Gelgel, 1568.

*Babad Bhumi:45; Korn 4:24; Korn 5:41; Babad Tusan:19; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:21.

21. Babad Yeh Jinah, sangka pageh warna ning wong [1466?].

The Jina River, 1544 [?].

*Cf. Babad Gumi:26; Korn 3:21; Korn 4:25; Korn 5:37; Babad Tusan:20; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:22; Pawawatekan:38.

22. Babad kawon Balangmbangan, nora tingal buta sasih [1520].

Defeat of Balambangan, 1598.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:28; Babad Bhumi:46; Korn 3:22; Korn 4:26; Korn 5:45; Babad Tusan:21; Babad Tusan:38; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:23; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:9; Pawawatekan:39.

23. Babad Padang, sagara nanggung gunung [724].

Padang, 802.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:47; Babad Bhumi:102; Korn 4:27; Babad Tusan:22.

24. Babad kawon Badung, nora leng warna bumi [1490].

Defeat of Badung, 1568.

*Cf. Korn 4:24; Korn 5:41; Babad Tusan:23; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:24; Pawawatekan:41.

25. Babad Dane Kambangan ka Bali, nora banyu bhuta sasih [1540].

Dane Kambangan goes to Bali, 1618.

*Cf. Korn 4:29; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:25.

26. Babad rundah ing Dane Pangatepan, kuda gunung toya watu [1477].

Collapse of Dane Pagatepan, 1555.

*Cf. Korn 4:30; Korn 5:62; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:26.

27. Babad lintang kukusan sumembur mamenjor, nora banyu bhudo sasih [1540].

A comet gushes forth, making like penjor, 1618.

*Cf. Korn 4:31.

28. Babad Sumanggen ring Bancingah kesa, linan nora warna bumi [1400].

The Sumanggen at the Bancingah is changed, 1478.

*Cf. Korn 4:32.

29. Babad Bayan kagepok, wani toya bhuta bhumi [1541].

Bayan is attacked, 1619.

*Cf. Korn 4:33.

30. Babad duk ka Kuta ring tngah yungan, pakasa warna bhayu ning wong [1542].

Time of going to Kuta [or: time of being fortified], in the midst of commotion [?], 1620.

*The last word seems to derive from iyung or yung, “[a country] being in commotion”. The chronogram fits precisely with a Dutch report from 1620, which mentions internal rebellion against the Gelgel king in this year (De Jonge 1869:207).

31. Babad Daya urugan, toya wlut buta bumi [1534].

Daya is buried, 1612.

*Cf. Korn 4:24; Korn 5:41; Babad Tusan:23; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:27; Pawawatekan:41.

32. Babad Sakenan, prasi mengapi lawang [927].

Sakenan, 1005.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:104; Babad Bhui:137; Korn 4:34; Korn 5:63; Babad Tusan:25; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:28; Pawawatekan:42.

33. Babad rundah Pinatih, prasi mangalih bhuta tunggal [1527].

Collapse of Pinatih, 1605.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:30; Babad Bhumi:59; Korn 4:36; Korn 5:48; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:31.

34. Babad Bima Cili kawon, brahmana maguna bayu ning wong [1538].

Bima Cili is defeated, 1616.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:60; Babad Tusan:28.

35. Babad Gunung Agung karihnayan, brahmana maguna bhuta sasih [1538].

The first time of Gunung Agung, 1616.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:33; Babad Gumi:34; Babad Bhumi:57; Babad Bhumi:110; Korn 5:54; Babad Tusan:29; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:33..

36. Babad Kidung Kundang Diya, tebek diman karob [777?].

The kidung Kundang Diya, 855 [?].

*Cf. Korn 1:87; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:34.

37. Babad Mreta Masa, durga marga ngapit ngmad [1295].

Mreta Masa, 1373.

*Cf. Korn 1:90; Korn 2:30; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:37.

38. Babad Manyura, kokunang narung sasih [111].

Manyura, 189.

*Cf. Korn 1:92; Korn 2:26.

39. Babad Undakan Bandana, durga tana dri [755?].

Undakan Bandana, 833 [?].

*Cf. Korn 1:89; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:36.

40. Babad Wilet Manyura, jala dara ngemu warsa [1514].

Wilet Manyura, 1592.

*Cf. Korn 1:94; Korn 2:30; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:40.

41. Babad Watu Gunung, prasi gagih tunggal [137?].

Watu Gunung, 215 [?].

*Actually Watu Guning is the 30th and last week in the Balinese Pawukon cycle. In Javanese tradition he is depicted as an ancient king who married his mother Sinta and begat 27 children.

42. Babad kawon Bungaya, naka buntut danyala ulan 1218 [recte 1415].

Defeat of Bungaya, 1296 [recte 1493].

*Cf. Korn 2:3; Korn 3:17; Korn 4:17; Korn 5:32; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:17; Pawawatekan:30.

43. Babad Yeh Kadewatan, ku ping hangapit 922.

The Kadewatan River, 1000.

*Kadewatan is situated in South Bali.

44. Babad Badaulu, kala gaha ngapit 824.

Badaulu, 902.

*Probably referring to the defeat of the legendary king of Bedulu (Bedahulu).

45. Babad Sagara Lor, bana takaling 21.

The Northern Ocean, 89.

*Cf. Korn 3:6.

46. Babad pangukur, uran takon bumi 122.

Measuring, 200.

*This entry gives no real meaning. Perhaps it is a place name?

47. Babad kawon Mangening, wedang kaya ri natar 153.

Defeat of the Mangening shrine, 231.

*There are some temples on Bali bearing this name. One is found in Kediri in Tabanan. The best known, however, is the Pura Mangening which is situated south of the more famous Pura Tirtha Empul in Tampaksiring, Gianyar. It is the shrine of Bhatara Suci Nirmala. The *Usana Bali* has it that a legendary ruler, Masula Masuli, led the people to construct this and other shrines. Pura Mangening was projected by a certain Bandesa Wayah (Soebandi 1983:89-91). No violent attack on the shrine is mentioned in available texts.

48. Babad sangah kamulan, brahma wisnu isura, 143.

Ancestral shrine, 221.

*The chronogram combines a triad of gods in order to mark the origin of the Balinese ancestral shrine.

48. Babad Wuluwatu, om tunggal 11.

Wuluwatu, 89.

*The important sanctuary Pura Uluwatu on the southern Bukit Peninsula is believed by modern tradition to have been constructed by the ancient sage Mpu Kuturan and then built anew by the 16th century Brahmin Nirartha (Soebandi 1983:111-3).

49. Babad Darma ring Burwan, lawang angapit lawang [929].

Darma in Burwan, 1007.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:11; Korn 2:17; Korn 3:8; Korn 5:25; Babad Tusan:6; Babad Tusan:31; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:9; Pangrincik Babad:5; Pawawatekan:10; Pawawatekan:22.

50. Babad Gunung Agung, wak sasih wak, 111.

Gunung Agung, 189.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:3; Babad Bhumi:37; Babad Bhumi:97; Korn 2:13; Korn 3:3; Korn 4:3; Korn 5:12; Babad Tusan:3; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:2; Pangrincik Babad:2; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:2; Pawawatekan:5.

51. Babad Yeh Unda duk metu ring Gunung Agung, kali angalih kali [424].

The Unda River, time of eruption of Gunung Agung, 502.

*The Unda River is otherwise associated with the year 1002; see f.i. Babad Gumi:9.

52. Babad kawon Balabancong, nusa anggandong wong [128].

Defeat of Balabancong, 206.

*Balabanjong (-bancong) is otherwise associated with the year 1244 or 1544. See f.i. Babad Bhumi:43. The chronogram is reminiscent of “bhuta anggandong wong”, associated with the defeat of Bali; see f.i. Babad Gumi:6.

SARA SAMUSCAYA PAKENCA (COLLECTION C.C. BERG 118:3).

This is a lontar with a law text, at the end of which is included a list of dates going up to the fall of Mengwi in “1890”, recte 1891. The first part of the list is clearly borrowed from Babad Gumi. The *Pamancangah Karangasem* from c. 1900 (also in Coll. Berg 118:3) has in its turn borrowed from this list. From this it can be seen that the Babad Gumi existed already in the 19th century (probably, as argued earlier, it was compiled in about 1711), while the Sare-Samuscaya-Pakence list seems to have been written in the 1890s.

1. Babad duk wahu anjeneng Batur, 110.

Time of establishment of Batur, 188.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:2; Babad Bhumi:38; Babad Bhumi:96; Korn 3:4; Korn 4:2; Korn 5:12; Babad Tusan:2; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:3; Pangrincik Babad:3; Pawawatekan:11; Pawawatekan:17.

2. Babad duk wahu anjeneng Gunung Agung, 111.

Time of establishment Gunung Agung, 189.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:3; Babad Bhumi:37; Babad Bhumi:97; Korn 2:13; Korn 3:3; Korn 4:2; Korn 5:12; Babad Tusan:3; Pangrincik Babad:2; Pangrincik Babad:51; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:2; Pawawatekan:5.

3. Babad duk wahu anjeneng Candidasa, 112.

Time of establishment of Candidasa, 190.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:4; Babad Bhumi:39; Babad Bhumi:98; Korn 4:4; Korn 5:18; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:4; Pangrincik Babad:14; Pawawatekan:19.

4. Babad duk kawon Bali, 125.

Time of defeat of Bali, 203.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:6; Babad Bhumi:41; Korn 2:32; Korn 3:15; Korn 3:23; Korn 4:14; Korn 5:15; Babad Tusan:11; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:14; Pangrincik Babad:14; Pawawatekan:4; Pawawatekan:26; Pawawatekan:60.

5. Babad duk pegat Jawe-Bali, 1256.

Time of a break between Java and Bali, 1334.

*The date is taken from the *Nagarakertagama*, the chronogram of which is variously interpreted as 1256 or 1265. Cf. Babad Gumi:14; Korn 1:14; Pasasangkalan:3.

6. Babad duk sira Patih Gajah Mada ring Wilatikta, 1286.

Time of patih Gajah Mada of Wilatikta [Majapahit], 1364.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:15.

7. Babad duk patinire Batare Wekasing Suka, 1321.

Time of decease of Batare Wekasing Suka, 1399.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:16; Korn 1:61.

8. Babad duk Bali aperang, 1391.

Time of Bali waging war, 1469.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:19; Korn 2:1; Korn 3:25; Pawawatekan:28.

9. Babad duk kawon Balangbangan, 1520.

Time of defeat of Balambangan, 1598.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:28. Babad Bhumi:46; Korn 3:22; Korn 4:26; Korn 5:45; Babad Tusan:21; Babad Tusan:38; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:23; Pangrincik Babad:22; Pawawatekan:39.

10. Babad duk tumpur, 1524.

Time of epidemic disaster, 1602.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:29; Babad Bhumi:58; Korn 4:35; Korn 5:46; Babad Tusan:26; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:30.

11. Babad duk Ngurah Bungaya mati mesiat ameseh Idene Nglurah Agung Bulehan, 1573.

Time of death of Ngurah Bungahya, fighting against Idene Nglurah Agung Bulehan, 1651.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:42; Babad Bhumi:52; Babad Bhumi:113; Pawawatekan:2.

12. Babad duk kawon Dane Batan Jeruk, 1408.

Time of defeat of Batanjeruk, 1486.

*See Babad Gumi:62; Babad Bhumi:44; Babad Bhumi:106; Babad Bhumi:138; Korn 3:20; Korn 4:21; Korn 5:40; Babad Tusan:18; Pangrincik Babad:17; Pawawatekan:35.

13. Babad duk kawon Pangeran Pande, 1500.

Time of defeat of Pangeran Pande, 1578.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:63; Babad Bhumi:107; Korn 3:24; Korn 4:16; Korn 5:43; Babad Tusan:13; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:16.

14. Babad duk Dane Ngerurah Batulepang mati alebone Gelgel, 1608.

Time when Ngerurah Batulepang dies coming to Gelgel to attack it, 1686.

*Though building on the *Babad Gumi*, the entry adds a piece of information from some other source: Ngerurah Batulepang himself died in the attack on the Gelgel lord Anglurah Agung of 1686. This detail is confirmed by letters written by Dewa Agung to Batavia in 1687. See further discussion under Babad Gumi:68 and Babad Bhumi:115.

15. Babad duk pakasihane ke Gianyar, 1701.

Time of consiliation at Gianyar, 1779.

*In the preceding entries, the *Babad Gumi* has been the source. As this list ends, data has had to be taken from other sources, with a gap in time of almost one century (1686-1779). According to local traditions, a royal puri was set up in Gianyar in c. 1771, and in the *Babad Bhumi* there are several entries that describe activities of the Gianyar ruler from the 1770s on (Mahaudiana 1968:30).

16. Babad duk apuri ring Lombok, sah saking Karangasem, tedun ring Krandangan, 1714.

Time of setting up a palace in Lombok, coming from Karangasem, descending at Krandangan, 1792.

*According to some sources, the two brothers Anglurah Gede and Anglurah Made Karangasem, heirs and grandsons of Anglurah Made Karangasem (d. 1775), had a fall-out, and Anglurah Made Karangasem established himself on Lombok (Tanjung Karang), where he died in the early 19th century (Lekkerkerker 1926). Or else the date is a corruption of 1614 (1692 A.D.), when we know that the Balinese staged a major invasion on Lombok (De Graaf 1941; Hägerdal 2001:63-8). Krandangan is near

Senggigi, at Lombok's west coast, where there is a small (modern?) Balinese shrine.

17. Babad duk aperang ring Sengkongo, 1724.

Time of waging war in Sengkongo, 1802.

*Anak Agung Nengah Prasi of Sengkongo, one of the Balinese petty kingdoms on Lombok, was poisoned (in 1803 in another source) and his realm taken over by the kingdom of Pagutan (Hägerdal 2001:149).

18. Babad duk aperang ring Kediri, 1726.

Time of waging war in Kadiri, 1804.

*Kadiri's merging with Pagesangan. Both were petty kingdoms in West Lombok. Judging from a Dutch report, 1805 was the correct year (Lekkerkerker 1926). Cf. Anjang Nirartha:3.

19. Babad sah saking Karangasem maring Buleleng, 1728.

Coming from Karangasem to Buleleng, 1806.

*Anglurah Gede Karangasem died in 1806 and a throne struggle took place, resulting in the establishment of a Lombok prince in Karangasem itself, and the withdrawal of Anglurah Gede's son Gusti Gede Karang to Buleleng, where he became raja (Vickers 1986; Bloemen Waanders 1868:386).

20. Babad udan awu ring Tambora, 1737.

Ash-rain of Tambora, 1815.

*The outburst of the volcano Tambora in 1815, causing great destruction on Bali and Lombok through rain of ashes (Vickers 1989:67). Cf. Anjang Nirartha:4.

21. Babad dewata ring Pengambengan Jamberana, 1740.

He who was deified at Pengambengan Jamberana, 1818.

*Gusti Gde Karang, king of Buleleng from 1806 to 1818. He was ambushed and killed by Gusti Made Bengkol, brother of the prince of Jembrana, and the ex-punggawa Gusti Ngurah Gede. The attack took place at Pengambengan, not far from Negara (Hägerdal 2002:166).

22. Babad aperang ring Bukit Penyu, 1744.

Warfare in Bukit-penyu, 1822.

*There was a war between the Karangasem king Gusti Gede Lanang Ndewata Telaga Urung and the Buleleng king Gusti (Dewa) Pahang around this time. The Wesias east of Bukit Penyu abrogated their allegiance to Lanang, who was forced to seek refuge at Sidemen. The Wesias west of Bukit Penyu, by contrast, stayed local. Lanang then gathered his forces at Bukit Penyu in order to counter his rival. Gusti Pahang took over the royal centre of Amlapura but was later killed by the men of Selat and Sidemen, allowing Lanang to come back to the throne temporarily. A text called *Kakawin Wawatekan* (BCB portf. 185, Leiden) talks about “warfare in Tulamben between Karangasem and Den Bukit [Buleleng]” and then a “flight to Sidemen” in a year probably corresponding to 1744 = 1822 A.D. Cf. Anjang Nirartha:5.

23. Babad aperang ring Sakra, 1748.

Warfare in Sakra, 1826.

*A local war on Lombok, described in some detail in the Babad Sakra texts. The Sasaks of Sakra rose against the Balinese overlordship but were eventually vanquished (Sejarah Daerah 1977/78:83-5). A few Sasak leaders were sons of a Makassarese prince (karaeng). The *Kakawin Wawatekan* (BCB portf. 185, Leiden) also mentions “warfare in Sakra, defeat of I Kraeng”. Cf. Anjang Nirartha:6.

27. Babad aperang ring Sarin Gunung, kalah Karangasem, 1750.

Warfare in Sarin Gunung, defeat of Karangasem, 1828.

*Might have to do with the defeat of the Karangasem king Gusti Gede Lanang, who was forced by his dissatisfied subjects to flee back to his original home on Lombok. A new Buleleng-backed ruler, Gusti Gede Ngurah Karangasem, was enthroned in his place (Bloemen Waanders 1868:394).

28. Babad dewata ring Sweta, gumege kasura bratan, umuliheng ariluka, preside satmakeng Batara Wisnu, 1760.

He who was deified in Sweta, strongly taking courage, for he went back to heaven, becoming like Batara Wisnu, 1838.

*The main king on Lombok, Ratu Gusti Ngurah Panji, killed in Sweta after a war with the king of Mataram (on Lombok) and others (Hägerdal 2001:149).

29. Babad dewata ring Bencingah, 1761.

He who was deified in the Bencingah, 1839.

*Seems to refer to the Lombok king Ida Ratu (alias Gusti Gede Ngurah Karangasem), killed at his place of residence by the rajas of Mataram in this year.

30. Babad kalah Pabiyan Buleleng, 1768.

Defeat of Pabiyan Buleleng, 1846.

*The first Dutch expedition to Buleleng 1846, which quickly secured a victory over the Balinese (Van der Kraan 1995:30-2). Cf. Babad Bhumi:140; Korn 5:69; Anjang Nirartha:11.

31. Babad lilih Walanda ring Jagaraga miyang Ide Gde Ktut Mimba, umulihing niratma, kanin repatmaning tige, 1770.

Retreat of the Walanda at Jagaraga, passing away of Ide Gde Ketut Mimba, going to the grace of God, wounded, hit in the forehead, 1848.

*The second Dutch expedition, which was badly defeated by its Balinese adversaries at Jagaraga in 1848 (Van der Kraan 1995:49-66).

32. Babad kalah Jageraga, 1771.

Defeat of Jagaraga, 1849.

*The third Dutch expedition, successful this time in defeating the Balinese at Jagaraga (Van der Kraan 1995:81-108).

33. Babad alah Padang elet wululukur dina, 1771.

Defeat of Padang after 28 days, 1849.

*After taking Jagaraga on 15-16 April, the Dutch sail for South Bali to deal with Klungkung. They land at Labuhan Amok on May 12, and subsequently take their headquarter at Padangbai (Van der Kraan 1991:131).

34. Babad dewata ring Sesana sakrandana, elet pitung lateri alah Padang, gumege kasura bratan muwang satiya sura swami Brata, pada moktah umulihing mratma suksme taya, apan amarga moktah ring staning surya, metan lawan kulon, nirsastra nirtuduh, kewale iyun tumampuha rikwehaning satru, tumirwane dewate ring Sweta, tan patituk tweki, 1771.

He who dies at Sesana (Raja) seven days after the defeat of Padang; for he strongly takes courage, and with him his wife loyally enters death, and as a result they go to heaven, and the death is precisely like the sun, in a way not remembered in the science of death; furthermore he just surrenders to the numerous enemy troops, not fighting anyone, since he imitates the death of he who died in Sweta, stabbed without pity, 1849.

*Lombok troops allied with the Dutch entered Karangasem on May 20, and in the

ensuing puputan, the Karangasem king Anglurah Gede Karangasem was killed after having himself stabbed his wife (Agung 1991:96-7).

35. Babad lilih Walanda ring Kusamba, elet petang dine, 1771.

Retreat of the Walanda at Kusamba after four days, 1849.

*On the night of May 25, Balinese from Klungkung make a surprise attack on the Dutch camp at Kusamba, killing the General Michiels and demoralizing the Dutch troops, who subsequently withdraw to Padangbai (Van der Kraan 1995:139-43).

36. Babad alah Kusamba, elet nembalas dine, 1771.

Defeat of Kusamba, after 16 days, 1849.

*On June 10, the Dutch again march on Kusamba, meeting little resistance. Before further action takes place, the Danish merchant Mads Lange mediates between the Dutch and Balinese commanders. This finally leads to a peaceful conclusion of the whole war (Van der Kraan 1995:154-9).

37. Babad Ide Anake Agung Ratu Ngurah sah saking Karangasem umungsireng Manguwi, ring We, Sukre Umanis, ware Warigadean, titi tanggal ping 8, sasih ke 6, rah 1, tenggek 7, isaka 1771, rinum ring rat tan kene, kadi dinonging widi, jag ane ring Manguwi.

Ide Anak Agung Ratu Ngurah goes from Karangasem towards Mengwi, on Friday Umanis, on 23 November 1849 A.D; he is spied after in the land but not found; it is like the coming of the Lord, when he arrives at Mengwi.

*Seems to refer to the most prominent of the Karangasem princes on Lombok, Ratu Agung Ngurah Karangasem (d. 1895). Of his visit to Mengwi I have found no further information.

38. Babad duk grubug ngutah mising, 1803.

Time of illness bringing vomiting and diarrhea, 1881.

*Not mentioned in the listing of epidemics in Bali in Schulte Nordholt 1996:132. We know, however, that there were frequent outbreaks of sickness in these years.

39. Babad duk kelem gumi Banten ika, 1805.

Time of the land of Banten sinking, 1883.

*Refers to the natural disaster brought on by the eruption of Krakatau, which in the first place afflicted the lands around the Sunda Strait, including Banten (Bantam).

40. Babad duk kalah Gianyar ika, antuk I Dewagung, ngeraris Idewa Manggis kapuriang ring Satria, 1806.

Time of defeat of Gianyar by I Dewagung; afterwards I Dewa Manggis lives in Satriya, 1884.

*Dewa Agung Putra III of Klungkung took Dewa Manggis VII as a prisoner and took over his domains, exiling the deposed ruler to the village of Satria where he died in 1891 (Wiener 1995:246).

41. Babad duk alah Menguwu apering lawan Badung, ndewate Ide Anake Agung Ngurah Made Agung, ring rane yadnye, iniring dening sadaka, sanging Buleleng, mulihing wisnubawana, isaka 1812.

Time of defeat of Menguwu, fighting in war against Badung, and the death of Ide Anake Agung Ngurah Made Agung in procession on the battlefield, followed by the pedanda priests originating from Buleleng, going straight to heaven, isaka 1890.

*Correct date: 1891. Through the machinations of Klungkung, Badung and Tabanan and its own unwise political leadership, the Mengwi kingdom was destroyed in that year, though minor parts of it were subsequently restored under the leadership of members of the old royal family (Schulte Nordholt 1996:185-89).

ANJANG NIRARTHA (LOr 12.691).

This is actually a text ostensibly composed by Nirartha, the semi-legendary Brahmana sage of the early Gelgel period. At the end of the work, a modern hand has added a list of dates on 18th-19th century Balinese history, concentrating on Karangasem - Lombok events. It is closely related to a list called *Adiparwa Kidung* (Or. 1177:9, KITLV). Where there is additional information in the latter text, this is remarked in the commentaries.

1. Bala samare ring Pagutan, isaka 1700.

Combat troops in Pagutan, 1778.

*A petty kingdom on Lombok. According to Dutch sources, there were actually disturbances in Lombok in that year, as the two sons of the main Lombok ruler Gusti Wayahan Tegeh quarrelled. "Bala-samar" was also the name of mythical troops occasionally sent by the deities to assist worldly rulers.

2. Kalah Buleleng duriyan, isaka 1715.

Defeat of Buleleng, later on, 1793.

*According to various sources, the conquest of Buleleng in the 18th century by Karangasem took place in several stages. Preserved regulations (Lieftrinck 1917:47) show that the Karangasem rulers Anglurah Made and Anglurah Made Agung had taken over parts of Buleleng from the local king Gusti Panji Alit by 1757. According to a pangelingeling preserved in the Wangbang Wideya, there were two waves of conquest, in 1755 and 1765 (Robson 1971:53). A Karangasem occupation of the area by 1768 is confirmed in a letter from Balinese rulers to the VOC. There are also traditions preserved in the Babad Buleleng (c. 1920) and the writings of Bloemen Waanders (1868:385-6), but they do not exactly accord: judging from these traditions, there might have been a final takeover by Karangasem in the end of the 18th century, when the heirs of the ruler Gusti Ngurah (Anak Agung) Jelantik were ousted by the Karangasem lord, in violation with an earlier agreement. 1793 is a quite plausible date for this final occupation.

3. Kawon Kadirine, isaka 1726.

Defeat of Kadiri, 1804.

*The ruler of the Lombok kingdom of Kadiri, Anak Agung Nyoman Rai, was killed in battle against the king of Pagesangan, probably in 1805 rather than 1804 (Lekkerkerker 1926). The *Adiparwa Kidung* mentions the destruction of Sengkongo in 1803, and then the "frightening" (rereg) of Kediri (Kadiri) in 1804. Cf. Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:18.

4. Hujan tanahe, isaka 1736.

Rain of earth, 1814.

*The Tambora eruption of 1815 is alluded to. Cf. Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:20.

5. Bukit Penyune, isaka 1744.

Bukit Penyun, 1822.

*Cf. Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:22.

6. Sakrane, isaka 1748.

Sakra, 1826.

*The Sakra war on Lombok, involving Balinese and East Sasaks. The *Adiparwa Kidung* mentions “the defeat of Sakra”. Cf. Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:23.

7. Rarud Ida Dewa Tatlaga Wurung, isaka 1750.

Flight of Ida Dewa Talaga Urung, 1828.

*This king, also known as Gusti Gede Lanang, was expelled from Karangasem by his subjects because of his cruelty (Bloemen Waanders 1868:394). The *Adiparwa Kidung* mentions that “due to his transgressions Dewata of Talage Urung returns to Sasak, leaving the land of Bali”.

8. Kaline gede, isaka 1759.

Great wind, 1837.

9. Pagutmane, isaka 1760.

Pagutan, 1838.

*The petty kingdom of Pagutan on Lombok and its king Anak Agung Ktut Karang was defeated by the king of Mataram on Lombok (Sejarah Daerah 1977/78:88). *Adiparwa Kidung* has “the time when Pagutan is destroyed”. It also mentions “the time of Ide Dewate of Sasane” in this same year 1838, alluding to the installment of the Karangasem prince Gusti Gede Ngurah Karangasem as ruler on Karangasem-Bali (known by the posthumous name of Dewata of Sasana after his violent end at the village of Sasana in 1849).

10. Brayane, isaka 1766.

Praya [?], 1844.

*Perhaps the Praya war in 1843, between Balinese and Sasaks. The descendants of Arya Banjar Getas, one-time allies of the Balinese kings from Karangasem, governed an autonomous area in Central Lombok. Finally, a conflict broke out, whereby the local lord Raden Wiratmaja and his son were killed by Balinese troops (Sejarah Daerah 1977/78:90-1).

11. Manjaline, isaka 1768.

Manjali, 1846.

*A village close to Jagaraga in Buleleng where the Balinese withdrew after the defeat against the Dutch in 1846. The *Adiparwa Kidung* mentions “the time of Manjeli; Calon Polo performs amuck”.

12. Kawon Baline, isaka 1770,

Defeat of Bali, 1848.

*The real year of defeat of Buleleng and Karangasem was 1849. The *Adiparwa Kidung*, likewise incorrectly, says that “the time of Karangasem’s defeat” was in 1847. Cf. Babad Bhumi:140; Korn 5:69; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:27.

13. Katijagane, isaka 1777.

Kalijaga, 1855.

*Kalijaga is a district on Lombok. 1855 saw a Sasak rising against the Balinese who were ruling the island, an event known as the Kalijaga war (Sejarah Daerah 1977/78:93). The *Adiparwa Kidung* mentions “the time when Kalijaga was silenced”, alluding to the crushing of the rebellion.

PASASANGKALAN (COLLECTION C.C. BERG 3, LEIDEN).

The text was collected by the Dutch scholar Cornelis Christiaan Berg, maybe in the inter-war years. It starts with a section discussing various mythical and legendary figures. Subsequently, it contains a list of chronograms, given in two sections. It is more or less the same list as *Korn 1*, but the differences in details and spellings between the two lists are so great that it is justified to quote the *Pasasangkalan* separately. Most of the entries are describing events in far ancient times, and many of these may have been freely invented by the author. A number of historical figures from the *Pararaton* chronicle have been inserted. A few modern entries, of the late seventeenth/early eighteenth centuries, appear to be authentic, being provided with exact calendaric dates – some of these dates being found in other lists as well. In the original manuscript, there were no numbers. Where known to him, C.C. Berg added the numerical value of the chronogram words. This has been followed here, with some corrections within brackets.

Section a.

1. Ken daging [recte Kondogi], 1253.

[The war of] Kondogi, 1331.

*Cf. Korn 1:66.

2. Prakta [recte Prang Keta], kaya bhuta tingal ing wong, 1253.

The war of Keta, 1331.

*Cf. Korn 1:67.

3. Prang Bali, bhuta anggandong wong, 1265 [recte 125].

War of Bali, 1343 [recte 203].

*The chronogram and numbers do not fit. C.C. Berg may have added the digits for the year 1343 from the *Nagarakertagama*. Cf. Babad Gumi:14; Korn 1:68; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:5.

4. Prang Sunda, lebu awiku amatha tunggal, 1271.

War of Sunda, 1349.

*Cf. Korn 1:69.

5. Prang Dampo, celeng awiku asuku tunggal, 1279.

War of Dampo, 1357.

*Cf. Korn 1:70.

6. Palindu agung, naga awiku amawa tunggal, 1278.

Great earthquake, 1356.

*Cf. Korn 1:71.

7. Bobot [babad] ing Bubut, tenwa sanawut dadesar ing wong, 1231.

Story of Bubut [Bubat], 1309.

*Cf. Korn 1:72.

8. Rabut Yarung, ulaplut pada lumar, ?238.

The sanctuary of Yarung, 316 [?].

*Not in the Korn 1 list.

9. Ring Majapahit, maja pinangan amateni, ?126.

At Majapahit, 204 [?].

*Cf. Korn 1:73.

10. Ideran ring Antapura, wong ayu kaya mokta, ?311.

Vagrant of Antapura, 1389 [?].

*Cf. Korn 1:74.

11. Babot [babad] ing Balitar, tutunu gerih sasi wak, 11?3.

Story of Balitar, 1181 [?].

*Cf. Korn 1:75.

12. Bobot [babad] ing Balitar kang ri Jaba, rakaki anulup dara tunggal, 1197.

Story of Balitar that is in Java, 1275.

*Seems to hint at the existence of some other, non-Javanese Balitar.

13. Raden Sinom, duk abataran ring sagara, rakaki krta paksa ratu, 1247.

Raden Sinom, his time of deification in the ocean, 1325.

*Cf. Korn 1:76.

14. Prang Lamajang, ajaran brahmana katon ing puja, 1287.

War of Lamajang, 1365.

*Cf. Korn 1:77.

15. Duk udan awu, masane wong akeh mati katiban gni ring Batur, ring dina pwa su Prangbakat, tithi ka 8 tanggal ping 8 Isaka pandita awani angga bhumi [1617].

Time of ash-rain, time when a lot of people die, struck by fire from Batur, at February 10 1696.

*Cf. Babad Bhumi:119; Korn 1:78.

16. Duk masane murub angetan katon ring ambara, raju akalepag ring dina pwa su Kurantil, tithi marga sira tanggal ping 2, Isaka pandawa ngalih rasa candra [1625].

Time when hot flames were seen in the sky, thick smoke being emitted in October 12 1703.

*Cf. Korn 1:79.

17. Ida Sang Sinuhun, irya ring Bali Udangacala ring Banjar akusa, dukira atlasan ring dina Sori Madhura wara Tolu tithi marga sira masa ring dasami, Isaka wisaya ngalih rasa candra [1625].

The divine overlord of Bali, Udangacala, at Banjar Akusa; time of conclusion on October 20 1703.

*Cf. Korn 1:80, which is somewhat more detailed.

18. Duk balabur wedang mily angalor saking To-Langkir amatyani wong Bukit miwah wong Cahutgut, wong Bantas, wong Kayuaya, samapta entya pinatyan de ning lwah ika, wara Ugu Suryagni Palguna lek, swanita ro, tri sira Isaka siki guna karenga awani [1633].

Time of a hot flood, choosing to have a strong current from To-Langkir [Gunung Agung], killing people of Bukit and people of Cahutgut, Bantas, Kayuaya; all of them died from

the water, in the week Ugu, [the day] Sunfire, in the Palguna month [January/February], year two, third decade, 1711.

*Cf. *Babad Gumi*, the pangelingeling of which describes volcanic activity of Gunung Agung, and the death of people in Bukit, Bantas and Kayuhaya in '33 ([17]11 A.D.). It seems to refer to the same event. Bantas is a banjar under the desa of Kubu at the northeastern coastline, and Cahutgut is a mistake for Carutcut, mentioned in the babads as an older name for Sukadana on the northeast coast. The month Palguna would correspond to c. 8 January-c. 6 February 1712, but the week Ugu did not fall within it. But the text also mentions year 2 – decade 3; this would apparently mean [16]32, and if so everything would fit. Ugu fell in 1-7 February 1711. Suryagni may refer to one of the days in the Balinese calendar which are associated with Surya, the sun (Laku Surya). One of these days, Sukra Pahing, would have fallen on 6 February 1711. In the corresponding entry in the candrasangkala collection of V.E. Korn (Korn 1), the day of the month is given as tanggal ping 3. Tanggal originally denotes the number of the day in a lunar phase; in modern usage it is normally the day of sukrapaksa (the waxing moon). If in this particular case it is 3rd kresnapaksa (the waning moon), the elements would be consistent, at 6 February 1711.

Kramanira Sang Pandita yan awacana mardawa manis, santosa, sahisni, duga duga, kdan, Iwirnya mardawa manis nga lega ring atinta, santosa lega ring sadrewyanta, sahisnu anda marum sawuwusta duga-duga mabner angling tan miwya ring para kdan tan purik ingucap ing liyan.-

Section b.

19. Nihan Babad ning Kukub.

This is the babad of the land.

*Cf. Korn 1:1.

20. Kasitanya lawan, 07?

[Incomprehensible], 85 [?].

*I can make no meaning out of this.

21. Ring Sade, ron keli, ?7.

At Sade, X5.

*Cf. Korn 1:2.

22. Rabut Kaliyan, leng wuntu, ?7.

The sanctuary of Kaliyan, X5.

*Cf. Korn 1:3.

23. Ring sagara, waringin sawit, 19.

In the ocean, 97.

*Cf. Korn 1:4.

24. Ring Nayah, gajah wong, 18.

At Nayah, 96.

*Cf. Korn 1:5.

25. Rabut Gunung Wala Wulu, pustaka tan patulis, ?5.

The sanctuary of Gunung Wala Wulu, XX3.

*Cf. Korn 1:6.

26. Kabuyutan ring Kadiri sajava.

Sanctuary at Kadiri in Java.

*Cf. Korn 1:7.

27. Ring Bali, sirahing bhumi lawas, 1.

At Bali, XXX.

*Cf. Korn 1:8 (?).

28. Ring Malayu, bhumi anyar, 11.

At Malayu, 89.

*Cf. Korn 1:9.

29. Ring Samudra, buddhapaksa, 2.

At Samudra [Sumatra], 80.

*Cf. Korn 1:10.

30. Ring Nusa Tambini, nora lanang, 10.

At Tambini Island, 88.

*Cf. Korn 1:11.

31. Balangbangan mari slam, 177.

Balambangan takes in Islam, 255.

*Cf. Korn 1:12, which only states that Balambangan was defeated in this year. Since Balambangan was islamized in the late 18th century the present version of the *Pasasangkalan* may have been written after that date, when Balambangan was known among the Balinese to be Muslim.

32. Ring Sunda, nora paksa, 20.

At Sunda, 98.

*Cf. Korn 1:13.

33. Ring Nusa Kambangan, prawu watu, 19.

At Kambangan Island, 97.

*Cf. Korn 1:14.

34. Ring Nusa Parijata, nora katon, 20.

At Parijata Island, 98.

*Cf. Korn 1:15.

35. Ring Nusa Bawi, celeng mati, ?? [09].

At Bawi Island, 87.

*Cf. Korn 1:16.

36. Ring Sambulungan, karawita tumuwuh, 16.

At Sambulungan, 94.

*Cf. Korn 1:17.

37. Nusa Barong, pring sawit, 12.

Barong Island, 90.

*Cf. Korn 1:18.

38. Ring Mdang, muka ning wong, 11.

At Medang, 89.

*Cf. Korn 1:19.

39. Rabut Parang, ratu tunggal, 11.

The sanctuary of Parang, 89.

*"Parung" in Korn 1:19.

40. Rabut Phalah, sanga buwa, 29.

The sanctuary of Phalah, 107.

*Rabut Palah is an important Javanese sanctuary mentioned in the *Nagarakertagama* under the year 1360, when the king of Majapahit came there to worship (Robson 1995:68). It is the Panataran of modern maps, situated close to Blitar. Cf. Korn 1:20 that has "Pwadah" rather than Palah.

41. Ranini Hurare, bhumi pasalahan, ??

The sanctuary of Hurare, XX.

*Otherwise unknown.

42. Ranini Tulis, papanggang sata, 13.

The sanctuary of Tulis, 91.

*Cf. Korn 1:21.

43. Rabut Sima, rara mucang, 31.

The sanctuary of Sima, 109.

*Cf. Korn 1:22.

44. Ranini Nguranta, nora asiluman, ??

The sanctuary of Nguranta, XX.

*"Ngurantang" in Korn 1:23.

45. Rabut Dhahuta, puser sagara, 41.

The sanctuary of Dhahuta, 119.

*"Jauta" in Korn 1:24.

46. Rabut Pangawan, dewa mariksa, ?1

The sanctuary of Pangawan, X9.

*Cf. Korn 1:25.

47. Bangawan Lor, baroro, 22.

Bangawan Lor, 100.

*Cf. Korn 1:26.

48. Bangawan Kidul, jun hebek, 39.

Bangawan Kidul, 117.

*Cf. Korn 1:28.

49. Bangawan ring Tulu, lubang keli, ?9.

Bangawan ring Tulu, X7.

*Cf. Korn 1:27.

50. Bangawan Ringgu, babatang keli, 22.

Bangawan Ringgu, 100.

*"Bangawan Rangu" in Korn 1:29.

51. Rabut Umbusangan, 139.

The sanctuary of Umbusangan, 217.

*Otherwise unknown.

52. Bangawan ring Siwalan, patekeduk tiba, 22.

Bangawan ring Siwalan, 100.

*Cf. Korn 1:30.

53. Bangawan ring Malayu, sumber maling, 15.

Bangawan ring Malayu, 93.

*Cf. Korn 1:31.

54. Rabut Gunung Lawu, lawa kumereb, ?1.

The sanctuary at Gunung Lawu, X9.

*Cf. Korn 1:32.

55. Gunung Rabhu, paksa tunggal, 12.

Gunung Rabhu, 90.

*"Ranu" in Korn 1:33.

56. Ring Dampo, ayo ta lingane, 21.

At Dampo, 99.

*Cf. Korn 1:34.

57. Gunung Kawi, bisa ngidung, 72.

Gunung Kawi, 150.

*Cf. Korn 1:35.

58. Gunung Karuwungan, bhuta siwah, ?5.

Gunung Karuwungan, X3.

*"Kawurungan" in Korn 1:36.

59. Gunung Brahma, apimurub apapayung, 213.

Gunung Brahma, 291.

*Cf. Korn 1:37.

60. Rabut Jabol, lubang esi pantun, 129.

The sanctuary of Jabol, 207.

*Cf. Korn 1:38.

61. Loh [luah] Sarayu, purusa paksa tirtha, 421.

The Sarayu River, 499.

*Cf. Korn 1:39.

62. Nusa Dahon, nora sikara, 210.

The Dahon Island, 288.

*"Doon" in Korn 1:40.

63. Rabut Mandara Giri, dewa paksa tunggal, 121.

The sanctuary of Mandara Giri, 199.

*Cf. Korn 1:41.

64. Gunung Mandalika, sagara gunung sagara [474].

Gunung Mandalika, 552.

*Cf. Korn 1:42.

65. Rabut Pasajen, gunung sagara gunung, 747.

The sanctuary of Pasajen, 825.

*Cf. Korn 1:43.

66. Sagara ring Bali, bhumi jaldhi bhumi, 141.

Ocean of Bali, 219.

*Cf. Korn 1:44.

67. Sagara ing Buhun, wong wisaya nulup, 951.

Ocean of Buhun, 1029.

*"Bun" in Korn 1:45.

68. Gili Katapang, 210.

Katapang Island, 288.

*Cf. Korn 1:46.

69. Gili Katapang, wong sanga bhumi suksuka ning bhayu langu, bulan duk lemah, 125.

Katapang Island, the people of the nine worlds are content with the heavy strength [or: in Bhayulangu], 203.

*Bhayulangö is a place mentioned in the *Nagarakertagama*, where Rajapatni the Majapahit queen was enshrined in the reign of Hayam Wuruk (1350-89) (Robson 1995:75). Cf. Korn 1:47.

70. Gunung Tanggangan, brahmana ngemben pustaka, 42 [recte 528].

Gunung Tanggangan, 120 [recte 606].

*A volcano called Gunung Tanggang (1162 m.) is found on South Sumatra. However, other versions of this chronogram have "Tunggal" or "Tanggahan". Cf. Babad Gumi:8; Korn 1:48; Pawawatekan:47.

71. Gunung Tampora, gunung marga sara, 551 (?).

Gunung Tampora, 629.

*Cf. Korn 1:49; Pawawatekan:45.

72. Gunung Bentar, sagara marga gunung 754.

Gunung Bentar, 832.

*Cf. Korn 1:50; Pawawatekan:46.

73. Kidung Panggen, tinjo layare Pandawa jaya, sang akuda candrama, 1179.

The kidung Panggen, staring at the sails of the victorious Pandawas, 1257.

*No further information on this kidung has been found.

74. Angkatan ring Tirim, paksa guna kaya wong, 1272.

Departure at Tirim, 1350.

*Tirem is a place in West Kalimantan mentioned in the *Nagarakertagama* (Robson 1995:33). The corresponding entry *Korn 1:51* is rather different.

75. Ring Kahuripan, tiba sang adagang, 292.

At Kahuripan, 370.

*Cf. Korn 1:52.

76. Gunung Lamongan, siwala gung kalih gunung, 723.

Gunung Lamongan, 801.

*Cf. Korn 1:53.

77. Sanghyang Mahameru, wlut angge binabi, 193.

Sanghyang Mahameru, 271.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:7; Babad Bhumi:101; Korn 3:13; Korn 4:12; Korn 5:16; Babad Tusan:9; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:12; Pangrincik Babad:6; Pawawatekan:24.

78. Gunung Kumukus, naga ngemban wulan, 128.

Gunung Kumukus, 206.

*A Javanese mountain of that name is known from Old Javanese texts. It is supposed to be Mt. Welirang (Robson 1995:126). The corresponding entry *Korn 1:55* is quite different.

79. Guntur Pamadangkungan, wedan sasiwur 913.

Eruption of Pamadangkungan, 991.

*Cf. Korn 1:56.

Gunung Rawi siwalan mu dilem pjeng. Rupa bhumi ya aran ikang sawlas. Karna siyaya aran ikang rowlas. Trini kaya ya arantiga-wlas. Sagara bhumi aran ing lima was anggarupaya araning nembelas. Pandita tunggal aran ing pitu was brahmana sasi aran ing wlu-wlas. Dora ya ta aran ing sanga-wlas, norama suku aran ing karodasa. Netra wulan, araning salikur. Netra haran araning ro-likur. Jala netra aran ing tiga-likur. Netra sagara aran ing pat likur. Netra pandawa aran ing lima-likur. Angga netra ya aran ing

kanem-likur. Netra pandita ya aran ing pitu-likur. Netra brahmana aran ing kawlu-likur. Leng netra aran ing sanga-likur. Trini windu ya aran ing tigeng puluh. Sangutpana sejoba ning bhumi. Bhagawan kalembiki pteng ing aditya. Bhagawan Sumali tutugan ing aditya bhagawan Kapwara, awa angawa. Bhagawan Trnwindu, lintang tutuganwane. Bhagawan Windusara wulan. Bhagawan Hongkek, padang ing wulan, tunggal panglong. Bhagawan Wisah, langit. Bhagawan Dorna edok. Bhagawan Wrgu, putungan Bhagawan Dwepayana, Bhagawan Bhisma wawayengan. Bhagawan Awarucita, pteng ing tngah wngi. Bhagawan Patuk papamcak wadung. Patanira gasami. Brahmana sidikaya moktah ta ?????

80. Linanira Bra ring Tumapel, kaya singa katon tang langit, ?292.

Death of Bhra ring Tumapel, 1370 [?].

*Cf. Korn 1:57.

81. Linanira Bhra Narapati, sagara sat kaya wulan, 13?4.

Death of Bhra Narapati, 1XX2.

*Cf. Korn 1:58.

82. Lintang kumukus, lintang katon kaya wulan, 1322.

A comet, 1400.

*Cf. Korn 1:59.

83. Paregyag, naga sari rone pinangan ing uler, 1288.

Paregyag, 1366.

*Perhaps what is meant is the Paregreg war in 1405-06. After the death of the Majapahit ruler Hayam Wuruk, in 1389, his realm was divided between a western and an eastern king. A civil war broke out in 1405 and in the following year the eastern ruler Wirabhumi was defeated, seized and beheaded (Slametmuljana 1976:185).

84. Linanira Bhra ring Wengker, katon dewaka ning pralagi, 1312.

Death of Bhra ring Wengker, 1390.

*Cf. Korn 1:65.

85. Linanira Wkasing Suka, mega tan katon kaya dewa, 1320?

Death of Wkasing Suka, 1398 [?].

*Cf. Babad Gumi:16; Korn 1:61.

86. Linanira Bhra ring Pandan Salas, nagana bhuta api murub, 1356.

Death of Bhra ring Pandan Salas, 1434.

*Cf. Korn 1:64.

87. Linanira Bhra Matawun, sanga gagakayamuksa, ?339.

Death of Bhra Matawun, 1417 [?].

*Cf. Korn 1:59.

88. Linanira Bhra Paguhan, rayana kinululu pinangan ring wong, 1232.

Death of Bhra Paguhan, 1310.

*Cf. Korn 1:62.

89. Babut inalang ring Majapahit, toya saking katiganing, ?3?5.

Escape at Majapahit, XXX3.

*The event is otherwise unknown.

90. Sang Mokta ing Talaga Doja, paksa kaya api murub, 1332.

He who Passed Away at Talaga Doja, 1410.

*Cf. Korn 1:63.

91. Lawas ing bhumi apteng, wong papat ayugha pandita pipitu gana angin 5677.

The ancient time when the world grew dark; the five races begat children, 5855.

*It is unclear what words in the sentence constitute the chronogram. The three concluding dates 91-93 are not found in *Korn I*.

92. Lawa[s] ing kawah nata ning lembu, 7200.

The ancient time of the hell, of the buffalo king, 7278.

*The bull, lembu, is the vehicle of the god Yama, the lord of hell.

93. Lawas ing ana bhumi ilang tangan ing wong anawut, gni mara kaya wedang,
4323312?-

The ancient time when the world disappeared, 4323390 [?].

*Again, it is somewhat unclear where the chronogram begins.

PAWAWATEKAN (INCLUDED IN WARIGA, LOr 3662).

This text must have been compiled before 1894, since it is included in the Van der Tuuk collection, Leiden University Library. It includes all kinds of dates, some of it known from other sources but much that is new. It contains a cluster of entries, spread out over the text, which mention events during the seventeenth century, from 1627 to 1654 and then again from 1690 to 1693. Some of this information can be confirmed from external sources. The text ends with three incomplete dates, with the decade 2 and year 8. This would seem to be either Saka 1628 (1706 A.D.) or Saka 1728 (1806 A.D.), which might then be dates of events close to the time of writing. Nevertheless, it is possible that the text has been altered in the process of copying/embellishment in the latter half of the nineteenth century (see No. 37 below).

Nihan Pawawatekan.

1. Duk Idewa Pakrisane jumeneng, amekaring Bangsul, anuwek Idane Mangrurah Ambawang, angapit gunung bhuta sandra, 1572.

At the time when I Dewa Pakrisan rules, Bali is flourishing; I Dane Mangrurah Ambawang is killed, 1650.

*Dewa Pakrisan might be a corruption of Dewa Pacekan, the prince known from the *Babad Dalem*, or else some shortlived, otherwise unknown ruler. Cf. *Babad Gumi*:40; *Babad Bhumi*:41; *Babad Bhumi*:112.

2. Duk pejah Idane Mangrurah Bungahya, katekan rundah nagara Bangsul, anjeneng I Dewa Cawu, uti gunung bhuta candra, 1573.

Time of death of I Dane Mangrurah Bungaya, leading to the collapse of the kingdom of Bali; I Dewa Cawu is enthroned, 1651.

*Fits precisely with Dutch sources, which say that violent internal struggles broke out in c. 1651 (De Jonge 1872:94). The death of Bungaya at the hands of an Agung lord, Agung Bukihan, is mentioned in the *Babad Gumi*, and in the *Babad Bhumi* we learn that the Kaler family faction was defeated in this same year. The *Babad Arya Kapakistan* also mentions that the Kalers were crushed by the Agungs. The enthronement of Dewa Cawu, the brother of Dewa Di Made, is interesting, for in the *Babad Gumi* we learn that it was Cawu (rather than Di Made, as is assumed by modern historical tradition) who died in Guliang, in 1673, leaving as his heir Dewa Agung Jambe, the first Klungkung ruler. So perhaps Cawu was the old king who, according to *Babad Dalem*, had to flee from Gelgel and finally settled in Guliang, where he died. Cf. *Babad Gumi*:42; *Babad Bhumi*:52; *Babad Bhumi*:113; *Sara Samuscaya Pakenca*:11.

3. Duk kawon Dane Mangrurah Tegalinggah, kalurug antuk I Dewa Kawisasem, ring dina Ca., Wa., Julungwangi, sasih Sada, kumbang gunung bhuta wong, 1576.

Defeat of Dane Mangrurah Tegalinggah, overrun by I Dewa Kawisasem [Karangasem], 1654.

*Dewa Karangasem was a brother of Dewa Di Made. According to the *Babad Arya Kapakistan* he was born by a daughter of the nobleman Gusti Bebenan in East Bali, whose grandson in the male line was the first Karangasem ruler. Kawisasem is a synonyme for Karangasem.

4. Kunang duking Bali kawon, bhuta anganndong wong, 125.

Furthermore, the time of defeat of Bali, 203.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:6; Babad Bhumi:41; Korn 2:32; Korn 3:15; Korn 3:23; Korn 4:14; Korn 5:15; Babad Tusan:11; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:14; Pangrincik Babad:14; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:4; Pawawatekan:26; Pawawatekan:60.

5. Dukung anjeneng Gunung Agung, wak sasi wak, 111.

Time of establishment of Gunung Agung, 189.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:3; Babad Bhumi:37; Babad Bhumi:97; Korn 2:13; Korn 3:3; Korn 4:2; Korn 5:12; Babad Tusan:3; Pangrincik Babad:2; Pangrincik Babad:51; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:2; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:2.

6. Dukung hana Sagara Rupek, sagara nanggung bhumi, 124.

Time of the Bali Strait, 202.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:5; Babad Bhumi:100; Korn 2:16; Korn 3:7; Korn 4:9; Korn 5:14; Babad Tusan:37; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:8; Pangrincik Babad:10.

7. Dukung Barangbangan, karurug dening Sang Arurah Agung ring Madhya, katekan raweh Sang Hyang Tawangalun, naga gana bhuta tunggal, 15004 [recte 1568].

Time of Balambangan, overrun by Sang Arurah Agung ring Madhya (Di Made), leading to the arrival of Sang Hyang Tawangalun, 1646.

*A fully historical event, described also by Javanese and Dutch sources. The Balinese try to assert their influence over Balambangan, supporting the East Javanese prince Tawangalun. The Balinese and their East Javanese allies are later defeated by the troops of Mataram, but the war nevertheless ends in a humiliating way for the latter, as the Mataramese troops disperse and return home “like beggars” to salvage the harvest (Hägerdal 1998:66). Balinese influence in easternmost Java continues for many years.

Tawangalun is either the first or second Balambangan ruler of that name – the second is known from Dutch sources to have passed away in 1691 (Arifin 1995:76).

8. Duking aprang Dane Mangrurah Batulepang, ring pasar ring Hennasada, lawan[g] kawah bhuta rupa, 1549.

Time of Dane Mangrurah Batulepang waging war in the pasar of Hennasada, 1627.

*In later entries of the *Pawawatekan*: Hecchasaddha. Compare Iccasadda where the *Pararaton* manuscript of 1613 was written. It is apparently a synonym for Sukasadda, i.e. Gelgel. Batulepang was a member of the Agung family, either the brother or nephew of the senior minister Gusti Agung Kedung. According to the *Babad Arya Gajah Para* and the babads of the Brahmana caste he attacked the asram of the sons of the Pedanda Manuaba, after the death of the latter. The asram was destroyed and the Brahmins scattered. A member of the Manuaba family then pronounced a curse upon Batulepang, who responded by attacking the king of Gelgel with his retainers. In the ensuing fight he performed amuck against the royal troops but was driven back and locked himself up in an ammunition store. Surrounded by enemies he set fire to the building and blew up together with his remaining warriors (Hägerdal 2004:106-7).

9. Duk I Dewa Tangeb kapongor, ka Anggantiga, bhuta rasa pandhawa bhumi, 1561 [recte 1565]. Duking Barangbangan.

Time of I Dewa Tangeb being struck by wrath at Anggantiga, 1639 [recte 1643]. Time of Balambangan.

*I Dewa Tangeb seems to be the grandson of the old king (presumably Dewa Di Made) and is mentioned by Dutch sources as flourishing in 1638-39 (Hägerdal 1998:59). He was the rival of his uncle Paadjakan (presumably Dewa Pacekan), who later seems to have appeared as king for a while. Perhaps he was done away with after the decease of Dewa Di Made. Anggantiga (Angantelu) is situated in the Karangasem regency, close to the border with Klungkung. What event in Balambangan could be alluded to is not clear.

10. Candi ring Buruan, lawang angapit lawang, 929.

Candi at Buruan, 1007.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:11; Korn 2:17; Korn 3:8; Korn 5:25; Babad Tusan:6; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:9; Pangrincik Babad:5; Pangrincik Babad:50; Pawawatekan:22.

11. Paryangan ring Batur, geseng sasih wak, 110.

Sanctuary of Batur, 188.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:2; Babad Bhumi:38; Babad Bhumi:96; Korn 3:4; Korn 4:2; Korn 5:12; Babad Tusan:2; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:3; Pangrincik Babad:3; Sara

Samuscaya Pakenca:1; Pawawatekan:17.

12. Duking kawon ring Hecasaddha, sami angembanyagga kawah bhumi, 1682 [recte 1482].

Time of defeat of Hecasaddha [Gelgel], 1560.

*It is unclear what event could be alluded to. Some other lists say that Gelgel was deserted or burnt in 1568.

13. Duking Keangrok pejah, brahmana ateteken ulan, 1228 [recte 128].

Time when Ken Angrok dies, 1306 [recte 206].

*The hero of the *Pararaton*, founder of the Singasari kingdom. Died actually in 1149 = 1227 according to the *Nagarakertagama* (Robson 1995:53). As for the chronogram, ulan always has the value of 1 rather than 12. The date by numbers might look like a near-exact Western-style date, thus influenced by European historiography. This is impossible, however, since the *Nagarakertagama* was only “discovered” by Westerners in 1894, the date when H.N. van der Tuuk, the collector of the Pawawatekan, passed away.

14. Blahbatuh, gajah angapit lawang, 928.

Blahbatuh, 1006.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:10; Babad Bhumi:103; Korn 4:10; Korn 5:24; Babad Tusan:7; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:10; Pangrincik Babad:11.

15. Duking Sang Hyang Sabali, aprang, mejah ameseh Ki Pangajaran, ring dina Ra., U., Langkir, sasih ka 3, rah 2, tenggek 1.

Time of Sang Hyang Sabali waging war, dying in enmity against Ki Pangajaran, 17 September 1690 [?].

*Since nor a century nor an exact day of the month is given, the reduction suggested here can only be a probability. Sebali is a place north of Ubud. Sang Hyang is a Ksatria title.

16. Duking kawon Banyusukla, kalurug olih De Krurah Singarsa, ring dina Sa., U., Bala, ring suklapaksa, dwitya, sasih ka 6, rah 6, tenggek 1, wong rasa rupa bhuta, 1615.

Time of defeat of Banyusukla, overrun by De Krurah Singarsa [Sidemen], 31 October 1693.

*A person called Dyah Wesukla (We = Banyu = water) is mentioned in the *Babad Gajah Para* (LOR 13.975), perhaps in the 16th or 17th century. The name seems to be

taken from a geographical place, but the location is not known to me. Normally ka 6 corresponds to November/December. However, Saka 1615 would have started in early March, which makes the calendaric elements actually harmonizing. We would have the 175th day of the pawukon cycle at 31 October 1693, and that would also be the second day in the month (suklapaksa dwitya).

17. Duk Batur-hyang wawu anjeneng, babad, geseng sasi wak, 110.

Time of Batur-hyang being newly established, 188.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:2; Babad Bhumi:38; Babad Bhumi:96; Korn 3:4; Korn 4:2; Korn 5:12; Babad Tusan:2; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:3; Pangrincik Babad:3; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:1; Pawawatekan:11.

18. Duk Tusan wawu jumeneng, babad, pucung bolong, 99.

Time of Tusan being newly established, 177.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:1; Babad Bhumi:36; Babad Bhumi:95; Korn 2:14; Korn 3:2; Korn 5:10; Babad Tusan:1; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:1; Pangrincik Babad:1.

19. Babading Candidasa, wani sasi angalih, 112.

Story of Candidasa, 190.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:4; Babad Bhumi:39; Babad Bhumi:98; Korn 4:4; Korn 5:18; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:4; Pangrincik Babad:14; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:3.

20. Duk kawon Jambrana, brahmana kawahan warnna wulan, 1448.

Time of defeat of Jembrana, 1526.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:23; Babad Bhumi:40; Korn 2:8; Korn 3:10; Korn 4:7; Korn 5:36; Babad Tusan:4; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:6; Pangrincik Babad:9; Pawawatekan:34.

21. Duk toya Undha, angalih maring Sampalan, kali angalih jurang, 924.

Time when the river Unda moves in the direction of Sampalan, 1002.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:9; Korn 2:12; Korn 3:5; Korn 4:8; Korn 5:23; Babad Tusan:5; Babad Tusan:35; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:7; Pangrincik Babad:7.

22. Babading Darma, duk wawu anjeneng, lawang angapit lawang, 929.

Story of Darma, 1007.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:11; Korn 2:17; Korn 3:8; Korn 5:25; Babad Tusan:6; Babad Tusan:31; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:9; Pangrincik Babad:5; Pangrincik Babad:50; Pawawatekan:10.

23. Duk kawon Kaphal, rupa liman kawahan wani, 1481.

Time of defeat of Kapal, 1559.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:20; Korn 2:2; Korn 3:12; Korn 4:11; Korn 5:39; Babad Tusan:8; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:11; Pangrincik Babad:12; Pawawatekan:29.

24. Babading Gunung Mahameru, wlut anglengi sela, 193.

Story of Gunung Mahameru, 271.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:7; Babad Bhumi:101; Korn 2:31; Korn 3:13; Korn 4:12; Korn 5:16; Babad Tusan:9; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:12; Pangrincik Babad:6; Pasasangkalan:77.

25. Duk kawon Tenganan, bhuta tunggal anjala wulan, 1415.

Time of defeat of Tenganan, 1493.

*Cf. Korn 3:14; Korn 4:13; Korn 5:32; Babad Tusan:10; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:13; Pangrincik Babad:13.

26. Duk kawon Bali, bhuta angandong wong, 125.

Time of defeat of Bali, 203.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:6; Babad Bhumi:41; Korn 2:32; Korn 3:15; Korn 3:23; Korn 4:14; Korn 5:15; Babad Tusan:11; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan: 14; Pangrincik Babad:14; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:4; Pawawatekan:4; Pawawatekan:60.

27. Duk kawon Patembokan, brahmana retu anjala wulan, 1468.

Defeat of Patembokan, 1546.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:27; Babad Bhumi:42; Korn 2:19; Korn 3:16; Korn 4:15; Korn 5:38; Babad Tusan:12; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:15; Pangrincik Babad:15.

28. Duk pranging Bali, purusa tulup guna ning wong, 1391.

Time of warfare in Bali, 1469.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:19; Korn 2:1; Korn 3:25; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:8.

29. Dukawon Kaphal, wong anulup gunaning weni, 1166 [recte 1391].

Time of defeat of Kapal, 1244 [recte 1469].

*Cf. Babad Gumi:20; Korn 2:2; Korn 3:12; Korn 4:11; Korn 5:39; Babad Tusan:8; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:11; Pangrincik Babad:12; Pawawatekan:23.

30. Duk kawon Bungahya, bhuta tunggal anjala wulan, 1415.

Time of defeat of Bungahya, 1493.

*Cf. Korn 2:3; Korn 3:17; Korn 4:17; Korn 5:32; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:17; Pangrincik Babad:42.

31. Duk kawon Tatarukan, catur bhuja warnna ring wong, 1424.

Time of defeat of Tatarukan, 1502.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:21; Korn 2:5; Korn 3:18; Korn 4:18; Korn 5:34; Babad Tusan:15; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:18.

32. Duk kawon Ularan, resi papat bañuning wong, 1447.

Time of defeat of Ularan, 1525.

*Cf. Korn 2:6; Korn 3:19; Korn 4:19; Korn 5:35; Babad Tusan:16; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:19.

33. Duk kawon Labwan Jeng, rasa rasa kala [kaya] wani, 1391 [recte 1366].

Time of defeat of the ships' harbour, 1469 [recte 1444].

*Cf. Babad Gumi:13; Korn 2:7; Korn 5:29.

34. Duk kawon Jambrana, nagha nawut kupat tunggal, 1428.

Time of defeat of Jambrana, 1506.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:23; Babad Bhumi:40; Korn 2:8; Korn 3:10; Korn 4:7; Korn 5:36; Babad Tusan:4; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:6; Pangrincik Babad:9; Pawawatekan:20.

35. Duk kawon Batan Jruk, brahmana ring tawang kawah (wa)ni, 1408.

Time of defeat of Batan Jeruk, 1486.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:62; Babad Bhumi:44; Babad Bhumi:106; Babad Bhumi:138; Korn 3:20; Korn 4:21; Korn 5:40; Babad Tusan:18; Pangrincik Babad:17; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:12.

36. Duk merune ring Basukih tinunjel dening wong hedan, sandha tunggal pati ning wong, 1011.

Time of meru at Besakih burnt down by mad people, 1089.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:12; Korn 2:20; Korn 4:23; Korn 5:26; Pangrincik Babad:19.

37. Duk sepi pura ring Hecchasaddha, angeman ulan kawahan bhumi, 1412.

Time of desertion at the pura of Hecchasaddha [Gelgel], 1490.

*Seems to betray a certain knowledge of the Christian calendar on the part of the compiler. In numerous other lists this entry is dated in 1490 (1568 A.D.) – in other words 78 years after the present date. As 78 is the difference between the Christian and Saka calendars, it seems possible that the compiler has misunderstood 1490 as a Christian date, and thereby invented a new date by counting 78 years backwards. In that case, the *Pawawatekan* as we have it can hardly have been compiled earlier than the mid 19th century.

38. Duk Yen [Yeh] Jinah angambet, rasa rasa kawahan bhumi, 1466.

Time of the Jinah river flooding, 1544.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:26; Korn 3:21; Korn 4:25; Korn 5:37; Babad Tusan:20; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:22; Pangrincik Babad:21.

39. Duk kawon Balungbungan, dening wong Pasedahan, bhaga tunggal margganing wong, 1519.

Time of defeat of Balambangan, at the hands of the Pasuruan people, 1597.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:28. Babad Bhumi:46; Korn 3:22; Korn 4:26; Korn 5:45; Babad Tusan:21; Babad Tusan:38; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:23; Pangrincik Babad:22; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:9.

40. Duk sowan ring Dukut, sagara apit gunung, 724.

Time of the river-mouth at Dukut, 802.

*Dukut is the 29th week of the pawukon calendar. In this case it seems to be a geographical name. The year 802 is associated with the South Balinese village Padang(-bai) in Pangrincik Babad:23.

41. Duk kawon Badung, nora naga warnna ring wong, 1490.

Time of defeat of Badung, 1568.

*Cf. Korn 4:28; Korn 5:41; Babad Tusan:23; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:24; Pangrincik Babad:24.

42. Babad paryyangan ring Sakenan n̄jeneng, resi angapit ghana, 627.

Time of the establishment of the sanctuary of Sakenan, 705.

*Otherwise mostly dated 1005. Cf. Babad Bhumi:104; Babad Bhumi:137; Korn 4:34; Korn 5:63; Babad Tusan:25; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:28; Pangrincik Babad:32.

43. Babad payajnya, sang-ngasuddha candra bhumi, 1109.

Story of the yadnya ceremony, 1187.

*The information is too unspecific to allow further comments.

44. Duk I Rengga mati, paksa metra tunggal, 122.

Time of I Rengga dying, 200.

*The name Rengga is occasionally found in the Javanese literature. For example, an East Javanese legend tells that Klana Rengga Puspita of Bali was defeated and killed by the Javanese Singhasari troops at the field of Bedali in ancient time (Pigeaud 1968:61).

45. Duk Gunung Sampora, resi pandawa papat, 4574 [recte 457].

Time of Gunung Sampora, 4652 [recte 535].

*Cf. Korn 1:49; Pasasangkalan:71.

46. Duk Gunung Bentar, warnna panca resi, 754.

Time of Gunung Bentar, 832.

*Cf. Korn 1:50; Pasasangkalan:72.

47. Duk Gunung Tunggangan, brahmana ngemban pustaka, 528.

Time of Gunung Tunggangan, 606.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:8; Korn 1:48; Pasasangkalan:70.

48. Duk Gunung Parung, bhuta tunggal angapit, 285 [recte 215].

Time of Gunung Parung, 363 [recte 293].

*Parung is in the Bogor area on Java, though I do not know of a particular summit of that name.

49. Duk kalah Tusan, paksa ro anjala dara, 1422.

Time of defeat of Tusan, 1500.

*Not known from other lists. According to the *Usana Jawa*, Bali was defeated by the Majapahit troops under Gajah Mada and Arya Damar. The Majapahit king then took the decision to move to Bali with all his court. Coming to Bali he had to fight an uprising led by Mraja Danawa at Bedahulu. After overcoming the rebellion the king divided the Balinese subjects among his grandees. His troops then camped at Tusan for three months, whereupon the king went to Gelgel in order to erect a palace there (Berg 1927:113-4). The occupation of Tusan would in other words have taken place at the end of the Javanese Majapahit kingdom, and preceded the rise of Gelgel. From this point of view the above date is roughly plausible.

50. Duk kidung Banyang Kapulaga, bhuta nora guna tunggal, 1305.

Time of the kidung Banyang Kapulaga, 1383.

*No further information on this kidung is available.

51. Duk kidung Undhakan Pangrus, rupa rasa guna ning wong, 161 [recte 1361].

Time of the kidung Undakan Pangrus, 239 [recte 1439].

*A Javano-Balinese Panji romance in tengahan metre (Pigeaud 1968:159).

52. Duking patih ring Balungbungan angabali, ghni saraning bhuta tunggal, 1553.

Time of return of the patih of Balambangan, 1631.

*According to Dutch sources, in 1631 the Balambangan ruler asked the VOC to establish a post in his land. According to the *Dagh-Register* of Batavia of 25 July 1632, the ruler had been visiting the Balinese court. This person was apparently Singasari, who deposed the old ruler Mas Karian about this time and had him murdered the next year (Arifin 1995:63). These events may have something to do with the above entry; perhaps the “patih” was Singasari.

53. Duk lindhu banget, ping 3, sawengi, paksa rasa bayu ning wong, 1562

Time of strong earthquake, thrice overnight, 1640.

*This is the earliest mention of an earthquake on Bali in the lists. In the relatively wellinformed Javanese chronicle *Babad ing Sengkala* there is mention of strong volcanic activity on Java in the year “katon obah tataning jalmi”. This could be interpreted as 1562 (1640 A.D.) or 1563 (1641 A.D.) (Ricklefs 1978).

54. Duk padalemane Kyai Tegeh kagenen, toya rasa bhutaning wong, 1564, Anuju A., Wa., Dunggu(la)n, sasih Desta, pratiti awidya, kresna paksa, anuju sasti.

Time of the inner yard of Kyai Tegeh burnt down, 20 May 1642.

*The weekday “A.” should clearly be interpreted here as Anggara, not Aditya. This is the earliest exact date found in all the lists of chronograms. Since the calendaric elements are corresponding internally it seems to strengthen the historicity of the cluster of 17th century dates in the *Pawawatekan*.

55. Duk geger Anggantiga, panca gana bayuning wong, 1565.

Time of commotion of Anggantiga, 1643.

*Apparently has something to do with the statement concerning Dewa Tangeb above (Pawawatekan:9).

56. Babading setra Jala, brahmana angapit lawang, 928.

Story of the grave of Jala, 1006.

*The name Jala (meaning either “water” or “fishing-net”) is otherwise unknown to me. If an error for Jalu, it could have something to do with the ancient Balinese king Anakwungsu (1049-77 A.D.) who was postumously known as “He who passed away in Jalu” (Bernet Kempers 1991:44). Several lists mention the establishment of a candi at Blahbatuh in the same year, with a partly similar chronogram (“gajah angapit lawang”).

57. Babading pamahibik, tan ana resi sabdami, 570.

Story of pamahibik [?], 648.

*The name or word is unclear. Mahibit is a place close to Majapahit, mentioned in the *Kidung Sunda* (Van der Tuuk IV 1912:493). Pamahibik [-bit] could then mean something like the Mahibit incident (cf. “Pamalayu” and “Padompo” for military expeditions to Malayu and Dompo, in ancient Javanese history).

58. Babading babot ring Balitang, brahmana anulup dara, 198.

Story of the pregnancy [?] of Balitang, 276.

*Perhaps a scribal error for the name Balitung, or Balitar in East Java?

59. Babading Cangkorek, duknya mati, keletek pada lepanan tiba, 277.

Story of the Cangkorek bird, the time of its death, 355.

*A species of crow, occasionally mentioned in literary texts like the *Megantaka* (Van der Tuuk I 1897:678).

60. Duk kalah Bali, bhuta dukangandong wong, 125.

Time of defeat of Bali, 203.

*Cf. Babad Gumi:6; Babad Bhumi:41; Korn 2:32; Korn 3:15; Korn 3:23; Korn 4:14; Korn 5:15; Babad Tusan:11; Tattwa Batur Kalawasan:14; Pangrincik Babad:14; Sara Samuscaya Pakenca:4; Pawawatekan:4; Pawawatekan:26.

61. Babading Sunda ring Majapahit, nagha waksa anuhut wong, 1218.

Story of Sunda in Majapahit, 1296.

*Might be related to the *Pararaton* story of the Sunda ruler who traveled to Majapahit in order to foment a matrimonial alliance and was defeated there by the Majapahit patih, Gajah Mada, in 1357 (Slametmuljana 1976:62).

62. Duk pepeteng ring Banyupindha, babatang anuwut sasi, 124.

Time of a strong wind [?] at Banyupindha, 202.

*The translation of pepeteng is uncertain; does it mean “darkness”? The *Pararaton* mentions an earthquake at Pabanyupindhah in the year 1256 = 1334 A.D., an event that was interpreted as a portent of great change (Slametmuljana 1976:59).

63. Babading Talagawurung, wah kunta wong, 114.

Story of Talagawurung, 192.

*What is meant is perhaps a place in West Lombok. The Balinese Lombok ruler Anglurah Made Karangasem (late 18th-early 19th century) had a son called Gusti Gede Lanang, who was made raja of Karangasem-Bali in 1806-28. He was subsequently expelled because of his cruel manners and returned to West Lombok where he passed away in 1837. He was posthumously known as the Dewata (Deified One) of Talagawurung, indicating that he passed away at a place with this name.

64. Duk jaran anyuraki, nawi kukunang anarung sasi, 1215.

Time of jeering horses, 1293.

*The year 1293 saw an attack on the Javanese king of Daha by a Tatar army, as a revenge for the treatment of the ambassadors of the Great Khan. The successful attack was carried out in conjunction with the forces of the prince Raden Wijaya, descendent of the Singhasari ruler Ken Angrok. Raden Wijaya's campaign against Daha is said to have commenced with the acquisition of 27 large horses from Madura, to be used as chargers. After the defeat of Daha Raden Wijaya turned against his Tatar allies who subsequently withdrew to their ships and returned to the Mongol Empire (Slametmuljana 1976:41-4, 67-73). Perhaps these events are alluded to here.

65. Babading Jugulmudha, bhuta paksa metra tunggal, 1225.

Story of Jugulmudha, 1303.

*Jugulmudha was a book where the original land regulations of Bali were written. Also, in Javanese legend a patih at the court of king Sri Mahapungung bore this name (Babad Tanah Jawi 1987:12).

66. Duk kawon Majapahit, bhasmi nora sang ratu, 1100.

Time of defeat of Majapahit, 1178.

*The Balinese lists do not know of the traditional Javanese date for Majapahit's fall, 1400 = 1478 A.D. *Babad Tusan*:39 gives the year 1210 = 1288.

67. Duk Sirakta kalah, wah muka anuwut dhara, 1294.

Time of defeat of Sirakta [or sira Keta], 1372.

*According to the *Negarakertagama* a place called Keta, in northeastern Java, was defeated by Majapahit in about 1331 (Robson 1995:59). Sira ("he") Keta might be understood as the ruler of that place.

68. Duk rundah Pakandangan, metra tunggal, 12.

Time of defeat of Pakandangan, 90.

*The placename is unknown to me. Perhaps what is meant is Pakembangan, an apanage on Java mentioned in the *Pararaton* (Brandes 1920:171). Or it may be a slight corruption of Pakendungan, the name of a sanctuary at the Tabanan coast nowadays known as Pura Tanah Lot (Soebandi 1983:128).

69. Duk kalahing Balitar, padha anghili, paksa wong anjala bhumi, 1412.

Time of defeat of Balitar, like cleansing, 1490.

*Balitar or Blitar is a historical town in East Java, occasionally mentioned in the Old Javanese texts. 1490 lies within the period of decline of Majapahit and the onslaught of the Muslim kingdom of Demak. A chungkup of a Muslim saint in Blitar has some archaic features in common with the mosque of Demak (late 15th/early 16th century), which points at the early inroad by Islam (Slametmuljana 1976:244-5).

70. Duk Bhatareng Malayu, angalahaken bhumi, paksa anahut wulan, 1212 [recte 132].

Time of Bhatareng Malayu, subduing the land, 1290 [recte 210].

*Malayu is Sriwijaya with its capital at Jambi. It is mentioned by the *Nagarakertagama* under the year 1275, when the king of Singhasari on Java gave orders to “move against the land of Malayu” (Robson 1995:54). The exact affairs between Singhasari and Malayu have been much debated; in one interpretation the war took place in 1292, close to the above date (Hall 1981:88). However, the chronogram is different from the date in numbers.

71. Duk dening Majapahit, gajah guna hanon bhumi, 1238.

Time of coming from Majapahit, 1316.

*According to the *Nagarakertagama* the year 1316 saw a major rebellion in Lamajang and Pajajaran, against the king of Majapahit. According to the same source, the rebel leader Pu Nambi was broken and his family dispersed (Robson 1995:58-9).

72. Babading Gunung Abang, dara mati tingali wong, 1201.

Story of Gunung Abang, 1279.

*Gunung Abang (or Tulukbiu), 2153 meters, is one of the highest peaks on Bali, east of the Batur Lake. A temple called Pura Tulukbiu is said to have built on the summit by the ancient sage Kuturan (c. 1000 A.D.).

73. Babading Dharmma Parita, resi gana anahut hanma, 1267.

Story of Dharma Parita, 1345.

**Darma Parita* is a Javanese-Balinese allegoric poem in tengahan metre. It is about a hermit called Darma Parita who roams around, meeting numerous figures, and who finally with his companion Darma Pamidi is sanctified by the White Tiger (Pigeaud II 1968:556).

74. Babading Managiryya, tumpur dening wong gula bwi kabeh, bhuta tunggal anjala wong, 1414 [recte 1415].

Story of Managiryya, annihilated by lots of Gula bwi [?] people, 1492 [recte 1493].

*Is it the well-known town Wanagiri in Central Java? The entry should perhaps be seen in connection with No. 69, about a defeat of Blitar in 1490. A place called Wanagiri is also found on Bali, six kilometers southwest of the Batukaru shrine.

75. Babad duk Balungbang hajur duk mandadi, kuda tunggal janma tunggal, 1117.

The time of Balungbang dissolving at the time of being formed anew, 1195.

*Balungbang is a small place by Penarungan, three kilometers to the east of Mengwi. Another Balungbang is in the southwestern corner of Karangasem.

76. Duk Raden Sebit, mulih ring desane ring Lamnkong, kalurug dening wadwane Sanganglurah Agung, ring dina U., Mrakih, Ra., sasih Saddha, rah 7, tenggek 6, resi angganing bhuta tunggal, 1467.

Time of raden Sebit returning to the desa of Langko, overrun by the retainers of Sanganglurah Agung on 21 May 1645.

*Confirmed by Dutch sources and other chronograms; in 1645 there was a Balinese campaign in Lombok that captured the East Lombok royal seat Selaparang (Batuparang). The Sasak principality of Langko was on the way (Hägerdal 1998:73).

77. Babading sracap pogo ring Batur, ring dina, Su., Pwa., Prangbakat, masa suklapaksa, tang. 8, ka 10, rah 8, tenggek 2.

Story of a loose outflow [?], at Batur, on 20 June 1706 [?].

*The meaning of the sentence is obscure. Perhaps “sracap” is a corruption of racap (Old Javanese racap-racap = flow out?), but this can only be a guess. This and the following entry may imply that the mountain was active in 1706 (or 1806). From the *Pasasangkalan*:15-16 we know of activity of Gunung Batur in 1696 and 1703, and the *Babad Bhumi*:121 mentions an outburst in 1700, implying that Batur was a bit unruly in these years. The three last entries of the *Pawawatekan* contain the same incomplete date Saka '28. As the king of Klungkung is mentioned in one of them, they can only mean 1706 or 1806, and the events described presumably took place at the time of writing (though there may have been later emanations – see entry 37 above). The chronological elements are not internally consistent at either 1706 or 1806. The best fit, however, seems to be 1706. In that case, we have the 167th day of the pawukon cycle on 20 June 1706, and this day would have been the 9th day of the month – at least an approximately correct position. The month would have been ka 1 rather than ka 10. The discrepancy could be explained as a mistake, quite simply.

78. Duking lindhu banget, ring dina Ca., U., Sungsang, titi sasih Jyesta, rah 8, tenggek 2, pang 11.

Time of strong earthquake, on 4 October 1706 [?].

*Volcanic activity is often accompanied by minor earthquakes, so that this entry might be seen in context with the preceding. The calendaric elements are not consistent. The 65th day of the pawukon cycle would correspond to 4 October 1706. This is the 12th rather than the 11th day of the waning moon, which is easily explained by the irregularities of the calendar that often occurred on Bali. However, the month does not fit in here either. Possibly the original notes did not indicate the month, and the author of the text arbitrarily added Jyesta for entry 78 and Saddha for entry 79 (see below), simply because they are the months that follow after ka 10. This, however, can be no more than a guess.

79. Daweging Rakryan Singharsa, angaturaken putrane istri ring Dalem ring Klungkung, ring dina Bu., U., Medhansiya, titi, sasih Saddha, rah 8, tenggek 2.

Rakryan Singharsa [Sidemen] ventures to send a daughter to Dalem [the ruler] of Klungkung, on 3 November 1706 [?].

*The calendaric elements are not consistent. We would have the 95th day of the pawukon cycle as 3 November 1706, once again far removed from the normal sasih month. There are some traditions about marriages between Sidemen daughters and members of the Gelgel-Klungkung line. According to a local chronicle an Anglurah Sidemen married off a relative, daughter of I Gusti Dangin, to a Ksatria Dalem prince, though not of the direct Klungkung line (Ramseyer 1995:279). Since I Gusti Dangin may have died in 1684, the marriage could have taken place in the decades around 1700. The *Babad Arya Sidemen* (LOr 13.666) has a story of a prince called Dewa Dimade who was offered a daughter of Anglurah Sidemen; they appeared at the Gelgel court where the Dalem gave his consent. The child of this marriage was Dewa Dangin, who ruled Sibetan on behalf of Karangasem after the defeat of Anglurah Sidemen in c. 1740. The lord of Sidemen being mentioned may anyway point to 1706 rather than 1806, when the power of the former was long lost.

POST SCRIPT: PASANGKALAN (LOr 22.990).

In the University Library of Leiden a copy of a text called *Pasangkalan* is preserved. This interesting piece is not fully published and translated in the present work, since the inaccessible handwriting makes a transcription problematic. In the beginning is a colophon with the date 1828 (1906). It contains 116 dates in strict chronological order, from 79 to 1906 A.D. The text is written by somebody with an intimate knowledge of the dynastic history of Badung. As noted above, it is the most important source for the list *Korn 5* which was compiled in c. 1918.

The first 23 dates, from 1 (79) to 727 (805) are clearly legendary, and some of them may have been invented by the author of the text. All these entries are reproduced in *Korn 5*, with a few minor variations. The next section encompasses 27 dates from 724 (802) to 1540 (1618), which are of the “stock” type, generally found in other lists of dates. These are also reproduced in *Korn 5*, who fleshes out the material with (spurious) dates about Gusti Panji Sakti and his dynasty. Entries 51-116 contain original information that may rest on good tradition, ranging from 1593 (1671) to 1828 (1906). Most of them concern events in Badung. Only a part of these are reproduced in *Korn 5*, the author of which reserves his main interest for Buleleng. In the following I will discuss the most interesting ones, insofar as they can be confidently read.

Entries 51-53 are interesting since they mention Arya Tegeh Kori, a figure who is referred to in the traditions of the Arya Kenceng family of Badung and Tabanan, and who has his own *Babad Gusti Tegeh Kori*. According to the *Babad Arya Tabanan*, he was the youngest son of Arya Kenceng of Tabanan. While his elder half-brother Sri Magada Nata took the throne of Tabanan, Tegeh Kori established a domain to rule in Badung (Darta et al. 1996:14-5). He is credited with two sons whose poor behaviour apparently led to the decline of the dynasty. Other lines of the Arya Kenceng group later on ruled Badung. According to the *Babad Dalem* text used by C.C. Berg (1927:101), Tegeh Kori was another name for Badung.

In the *Pasangkalan*:51 it appears that Arya Tegeh Kori of Tegal, in negara Badung, was involved in a conflict with relatives, who were “eaten by weapons”. During the chaos Ki Manek and Dene Panlang died, on the day Bu. U. Madangsyua, in the month Kawolu, 1593, corresponding to 1 March 1671. The calendar elements are internally consistent, so the date may be genuine. In No. 52 Tegeh Kori again occurs; the text is obscure, but mentions that people from Tamanbali were cut down in Tegalayu, on the day Bu. Pa. Wayang, in the month Kapat 1604. The calendrical elements do not fit completely but may correspond to 27 November 1682. A third date, No. 53, says that noisy warfare was heard for days and months. Arya Tegeh Kori was defeated and fled from Kutha Tegal to Kapal, a district of Manguwi (Mengwi). This happened on the day Ca. Wa. Wayang, in the month Kasada 1609, corresponding to 23 July 1687. What is described is maybe the end of the Tegeh Kori dynasty in Badung.

No. 54 mentions warfare between Badung and Padungan, with calendrical elements

which are not internally coherent. The year is 1632 (1710). In the next entry 55, Ratu Pamcutan appears; he received religious learning at the Panataran Nambangan in negara Badung, on Sa. Wa. Ugu, on the full moon of the month Kadasa 1638, which makes 21 April 1716.

No. 56 has got some historical interest: “The time when I Dewa Gede of Tamanbali takes I Gusti Ayu Ketut of Badung, on the day Su. Wa., Kruwlut, in the waxing moon, in the month Kapitu, kora warna rasa tunggal, warsanya angka 1740 [23 December 1718].” By the late 18th century there were three ruling lines in the Bangli area, namely Tamanbali, Nyalian and Bangli Proper. The Tamanbali lords enjoyed the regnal name Dewa Gede Ngurah Pamecutan, since their ancestor married a Badungese princess. This is confirmed by the present entry.

No. 57 mentions “The time of decease of I Dewa Gede of Klungkung, on the day Wa. Pwa., Kuningan, 1 st day of the waning moon, in the month Karo, rupaning bayu rasa tunggal, warsanya angka 1651.” The year would be 1729 but the calendrical elements of the date do not fit. A Dewa [Agung] Gede of Klungkung is known to have ruled at this time, but he died later, in 1736 (Creese 1991b). As discussed under *Korn* 5:61, it can not be excluded that the compiler knew the date 1651 A.D. for the death of a Balinese king from European historiography, and mistook it for a Saka date.

There is no doubt, however, about No. 58: “The time of decease of I Dewa Agung Anom of Sukawati, on the day Ngu. Ka., Sinta, 14th day of the waning moon, in the month Kapitu, catur bhuta rasa bhumi, warsanya angka 1654 [14 January 1733].” The date is confirmed by unpublished Dutch material (Coll. H.J. de Graaf H 1055:8) and can not have been known to the Balinese from Western texts in 1906. Dewa Agung Anom is mentioned as ruler of Sukawati from 1713; he was the brother and rival of Dewa Agung Gede. According to the *Babad Dalem Sukawati*, Sukawati only remained a bona fide kingdom for a few generations, and was superseded by Gianyar in about the 1770s.

In entry 60, there are two dates which are also found at the end of the relatively early text *Babad Ratu Tabanan* (Darta et al. 1996:109-10). These dates are not completely coherent, but may correspond to 11 or 20 August 1793, and 8 or 15 February 1794. The text of the entry refers to dynastic affairs in Tabanan, which were chaotic at the time, mentioning Arya Wiryyawala, Ki Gusti Beng and I Gusti Burwan.

In No. 62, the two kings Ratu Ngurah Pamcutan and Ida Ratu Gede Ngurah of Denpasar were enthroned. Manguwi (Mengwi) was defeated and governed by Badung. Furthermore, a Bugis kampung was established in Tuban in the Badung kingdom. All this happened in the year 1739 (1817). From other sources it appears that there were successions in Pamecutan in 1813 and Denpasar in 1817, and an enthronement ceremony could conceivably have taken place at this time.

No. 63 informs us that the three kings of Gianyar, Badung and Tabanan made a treaty on W. Ka. Mnahil, in the 10th day of the waxing moon, in the month kapitu 1743. The calendrical elements are not completely coherent, but should correspond to either 3 or 11

January 1822. In the same year, Ida Ratu Dewa Manggis of Gianyar underwent a consecration ceremony. In a religious ceremony in Badung, Ida Ratu Alit Ngurah, prince of Badung, married Ida Ratu Agung, daughter of Pamcutan. A ceremony was also held for Ida Ratu Lurah Alit Putra of Tabanan.

According to entry 64, the Bugis from Tuban provided assistance to Mataram on Pulo Sasak (Lombok), at the time when Ratu Singga Karangasem was eliminated. Firearms were then brought from Mataram to Badung, in 1747 (1825). As discussed under *Korn* 5:67, the true fall of Singga Karangasem (Karangasem-Lombok) took place in 1838-39.

In No. 65 we encounter a genuine date again. The two kings of Badung passed away in Dharmaksatriya and Gedong – the reference is to Kiyayi Anglurah Pamecutan Mur in Gedong of Pamecutan (r. 1813-29) and Gusti Ngurah Pamecutan Dewata di Satria of Denpasar (r. 1817-28). At the same time Mengwi was freed from the rule of Badung. The new Badungese main ruler Ida Cokorda Ratu Ngurah Kasiman went to make a treaty with the kings of Gianyar and Tabanan, on the day Bu. Ka. Pahang, the 3rd day of the waxing moon, in the month Jyesta 1751, corresponding to 6 May 1829.

The following dates, up to 1906, are mostly concerned with events within the royal families of Badung, often providing exact dates for the births and deaths of princes and princesses. They will not be treated in this context.

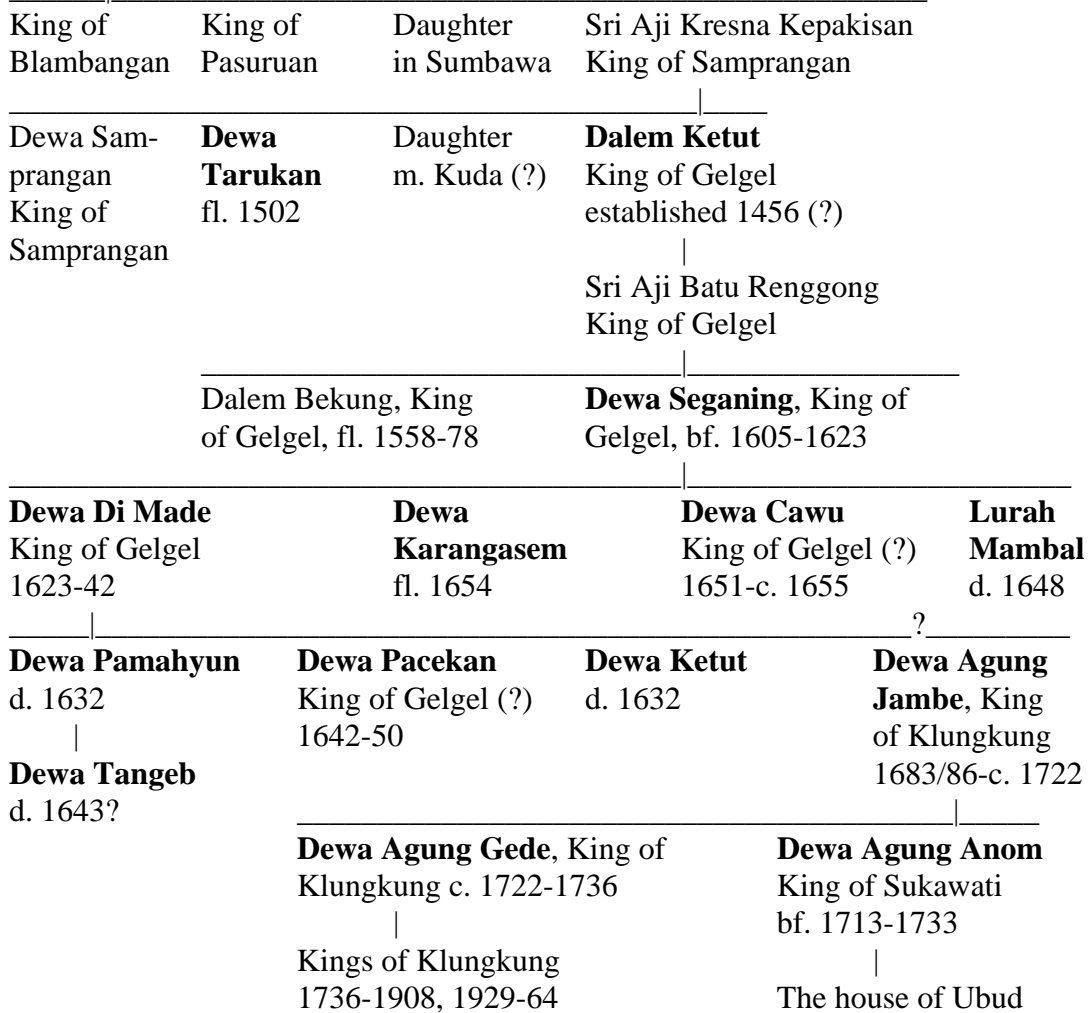
GENEALOGIES

Individuals mentioned in the lists of dates are marked with **bold text**.

A. The Samprangan-Gelgel kings.

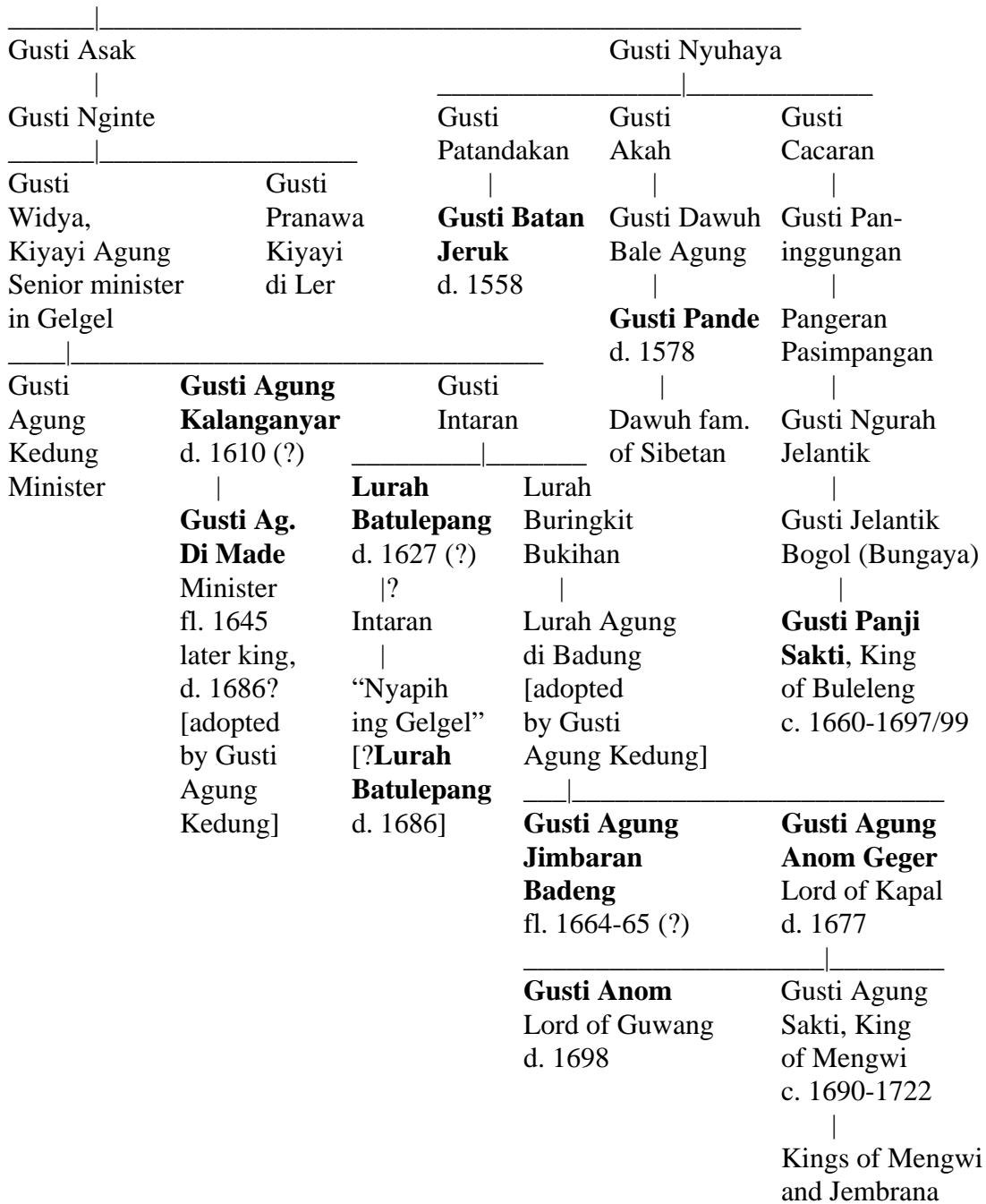
Danghyang Kepakisan

|
Mpu Soma Kepakisan



B. The Arya Kapakisan group (after *Babad Arya Kapakisan*).

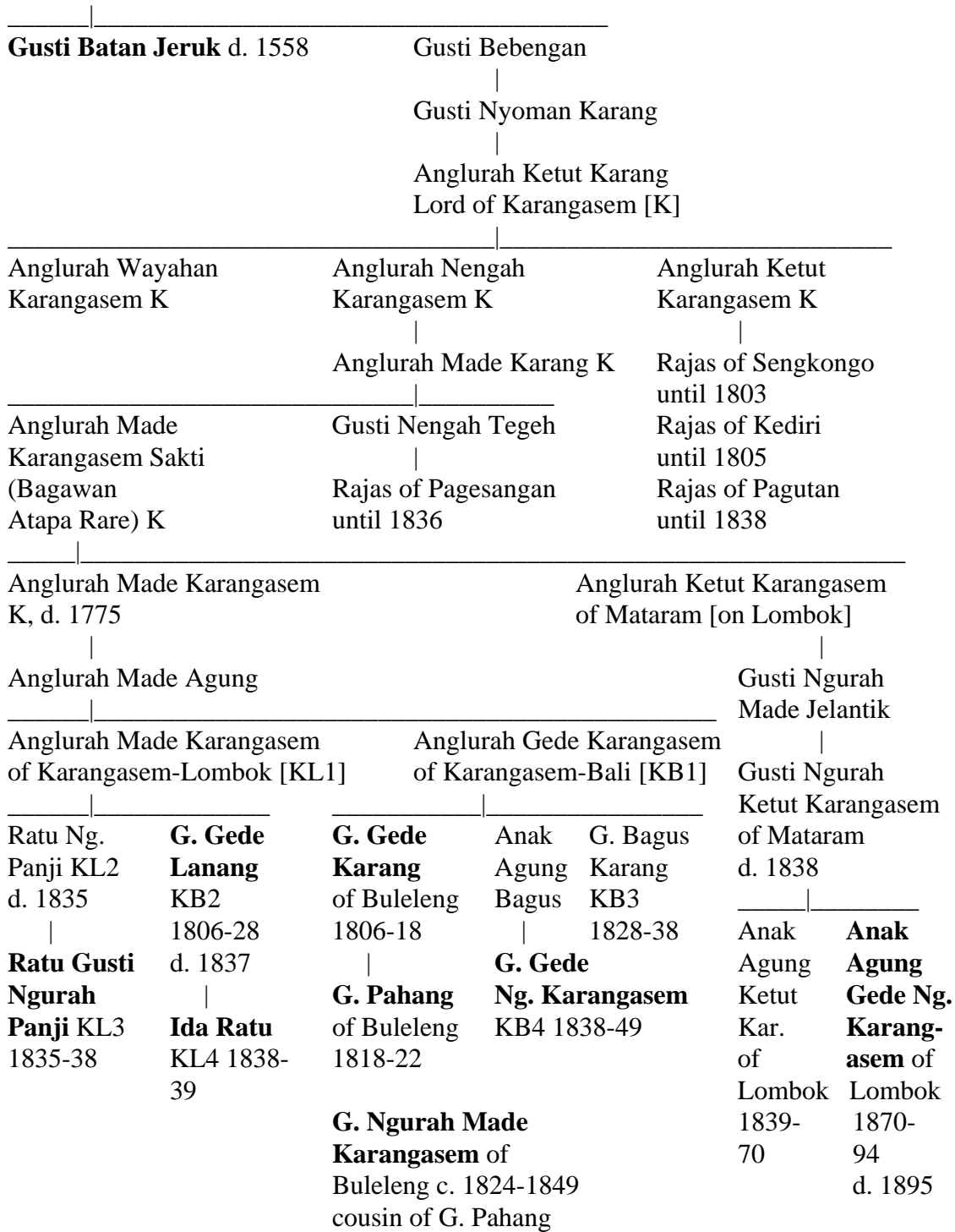
Arya Kapakisan



C. Some rulers of the Karangasem dynasty.

Gusti Pasimpangan

[see above, Arya Kapakisan group]



UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

Dewa Gde Catra Collection, Amlapura.

Babad Arya Gajah Para.

Babad Dalem Sukawati.

Babad Gusti Tegeh Kori.

Silsilah Arya Dawuh.

KITLV Archive, Leiden.

Adiparwa Kidung, Or. 1177 (9).

Babad Bhumi, Coll. V.E. Korn Or. 435:232.

Babad Mengwi, Coll. H.J. de Graaf H 1055:8.

European notes on Bali, Coll. H.J. de Graaf H 1055:8.

Korn 1-5, Coll. V.E. Korn Or. 435:240.

Pambancangah Dane Poleng, Coll. V.E. Korn Or. 435:253.

Leiden University Library.

Añjang Nirartha, LOr 12.691.

Babad Arya Kapakistan, LOr 9819.

Babad Arya Sidemen, LOr 13.666.

Babad Dalem, LOr 13.629.

Babad Gajah Para, LOr 13.975.

Babad Gajah Para, LOr 14.850.

Babad Gumi, LOr 10.548.

Babad Pacung, Coll. C.C. Berg 118.

Babad Tusan, included in *Bungkahing Sundari Terus*, LOr 13.192.

Babad Wisnu Wangsa, LOr 13.862.

Genealogies of Balinese families, Coll. C.C. Berg 118:1-3.

Pamancangah Karangasem, Coll. C.C. Berg 118:3.

Pangriñcik Babad, LOr 3931 (4).

Pangriñcik Babad, LOr 3981 (2).

Pasangkalan, LOr 22.990.

Pasasangkalan, Coll. C.C. Berg 3.

Pawawatekan, included in *Wariga*, LOr 3662.

Prasasti Selat, LOr 17.652.

Sara Samuscaya Pakenca, Coll. C.C. Berg 118:3.

Tattwa Batur Kalawasan, Coll. C.C. Berg, B 41.

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