H. Creese
Sri Surawirya, Dewa Agung of Klungkung (c. 1722-1736); The historical context for dating the Kakawin Parthayana


This PDF-file was downloaded from http://www.kitlv-journals.nl
It is customary for Old Javanese *kakawin* poets to invoke the name of the royal patron to whom they dedicate their work in either the introductory or closing stanzas of their poems. From the names of these patrons, some of whom are also known from the inscriptions, it has been possible to establish a rough chronological framework for the *kakawin* works composed in Java from approximately the ninth to the sixteenth centuries (Zoetmulder 1974). In the later *kakawin*, however, the so-called ‘minor’ *kakawin*, most of which are of Balinese origin, specific references to royal patrons become fewer, their identities more difficult to determine and the accurate dating of works virtually impossible.

Among the unidentified royal patrons mentioned in Balinese *kakawin* are *sri* Surawīrya and *sri* Surawīryawangsa (the descendant of Surawīrya), the patrons of two interdependent, yet independent works called *Pārthāyaṇa* ('The Adventures of Arjuna').¹ Both works relate the same story, that of the twelve-year period of exile undertaken by Arjuna after he violates the rules governing the conduct of the five Pāṇḍava brothers in their relationship with their wife Dropadī. During this period of exile, Arjuna rescues four heavenly nymphs who have been cursed by a *brahmin* to live as fearsome crocodiles, and marries three girls, the snake-girl, Ulupuy, Princess Citragandhā of Mayūra, and Kṛṣṇa’s sister, Subhadra. The *Pārthāyaṇa A*, which is dedicated to Surawīrya, is the earlier work and appears to have served as the direct model of and source for the *Pārthāyaṇa*


HELEN CREESE is a post-doctoral fellow at the Southeast Asia Centre of the Australian National University, from which university she also obtained her Ph.D. degree. She has specialized in Old Javanese and Balinese literature and Balinese history. Dr Creese may be contacted at the Southeast Asia Centre, Faculty of Asian Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, A.C.T. 2601, Australia.
Srī Surawīrya, Déwa Agung of Klungkung

B.2 The Pārthāyaṇa B is more generally known as Subhādrāwīvāha ('The Marriage of Subhādra'), a name ascribed to it by the Balinese copyist tradition and taken up later by Western scholars (Pigeaud 1967-70; Zoetmulder 1974, 1982; Creese 1981). The time of origin of these two kakawin has never been established with any certainty. Recently, however, another reference to Surawīrya has come to light, in the Babad Kṣatriya, a Balinese bābad work which relates the genealogy of the various branches of the Klungkung dynasty.³ The Babad Kṣatriya reference to Surawīrya (HKS 2935:79b) records that ‘Surawīrya, he who died at Madya, was like a mighty lion; he and his brother Wurujuwīrya lived together like Kṛṣṇa and Baladewa in one palace’. An earlier passage in the Babad Kṣatriya (77a) makes it clear that this Surawīrya was the eldest son of Déwa Agung Jambē, the progenitor of the Klungkung dynasty who came to power at the end of the seventeenth century.⁴ Surawīrya later succeeded his father as Déwa Agung and ruled in Klungkung from sometime after 1722 until his death in 1736.

The comprehensive discussion of a literary work such as the Pārthāyaṇa A must also include a discussion of the historical context in which the work can be located. The dating of both the Pārthāyaṇa A in the early eighteenth century, and of the Pārthāyaṇa B, dedicated to a descendant of Surawīrya, at a somewhat later time, hinges on the acceptance of the reliability of the Babad Kṣatriya tradition concerning the name Surawīrya. Therefore, any consideration of the historical context of the Pārthāyaṇa A also entails an analysis of the reliability of the Babad Kṣatriya tradition. Although Balinese bābad texts have generally been considered of little value in an historical framework, recent research has shown them to be more reliable than has previously been conceded.⁵ By documenting the history of Klungkung in the early eighteenth century using both Balinese and Dutch sources, my aim here is not only to establish the identity of Surawīrya and date the Pārthāyaṇa A, but also to make a further contribution to the discussion of the nature and validity of Balinese historical traditions.

---

² Only one work called Pārthāyaṇa is described in the published catalogues of Old Javanese manuscripts. Although Pigeaud indicates that all the available manuscripts are manuscripts of the Pārthāyaṇa B or Subhādrāwīvāha, Lor 13.324 (Pigeaud 1980:144) is wrongly described and is, in fact, a manuscript of the Pārthāyaṇa A. Three manuscripts of the earlier version of the kakawin have become available through the transliteration project instigated by Hooykaas, namely HKS (Sydney University) Bundle 9.7, Bundle 73.12. The interrelationships between the two versions have been discussed by Creese (1981:68-127). They will be examined further in my edition of the Pārthāyaṇa A currently in preparation.

³ I am grateful to Dr. Adrian Vickers who first drew my attention to this reference.

⁴ The full text and translation of the relevant Babad Kṣatriya passages are included in the Appendix to this article.

⁵ See for example Schulte Nordholt 1988; Creese 1991.
The Babad Kṣatriya
At the end of the seventeenth century, Déwa Agung Jambé, the younger son of Di Madé, last of the rulers of the Balinese kingdom of Gêlgêl, reclaimed his father's throne and re-established the dynasty at Klungkung. The genealogical history of this dynasty, from its beginnings until its final defeat at the hands of the Dutch in the puputan of 1908, is recorded in the Babad Kṣatriya.

The Babad Kṣatriya belongs to the larger group of Balinese babad, the dynastic genealogical chronicles of the ruling families of Bali, that were written in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There are only three extant manuscripts entitled Babad Kṣatriya. However, this work also occurs as an extension to another Balinese babadwork, the Babad Dalem, which relates the history of the earlier Balinese kingdom of Gêlgêl. The genealogical history of Klungkung found in the Babad Kṣatriya follows on both chronologically and dynastically from the last events described in the Babad Dalem and readily explains the preservation of these two works within one manuscript. Nevertheless, it seems probable that the Babad Kṣatriya was written as a separate work and later appended to the Babad Dalem. Even when the two works occur in the same manuscript, under the title Babad Dalem, they are quite distinct in style, and separated from each other by the traditional opening exhortation 'awighnam astu' (May there be no hindrances!). It seems most appropriate to consider them as independent works here and to use the title Babad Kṣatriya to refer both to the manuscripts which bear that title and to the final part of the larger work known as Babad Dalem.

Interspersed throughout with Sanskrit šloka, the narrative of the Babad Kṣatriya is built on questions from the reigning Dewa Agung, Wiryaputra, and the answers provided by his court priest, mpu Surawadhana, as he relates to the king the story of his ancestors, with frequent apologies for his faulty memory of all those belonging to a particular family line. On the basis of the number of generations and the events depicted, the

---

6 For the discussion of the fall of Gêlgêl see Berg 1927 and Creese 1991.
7 The manuscript used here is HKS 2935. For the parts of the Babad Kṣatriya discussed here the different versions of the work show only minor differences. The manuscripts entitled Babad Kṣatriya are Kirtya 692 (LOr 9413), 693 (LOr 9414), 958/6 (LOr 9546). The extension to the Babad Dalem is found in three manuscripts: HKS 1358 (LOr 13.818), HKS 2503 and HKS 2935. Other manuscripts of the Babad Dalem are listed in Pigeaud 1980, namely LOr 13.323, LOr 13.327 and LOr 13.734, but the number of pages given for these manuscripts makes it unlikely that either LOr 13.323 or LOr 13.327 also includes the Babad Kṣatriya. The text and Indonesian translation of the Babad Kṣatriya have been published under the title Babad Dalem C in Warna et al. 1986.
8 A similar narrative structure begins the ancestral account in the Babad Mengwi, but is only maintained until the end of the reign of the first Mengwi ruler, Gusti Agong Anom (c. 1690-1722) (Schulte Nordholt 1988:18; 342).
Wiryaputra to whom the *Babad Kṣatriya* is related appears to be the third to bear this name, and to have ruled in Klungkung from the mid-nineteenth century until his death in 1903 (see the table below).\(^9\) Another Balinese manuscript dealing with the genealogy of Klungkung, the *Prasasti Dalem I* (CB 151; Pigeaud 1968:785), is also an account by *mpu* Surawadhana. This text contains a colophon giving the year of composition as 1793 sāka, or 1871 A.D. As the year 1871 falls during the reign of Wiryaputra III, it seems likely that the Surawadhana of the *Babad Kṣatriya* and that of the *Prasasti Dalem I* are the same person and that both works can be dated in approximately the same period.\(^10\) However, I have not been able to consult

---

### The Dewa Agung of Klungkung 1687-1908

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dewa Agung Gedé</th>
<th>Dewa Agung Madé</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wiryaputra I (Dewa Agung Putra) (d. 1809)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiryaputra II (Dewa Agung Putra) (d. 1849)</td>
<td>Dewa Istri Kanya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiryaputra III (Dewa Agung Putra) (d. 1903)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dewa Agung Gedé Jambé (d. 1908)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^9\) This table is based on the text of HKS 2935. Dates are those given in van Eck 1878 and Lekkerkerker (1926:332). Wiryaputra is more generally referred to in Western sources as Dewa Agung Putra. The family tree depicted in HKS 2935 and in all manuscripts of the text that I have been able to consult, appears to differ in some details from those used by Schulte Nordholt (1988:28, Note 55) and Vickers 1989. For example, Schulte Nordholt proposes that the Dewa Anom Sukawati is the brother of Agung Jambé and uncle of Agung Madé rather than son and brother respectively. In the nineteenth century Vickers (1989:66) designates Dewa Agung Pañji as the brother of Dewa Agung Putra I/Wiryaputra I, whereas according to the *Babad Kṣatriya* he is his uncle. Discussion of the reigns of the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century Dewa Agung, however, is beyond the scope of this study.

\(^10\) Stuart-Fox (1987:562-3) identifies Surawadhana as Ida Padanda Gedé Rai of Geria Cucukan and attributes the authorship of both the *Babad Kṣatriya* and *Kidung Pamahcangah* to him.
these manuscripts to determine if there is a close relationship between the two works. Internal evidence suggests that additional material has been added to the original text of the *Babad Kṣatriya* and has resulted in a number of different endings to this *babad*. While the earlier parts of all the different versions of the *Babad Kṣatriya* are similar in style, seem to have been the work of one writer, and can probably be dated in the late nineteenth century, the final section of the different manuscript versions, after the reign of Wiryaputra III, is of more recent date and the work of other hands. After the details of Wiryaputra III’s ancestors are related, the Sanskrit śloka and the king’s questions cease. Two manuscripts of the *Babad Kṣatriya* (Kirtya 692 and 693) also end at this point. In the case of HKS 2935, the final section (fol 108b-115a) updates the genealogical lists to the early twentieth century by adding the names of the descendants who were born on Lombok. The colophon of HKS 2935 indicates that this addition dates from the early twentieth century. As well as the customary request for a favourable view to be taken of his paltry efforts, the author/copyist states that it is only because of the pressure exerted by Ida Bagus Nyoman of Griya Pidada that he has dared to finish off the work. This colophon is dated 1918 A.D. (1840 ṣaka) and indicates that this version of the text goes back only as far as the beginning of the twentieth century.

Although the *Babad Kṣatriya*, at least in its extant form, is a fairly recent text, the information it contains proves to be very reliable. The author probably drew on a number of sources, both oral and written. His recollection of the events and figures in the nineteenth century was probably, to a large extent, based on recent and living memory. However, as the earlier events chronicled in the *babad* were of importance as moments of crisis or great change in the fortunes of the Klungkung dynasty, even a late nineteenth-century date of composition does not necessarily throw doubt on the author’s grasp of earlier events from the eighteenth century, particularly as the religious nature of the ancestor worship inherent in *babad* texts ensures that ancestral ties are remembered and preserved long after living memory may have been expected to falter.

*The first Déwa Agung of Klungkung*

The *Babad Kṣatriya* is extremely reticent about the first Déwa Agung of Klungkung, through whom the dynasty claimed direct descent from the rulers of Gèlgèl. Jambé came to power in Gèlgèl in 1686-7, when, with the help of various Balinese nobles, he ousted the usurper, Agung Maruti, from Gèlgèl and set up his court a little to the north in Klungkung.12 His

---

11 Stuart-Fox (1987:130) indicates that the common limits for genealogical memory in present-day Bali extend to the grandfather or great-grandfather.

12 See Berg 1927, De Graaf 1949. Hinzler (1986:159) gives the years of Jambé’s reign as 1710-1775, but does not indicate the source of these dates.
rule and death are passed over in the first few words of the Babad Kṣatriya and the attention of the author then shifts to the following generation. It is difficult to establish a clear picture of the circumstances surrounding the re-establishment of the Dewa Agung at Klungkung, but there are indications in the Babad Kṣatriya that the claim of the founder of the dynasty, Agung Jambé, to the title may have been somewhat tenuous (Creese 1991). The turbulence of his accession and reign suggests that he may have prevailed by force over the more valid claim of an elder brother.

Further evidence for the tenuous position of the founding figure can also perhaps be seen in the explanation inserted at a later point in the Babad Kṣatriya for why Jambé and not his elder brother came to be ruler. It seems possible that this explanation, which is included in other later babad works, serves to legitimize Jambé's claim to the title of Dewa Agung.¹³ Towards the end of the Babad Kṣatriya (fol. 103), mpu Surawadhana explains to Wiryaputra how Jambé, as the younger son of Di Madé, came to succeed to the throne. According to this explanation the elder brother, I Dewa Agung Pembayun, retired voluntarily to Tampak Siring on the death of his father after the nobles had decided that Jambé was the most appropriate successor. Although Pembayun had sons, none of them ever held positions of authority. The Babad Dalem reports that Pembayun ruled for some time in Guliyang, while Jambé sought refuge in Sidemen. After the successful revolt, in which he was assisted by a number of Balinese nobles, Jambé reclaimed the throne. He elected to rebuild his palace in Klungkung, leaving Gèlgèl in ruins until a collateral line of the family was established there in the next generation.

According to the Babad Kṣatriya (77a), Dewa Agung Jambé had three sons, Surawlrya (or Madyawirya), Wlrya Sirikan, who later became the Dewa Anom of Sukawati, and Wuruju Wlrya, also known as Cokorda Ketut Agung, who founded a collateral line in Gèlgèl. Two of these sons, the eldest, who is referred to as Dewa Gedé in the Dutch accounts, and the Dewa Anom of Sukawati, are known from Dutch sources. Dutch records indicate that Dewa Agung Jambé’s reign was fraught with conflict.¹⁴ A considerable amount of correspondence was exchanged between the Dewa Agung and the VOC between 1693 and 1722. He persistently sought the favour of the Dutch and requested their assistance to defeat his enemies, who included at different times most of the neighbouring kingdoms. As early as 3 November, 1693, he petitioned the Dutch for assist-

---

¹³ For example the Babad Pasek relates that Jambé offered the throne to his brother who, feeling himself unworthy, declined and then moved away to Tampak Siring.

¹⁴ The following discussion is based largely on the notes in the De Graaf collection (KITLV Western MSS, 1055). Other sources include VOC records held in the Algemeen Rijksarchief (ARA) as well as extracts from the Dagregister published in volumes VII-IX of the Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal (GM). See Coolhaas 1976, 1979, 1985, and van Goor 1988.
ance against his enemies in Sidemen, while in a letter of 22 October, 1695, he named Karangasem and Gusti Pañji of Bulélèng as his enemies. Between 1713 and 1717 Klungkung was involved in the Sukawati-Mengwi conflict. Bulélèng was again the enemy cited in a letter dated 26 November, 1718, which Jambé sent with an embassy to the VOC, seeking to disassociate himself from the activities of the Balinese in Java who were loyal to his enemy Gusti Pañji of Bulélèng. When, in December, 1719, both he and his son, Déwa Gedé, sent gifts to the Governor-General, Jambé proposed a trading monopoly with the Company that would exclude all shipping from rival kingdoms. Again in August, 1720, and September, 1721, letters came from the Déwa Agung referring to his proposed monopoly and seeking assistance against his enemies at Sidemen.

His conflicts apparently were not confined to his neighbours. In a letter dated 15/12/1719 he complained that his own officials (punggawa) were no longer adhering to the old laws and were opposing him. Although his second son, the Déwa Anom of Sukawati, appears to have been the hereditary successor to the title of Déwa Agung, friction between father and son eventually led to the transfer of the succession to his elder son (Déwa Gedé). In a letter of 15 January, 1720 (GM VII: 463), he named this elder son, Déwa Gedé (Surawlrya), as his successor, in place of his rebel son, Déwa Anom, because the former was ‘not yet tainted with Mohammedan superstition’. However, his relationship with this elder son does not appear to have remained harmonious for long, for a report of 20 November, 1722, speaks of the ‘Déwa Agong, Déwa Gedé and Déwa Anom, a father and two sons who were constantly in conflict with each other’ (GM VII:592). Jambé’s reign appears to have ended sometime between 11 November, 1722, when the final letter on the subject of his proposed trading monopoly was received in Batavia, and 1729, by which time his son, Surawlrya, appears to have been ruler of Klungkung.

Sri Surawlrya, Déwa Agung of Klungkung, ±1722-1736
Jambé’s eldest son, Surawlrya (Madyawlrya), succeeded his father as ruler in Klungkung (Smarajaya). Information concerning Surawlrya is found in a number of places in the Babad Kṣatriya (see Appendix). After briefly mentioning his accession, the Babad Kṣatriya (77b-79b) digresses to tell of Surawlrya’s brother, Wiryā Sirikan, who went to rule in Sukawati as the Déwa Anom at the request of the Anglurah Agung of Mengwi (Kawisunya). The babad records that, with the help of the king of Klungkung, Mengwi was able to overthrow the Anglurah of Sukawati, and the Déwa Anom was appointed to rule in his place. The Déwa Anom later quarrelled with his brother the Déwa Agung of Klungkung over ownership of a sacred kris. The quarrel resulted in a curse uttered by the Déwa Agung, whereby his descendants and those of his brother the Déwa Anom of Sukawati were forbidden to intermarry. The descendants of the Déwa Anom of Sukawati eventually scattered to all parts of the island.
The *Babad Ksatriya* next turns its attention to Surawlrya's second brother, Wuruju Wirya, who lived for many years with his brother in Klungkung but eventually sought his permission to settle in Gelgel, in the former palace of Anglurah Agung (Maruti). He was thus the founder of the Gelgel branch of the family. The fortunes of this line of the family are related for several generations (80a-88a).15

When the *Babad Ksatriya* eventually returns again to Surawlrya and his direct descendants, it is to record what appears to have been the most significant event of the king's reign, that is, his visit to Blambangan, where he visited Lord Sumeru (*tvan Sumrur*). After some time there, Blambangan faced attack from outside forces, which was successfully repelled thanks to the king's skill in battle.16 He eventually returned to Bali. He had three sons. The eldest, Dewa Agung Gede, established his palace at Puri Denpasar, and the second son, Dewa Agung Made, lived at Puri Agung, together with the youngest brother, Dewa Agung Ketut Rai. Surawlrya eventually died at Madya (*dewata ring Madya*). On his death, his two elder sons came into conflict. Dewa Agung Gede, allied with Karangasem and Sibetan through his mother, was finally defeated by Dewa Agung Madé, who then became ruler in Klungkung.17

**Śri Surawlrya: Evidence from other Balinese sources and Dutch records**

Many of the details of Surawlrya's reign recorded in the *Babad Ksatriya* are corroborated by both other Balinese sources and Dutch records. The details of the Dewa Anom's move to Sukawati, and the subsequent close relations between Mengwi and Klungkung, and initially between Mengwi and Sukawati as well, are also recorded at length in the *Babad Mengwi* (1974:71-78). According to the *Babad Mengwi* (45a-49a), Sukawati was given to the Dewa Anom by the Agung of Mengwi as a reward for his defeat of Mengwi's enemy. This period of conflict, which lasted for four years, from 1713-1717, is also recorded in Dutch sources (Schulte Nordholt 1988:25). The Dewa Anom's move to Sukawati must have taken place at about this time. Thus, although the *Babad Ksatriya* places the Dewa Anom's move to Sukawati in the reign of his brother, Surawlrya,
Dutch records indicate that he was already in power in Sukawati in 1721, that is, during his father Agung Jambé’s lifetime.  

For most of his reign the position of the Déwa Agung of Klungkung as the foremost of the Balinese rulers appears to have been nominal. From about 1725, political power seems to have been vested instead in his ally, the Gusti Agung of Mengwi (Schulte Nordholt 1988:27-30). The two rulers appear to have become close allies in their mutual struggle to protect both their own dominions and those of their allies against the encroaching power of Buleleng. In 1729, a combined force of Klungkung and Mengwi troops set out for Blambangan. In a letter dated 13 December, 1729, the agent at Semarang, Willem Tersmitten, reported that the Déwa Agung and Gusti Agung of Mengwi were at Jembrana and Blambangan respectively to assist Bagus Pati repel an invasion from Buleleng. During this expedition, the Gusti Agung of Mengwi apparently married the daughter of Blambangan’s overlord, Bagus Pati.

By 1730, Surawiya’s brother, the Déwa Anom of Sukawati, appears to have become the enemy of both Klungkung and Mengwi. Dutch sources confirm in a letter of 29 May, 1730, that the Déwa Agung and Gusti Agung of Mengwi were reported to have been forced to return to Bali, together with three hundred and fifty armed men from Bagus Pati, in order to defend their kingdoms against Gusti Pañji of Buleleng and his ally the Déwa Anom of Batuan (Sukawati). Further conflict broke out in 1733, when the Déwa Agung of Klungkung was forced to come to the aid of Gusti Mangu of Buleleng in his struggle for succession against his brother and

---

18 The Babad Ksatriya text is slightly ambiguous at this point, referring only to sri aji ring Smarajaya (the lord of Smarajaya/Klungkung). This may in fact refer to Agung Jambé and not Surawiya, since the babad frequently moves backwards and forwards between generations. There are also a number of other difficulties concerning the details of this period. Dutch sources record that in 1713 the Déwa Anom of Sukawati was involved in a conflict with Gusti Agung Pañji of Mengwi. Gusti Agung Pañji, who had been appointed to rule Mengwi while his father, Gusti Agung Anom (±1690-1722), was engaged in Blambangan, was killed in this battle. The battle for control of Mengwi was not resolved until 1717 (GM VII:54-55; Schulte Nordholt 1988:25). If the information from the Babad Ksatriya and the Babad Mengwi (45a-49a) that relates that Jambé’s second son became Déwa Anom of Sukawati as a reward for his services to Mengwi against the rebellious Anglurah of Sukawati is accepted, then his installation must have taken place at the end of the 1713-17 war and he must presumably have been the successor of the Déwa Anom of Sukawati referred to in the Dutch records of 1714. Balinese traditions may have conflated the two figures, since the Déwa Anom of Sukawati who was the son of Agung Jambé and brother of Surawiya is also known to have come into conflict with the Klungkung-Mengwi alliance.

19 Relationships between Klungkung/Mengwi and Sukawati/Buleleng appear to have been harmonious up until 1721. Van Eck (1878:341) records that in 1721 the Déwa Agung, Déwa Anom and Gusti Agung of Mengwi joined forces with Gusti Pañji (of Buleleng) against Mataram.

20 It seems that the Déwa Anom of Batuan of the Dutch reports of 1730-33 is the Déwa Anom of Sukawati, although Dutch records also name the Déwa Anom of Badung as an ally of the Buleleng rulers at this time and it is not always clear which Déwa Anom is intended.
his ally, the Déwa Anom of Sukawati. Although the Babad Kṣatriya does not specifically mention any of these conflicts between the Déwa Agung of Klungkung and his brother, the Déwa Anom of Sukawati, a reflection of them can perhaps be seen in the story of the quarrel over the ownership of the kris and the subsequent severing of relations between the two branches of the family.

Dutch sources corroborate the information in the Babad Kṣatriya concerning Surawirya’s journey to Java and his pilgrimage to visit the Lord of Sumeru.21 In two letters dated 26 January, 1730, and 6 March, 1730, respectively, Tersmitten included reports from two of his agents, who wrote that the Gusti Agung of Mengwi had made a visit to Mount Sumeru, where ‘the great heathen priest and lord of the holy mountain Simeru honoured him with the name Pangerang Purbanagara and Bagus Patij (the regent of Blambangan) with the name Mancoenagara’ (den grooten heijdensche Priester en pangeran van den heijligen Berg Simeroe... Gusty Agoeng met den naam van Pangerang Poerwanagara en Bagus Patij den naam van Pangerang Mancoenagara heefd vereerd). One of the Dutch reports included by Tersmitten, from the agent Rijklof Duijvens (VOC 2169:7 March, 1730), also mentions that the Déwa Agung took part in this expedition to Balambangan, although he is not specifically mentioned in the reports of the visit to the holy mountain. Schulte Nordholt (1988: 7-30) has discussed the significance of this pilgrimage for the Gusti Agung of Mengwi, who, he suggests, was seeking to establish or re-establish his dynasty’s links with Majapahit. It is not surprising that his ally, the Déwa Agung of Klungkung, should also take part in such an expedition. Curiously, the Babad Mengwi makes no mention of the visit, and the only other Balinese source to allude to this journey is the Babad Arya Tabanan (37b).

By chance, the death of Surawirya is one of the few references to Klungkung found in VOC records of this period. In a letter to Abraham Patras dated 6 April, 1736, mention is made of the death of the Déwa Agung of Klungkung at his palace (De Jonge 1877:154-5). This Déwa Agung, who was presumably the same ruler as the one who had made the pilgrimage to Java in 1730, can, therefore, be identified as Surawirya of the Babad Kṣatriya.

Following the death of Surawirya, the Babad Kṣatriya goes on to chronicle the fate and fortunes of his successors throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Much of the information for the following genera-

---

21 Dutch records have both the spelling ‘Simeroe’ and ‘Sameroe’ for the name of this mountain. The identity of Twan Sumeru within the Balinese tradition, however, remains problematic. While Dutch sources confirm the existence of this ‘heathen’ priest, it should be noted that the name Twan Sumeru is also one of the names ascribed to the father of Balinese literature, Nirartha, during the time he was on Lombok. A number of Islamic poems bearing the title Tuwan Sumeru, which were supposedly written on Lombok, are also attributed to him (Vickers 1987; Rubinstein 1988:148-9).
tions can also be corroborated by Dutch sources. In the nineteenth century, Dutch records are supplemented by a number of personal accounts by Dutch officials, accounts which attest to the overall accuracy of the information in the Babad Kṣatriya. A consideration of the remainder of the Babad Kṣatriya, however, is beyond the scope of the present discussion.

The Dating of the Pārthāyaṇa A and Pārthāyaṇa B

The question remains whether the single mention of the name Surawīrya in the Babad Kṣatriya as a cognomen for Madyawīrya, the second Dēwa Agung of Klungkung, can be used to date the kakawin Pārthāyaṇa A. Although there is only one reference to Surawīrya in the Babad Kṣatriya, there is no ambiguity in the text and it is clear that it refers to the second Dēwa Agung of Klungkung, the eldest son of Agung Jambé. It is his deified title, dewata ring madya (he who became deified at Madya), that leaves no doubt that it was Surawīrya who made the pilgrimage to Twan Sumeru (kang sinanggah dewata ring madya sira olìh ngajawi maring Brambangan, iriê pwa sira asawitra ring twan Sumeru), and allows his reign to be fixed with a fair degree of certainty. Although it is unusual for Balinese babad texts to give alternative names for individuals, this is not the case with the Babad Kṣatriya, in which most of the important figures are known by several names or titles. As both the Babad Kṣatriya and some manuscripts of the Pārthāyaṇa A come from Klungkung, it is not impossible that the name may have been taken from the kakawin and included in the babad. However, the essentially reliable nature of the Babad Kṣatriya, in both the names and the events for the period in question, as indicated above, makes it likely that the names for the second Dēwa Agung of Klungkung can also be considered reliable. A more detailed study of the other Balinese babad works and Dutch sources than has been possible here may reveal further information. Until such a study can be undertaken, the identification of Surawīrya as the second Dēwa Agung of Klungkung can also be accepted and the Pārthāyaṇa A provisionally dated in the early eighteenth century, before 1736.

The identification of Surawīrya and the dating of the Pārthāyaṇa A in the early eighteenth century have important implications for the dating of several Old Javanese works from Bali, indicating that the Balinese were producing kakawin works of considerable literary merit until comparatively recent times, certainly later than has hitherto been acknowledged.

The dating of the Pārthāyaṇa A is of particular importance for the dating of the Pārthāyaṇa B, which is dedicated to Surawīryawangśaja. Previous studies have not been able to provide any convincing evidence for the dating of the later reworking of the Pārthāyaṇa A. In discussing the time of origin of the Pārthāyaṇa B (Subhadṛśiwa), Zoetmulder (1974:384) pointed out the striking similarity between the name Surawīrya and that of Suraprabhawa, the patron of mpu Tanakung’s fifteenth-century Śi-warāṭrikalpa (Teeuw et al. 1969), and concluded that there was no
evidence against dating the work in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Little was added to this somewhat negative conclusion by Creese (1981). However, if, as has been suggested here, the Parthayana A was written in the early eighteenth century, some time before 1736, then the later reworking of this kakawin, the Parthayana B, which shows direct dependence on the earlier work, must date from some time after 1736.

Although the opening stanzas of the Parthayana B make it clear that the patron of this text was a descendant (wangsaja) of Surawlrya, it is more difficult to establish the degree of relationship between the two patrons mentioned in the two works, since any family member after Surawlrya may have been the Surawiryawangsaja of the Parthayana B. Nor was he necessarily the reigning monarch of Klungkung.

Unlike other manuscript-based literary traditions in the Indonesian region, kakawin literature was highly resistant to change or variation. Kakawin copyists were generally unable to exercise their creative talents in the composition of new versions of a work, and each copy of a kakawin appears to have been a faithful copy of its exemplar. The creation of a new rendering of the Parthayana A, therefore, involved a conscious decision to rework the original text. The variation between the two works that resulted from this process involved a painstaking attention to detail and a thorough knowledge of the original kakawin. Such an intimate knowledge of a text can most readily be attributed to its author, who may have wished for some reason to rework his original poem. If this were so, it would be probable that the descendant of Surawlrya who is mentioned in the Parthayana B would have been one of the immediate descendants of Surawlrya himself, that is, Dewa Agung Gedé or Dewa Agung Madé.

Variant versions or adaptations of kakawin are not known from any other period of kakawin literary history, a period of more than 1000 years, stretching back to the ninth century. However, there is one other Balinese kakawin text, the Kṛṣṇāndhaka, which is known in two versions and which displays the same kind of variation as is found in the two versions of the Parthayana. Zoetmulder (1974:395) notes that he was told by one informant that the Kṛṣṇāndhaka was considered a very late text, going back no earlier than the nineteenth century. The striking similarity of the style, language and interdependence of the alternate versions of both the Parthayana and the Kṛṣṇāndhaka makes it almost certain that the reworkings of both these kakawin must be products of the same time and place, and probably the work of the same author, and suggests that the Parthayana

---

22 One Balinese informant who unhesitatingly identified Surawlrya of the Parthayana A as the second Dewa Agung of Klungkung, indicated that the Surawiryawangsaja of the Parthayana B was the son of the former.
B may also have been written as recently as the nineteenth century. The close dependence of the later adaptations on their earlier models would explain the similarities of the language and style of these later works, which are, perhaps, representative of a particular nineteenth-century school of kakawin writing in which poets, perhaps apprentice kawi, were required to rework an exemplary text. Extensive literary activity appears to have been part of Klungkung court life throughout its history. The reign of Dèwa Agung Istri Kanyā (c. 1809-1849) in particular is remembered as a time of great literary endeavour. Vickers (1982:492-3) points out the similarity between the names of a number of female Balinese rulers in the nineteenth century and the royal patrons of a number of Balinese kakawin. He suggests that the patron of the Astikāyana, sīrī Wiryasakanta, can probably be equated with the Dèwa Agung Istri Kanyā, who was renowned for her literary skills and patronage of the arts. The Brahmāṇḍapuraṇa kakawin, which bears the date 1738 śaka (= 1816 A.D.) can also probably be attributed to her patronage. Thus, the descendant of Surawīrya who was the patron of the Pārthāyana B may indeed have lived at a considerably later date than the Surawīrya of the Pārthāyana A, and it is not impossible that the two versions were the works of authors who were also separated from each other by a number of generations. It seems probable that the same is true of the second version of the Kṛṣṇāṇḍhaka, although any discussion of that work must await further investigation.

There seems little doubt that there was in Bali in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries considerable literary activity in the court centre at Klungkung, just as there had been in courts in Java, and most probably Bali as well, from the time of the earliest kakawin literary products. The dating of the Pārthāyana A in the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, provides an island of certainty in a sea of undated Balinese kakawin works. This dating also has important implications for kakawin literary history, particularly in the later Balinese period. In the past, only the handful of kakawin works written on Java before the middle of the sixteenth century attracted the attention of students of Old Javanese literature. Balinese kakawin works, on the other hand, have generally been relegated to the category of ‘minor kakawin’ and deemed unworthy of any serious study (Pigeaud 1967-70; Zoetmulder 1974). However, the Pārthāyana A and, indeed, the Pārthāyana B, are kakawin works of considerable literary and artistic merit dating from as recently as the eighteenth or nineteenth century. The existence of these works and their more positive dating

---

23 It is not possible to consider the variant versions in any detail here. Zoetmulder describes variation between the two versions of the Kṛṣṇāṇḍhaka (Zoetmulder 1974:395) in the following way: ‘so far as content goes, most stanzas in the one find a close parallel in the other. At times even the words are the same; but then again they may be completely different, and not necessarily because of differences in metre. I know of no other case in kakawin literature of such unity-in-diversity.’ His comments are equally appropriate for the two renderings of the Pārthāyana.
Sri Surawirya, Dewa Agung of Klungkung indicate that the study and writing of kakawin literature must either have undergone a period of renaissance under the new political structures that arose with the founding of the Klungkung dynasty, or have been an integral part of the court life-style for many centuries, probably from at least the time of Majapahit’s glory or even earlier. In the light of this new date, a reconsideration of kakawin literary history is, perhaps, indicated.

Appendix

Extracts from Babad Ksatriya (HKS 2935) with English Translations


astu widhyam ta dineham, asubha-subham karma bhya, wiyoqyam twam sabhrataram, ngusanam purwa sangslistam.


It is said that sometime after that your ancestor, he whose mother came from Badung, became king under the title of I Dèwa Agung
Jambé. Great was his happiness. He had three sons. All three were perfect and were like three snakes inhabiting one cave. They were incarnations of the three gods, Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The eldest was called Madyawīrya, his younger brother was called Wīrya Sirikan and the youngest was called Wuruju Wīrya.

Later, as if ordained by fate, the three brothers were parted. Because it is the nature of good and bad deeds, past actions have consequences for the future. When His Majesty, the Lord of Klungkung, died he was succeeded by his eldest son. Thus was the world protected. As for the one who held the office of Sirikan, he who was called the Dēwa Agung Anom, he went to Sukawati at the request of the Anglurah Agung of Mengwi. This was after the Anglurah Agung of Sukawati quarrelled with his brother, the Anglurah of Mengwi who received help from the Lord of Klungkung. Thus was the Anglurah of Sukawati defeated.

After Agung Anom was established in Sukawati, he was happy in his position of crown prince. Eventually he quarrelled with his brother the king of Smarajaya. The reason for the quarrel was that Agung Anom requested a kris from his brother so that he might share its use for the welfare of the people of Sukawati. It so happened that the king of Klungkung closed his mind to his brother's purpose and refused his request. He was finally roused to anger and so in this way began the curse: 'the descendants of Sukawati may not intermarry with the descendants of Klungkung, or they will surely suffer'. So was it decreed.

Now, so that Your Majesty may know the true story, listen carefully. Śrī Sūrawīrya, he who died at Madhya, was like a mighty lion. He and his younger brother, Wuruju Wīrya, who was known as Cokorda Ketut Agung, lived together in one palace like incarnations of Baladewa and Kṛṣṇa. [Wuruju Wīrya] asked his brother if he could go away and return to the palace at Gelgel. He was finally roused to anger and so in this way began the curse: ‘the descendants of Sukawati may not intermarry with the descendants of Klungkung, or they will surely suffer'. So was it decreed.
Time passed. I will tell again of he who ruled in Klungkung. Listen carefully, O King, to the history of your ancestor. He who died at Madhya went to Brambangan. There he had the opportunity to become acquainted with Tuan Sumeru. While he was there, Brambangan was attacked by outside forces, but was not defeated by the enemy because your ancestor, Your Majesty, was wily and fearless in battle and in arranging battle formations. After that he returned to Bali. He remained in his realm. He had three sons. The eldest was I Dewa Agung Gede, who built his palace at [Puri] Denpasar, the second was I Dewa Agung Made, whose mother came from Gunakṣa. He was very handsome, like god Wisnu, and renowned everywhere for the beauty of his features. Many people were amazed by him and wished to imitate his actions. Even though you might search far and wide, no equal to him would you find. Only his legs were a little crooked. He had a palace at Puri Agung, where he lived with his younger brother, I Dewa Agung Ketut Rai.
REFERENCES

A. Texts and Unpublished Sources

Babad Dalem, HKS 2935; see also Warna 1986.

Babad Kṣatriya, HKS 2935.

Babad Kṣatriya Taman Bali, 1974, Denpasar: Yayasan Parisada Hindu Dharma (Kirtya Va 1062/7).

Babad Mengwi, 1974, Denpasar: Yayasan Parisada Hindu Dharma (Kirtya Va 1340/12).

Pārāhāyana A, HKS (University of Sydney) Bundle 9, No. 7.

Pārāhāyana B, see Creese 1981.

De Graaf Collection: Excerpts from the Daghregister en Resolutien Casteel Batavia 1660-1740, KITLV Western MS [1005], De Graaf Collection, Box 8.

B. Published Works

Berg, C.C., 1927, De middeljavaansche historische traditie, Santpoort: Mees.


Jonge, J.K.J. de, 1877, De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost Indië: Verzameling van onuitgegeven stukken uit het oud-koloniaal archief, vol IX.


