GITA YUDDHA MENGWI or KIDUNG NDÈRÈT

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MANUSCRIPTA INDONESICA
VOLUME 4
GITA YUDDHA MENGWI or KIDUNG NDÈRÈT

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With an introduction by
Hedi I.R. Hinzler

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INTRODUCTION

Gita Yuddha Mengwi

A song about the struggle for power, the rise of a newcomer, an unscrupulous reformer who at the outset seems to succeed in reshaping the government and creating a New Order. Assassination, economic sanctions, tax fraud, cunning and guile, legitimation of power and finally, the downfall of the power-mad anti-hero as a result of mismanagement. This is what the Gita Yuddha Mengwi, the text contained in manuscript Or. 23.059, is all about. Although this is a late 19th century poem from Bali and written in Balinese, the situations which it describes are very familiar and very much alive.

as the first inscription on the top left: karir ring Bulêleng, ‘controller in Bulêleng’. Another hand has added on the bottom left in Latin script in pencil: krop. 27, ‘chest 27’, which means that the manuscript had been kept in a wooden box (kropak) numbered 27. To the right of the central perforation the same hand has written in Balinese script in pencil: Mengwi.

Many messages are conveyed in this first page. In the first place, the text is provided with the title ‘Song of Mengwi’ in Old Javanese by the person who put his signature on the manuscript, obviously the person who owned it at a certain moment. This person was of noble descent. The ‘G’ indicates that he was a Gusti, a member of the third class on Bali. Controller in Bulêleng indicates that he had royal status.

He also mentioned a date, 1894. In most Balinese manuscripts references are made to the Balinese calendar. The date and the year in which a text was written is not mentioned. The title just above the first inscription is not an indication of the year it was written. It is a title given by the person who owned or who was responsible for the manuscript. However, we are faced with three possible dates.

The title

An important problem for a student of Balinese of the text one has encountered. Many texts, i.e. a mixture of Balinese and Old Javanese that is 18th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. In the case of a poem, the first personal name a title; usually one finds such a name in the title or second stanza. Still another possibility is if and/or written on the a-side of the first leaf.

However, even when a title can be deduced from the title of a text mentioned on the manuscript this does not mean that every
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Gita Yuddha Mengwi

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Or. 23.059: messages from the first page

The first page (the a-side of the first leaf) can often be regarded as the frontispiece of a Balinese palm-leaf manuscript. Such a page may be blank or contain short inscriptions. Or. 23.059 has short inscriptions in Balinese as well as in Latin script. On the top left is written in Balinese script: *Gita Yuddha Mangewi*, 'Song of the Battle of Mengwi'. The language of this inscription, which is placed between two small vertical lines, is Old Javanese. In another hand is added in Balinese script: Marga, 'the village of Marga'. On the second line on the left we find a signature in Latin script: *IGP Djiستان*, with three 'secret' dots, above and below the a and after the k on the right-hand side. This is the signature of I Gusti Putu Djiستان as he was called later (see below). Below this on the third line is written in Arabic numerals: 1-17 and more to the right in Balinese script in the same hand as the first inscription on the top left: *Jamitir ring Bulêng*, 'controller in Bulêng'. Another hand has added on the bottom left in Latin script in pencil: *krop. 27, chest 27*, which means that the manuscript had been kept in a wooden box ( *kropak*) numbered 27. To the right of the central perforation the same hand has written in Balinese script in pencil: Mengwi.

Many messages are conveyed in this first page. In the first place, the text is provided with the title 'Song of Mengwi' in Old Javanese by the person who put his signature on the manuscript, obviously the person who owned it at a certain moment. This person was of noble descent. The 'G' indicates that he was a Gusti, a member of the third class on Bali. Controller in Bulêng indicates that he had royal status.

He also mentioned a date, 1894. In most Balinese manuscripts references are made to the Balinese calendar. The date and the year in which a text was copied are of importance to the Balinese. For the year of completion the Saka Era is always used, which is 78 to 79 years behind the Western Era. If 1894 stands for the Saka Era, it corresponds with A.D. 1972 or 1973, but this makes no sense, in the first place because I Gusti Putu Djiستان, as I will show later, was no longer alive. The date 1894 must refer to A.D. 1894. Moreover, I have noticed that manuscripts completed after the Dutch gained more control over Bali from 1868 onwards give the date in the Saka Calendar in Balinese script and in the Julian Calendar in Arabic numerals. In the paragraph on the age of the text this date will be interpreted. *Marga* must have been added by someone who was not satisfied with Mengwi. I will explain later why this may have been the case.

*Krop. 27* can be regarded a the registration number. Balinese who had a large collection of manuscripts kept them in wooden boxes placed in rows on shelves in a special building. They often numbered these boxes and kept a list in which the contents of the boxes were mentioned.

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1 There are various ways to render the combination of *ja-diantik* and *ja-gantung* into Latin script: Diantik, Diantik, Djiantik, Djiantik, Iantik, Jiantik. In the palace and the Dutch sources his name was spelled Djiantik, but his signature shows Diantik.

The title

An important problem for a student of Balinese of the text one has encountered. Many texts, i.e. a mixture of Balinese and Old Javanese that 18th and the beginning of the 20th centuries In the case of a poem, the first personal name a title; usually one finds such a name in the title. Another possibility is using the topic as a title or a second stanza. Still another possibility is it and/or written on the a-side of the first leaf.

However, even when a title can be deduced from a title when a text is mentioned on the manuscript, this does not mean that every question will call it by this same name. As with Or. 23.059. On the first leaf a title is 'Song of the Battle of Mengwi'. However, for this poem, the proper title is *Kidung Ng* pronounced as Nèrèt). By Nèrèt they meant Nèrèt, who figures in the poem.

The author of the *Gita Yuddha Mengwi* is everything to lead us astray regarding the title second stanza that he is compounding a poem o hence the addition 'Marga' on the first encountered in stanza 3, is that of Sayu Oka. Putu Agung over the realm of Mengwi in St mentioned for the first time in stanza 5. This even mentioned at all in the text of the poem, state of Mengwi was vanquished is also not in Mengwi' would be a better title. However by such a lack of accuracy, seen from the
PRODUCTION

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The title

An important problem for a student of Balinese literature is to discover the title of the text one has encountered. Many texts, in particular the poems in Balinese or a mixture of Balinese and Old Javanese that were composed between the late 18th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, do not have a specific set title. In the case of a poem, the first personal name one encounters may be used as a title; usually one finds such a name in the first ten stanzas of the poem. Another possibility is using the topic as a title, if this is mentioned in the first or second stanza. Still another possibility is that a title is given in the colophon and/or written on the a-side of the first leaf.

However, even when a title can be deduced from a stanza of a poem, and even when a title of a text is mentioned on the first leaf or in a colophon of a manuscript, this does not mean that everyone in Bali who knows the text in question will call it by this same name. As a matter of fact, this is the case with Or. 23.059. On the first leaf a title is written: Gita Yuddha Mengwi, 'Song of the Battle of Mengwi'. However, for the Balinese who actually know this poem, the proper title is Kidung Ndèrèt, 'Song of Ndèrèt' (to be pronounced as Nèrèt). By Ndèrèt they mean the nobleman I Gusti Agung Ndèrèt, who figures in the poem.

The author of the Gita Yuddha Mengwi or the Kidung Ndèrèt has done everything to lead us astray regarding the title of his poem. He mentions in the second stanza that he is composing a poem on the topic 'the Battle of Marga', hence the addition 'Marga' on the first leaf. The first personal name, encountered in stanza 3, is that of Sayu Oka, ruling with her son I Gusti Agung Putu Agung over the realm of Mengwi in South Bali. The name of Ndèrèt is mentioned for the first time in stanza 5. The term 'Battle of Mengwi' is not even mentioned at all in the text of the poem. A battle as a result of which the state of Mengwi was vanquished is also not described in the poem. 'Conflicts in Mengwi' would be a better title. However, one should not be discouraged by such a lack of accuracy, seen from the viewpoint of a cataloguer. In
The age of the manuscript

The Gita Yuddha Mengwi bears the date 1894 on the frontispiece. What does this date mean in this context? Does it mean that the manuscript was added to his collection in 1894, when he was 14 years old? Was he so mature at that time, that he had already begun to collect literary works? Or does this date mean that the manuscript became part of the collection of the royal family from Puri Gobrata in Singaraja, in other words of his father and later of himself at that time? There are other manuscripts from his collection bearing early dates as well: 1893, 1894, 1896, 1897. The manuscripts bearing the signature IGP Dlumiti with the years 1893 and 1894 have colophons in which I Gusti Putu Griya from Lombok is mentioned as the previous owner. A Kerta Bhunjanga manuscript bearing the signature IGP Dlumiti 1897 states in the colophon that it came into the possession of I Gusti Putu Griya from Lombok in 1895, but that it was passed on to I Gusti Putu Djilantik in 1897 (Or. 23. 141). This may

INTRODUCTION

of Bulêlêng. The original manuscript was acquired by Leiden University Library in 1992. We may assume anyhow that the text came into the possession of the royal family in Singaraja between 1894 and 1930. This implies that the text was composed before or in 1894. We have a fairly good account of the texts composed and written or transcribed in 19th century Bali because of the Dutch linguist H.N. van der Tuuk (1824 - 1894). He was appointed in Singaraja in 1870 to collect material to compile a Balinese-Dutch Dictionary. For this purpose he ordered transcriptions of Balinese manuscripts in Balinese and Old Javanese. His legacy which i.a. consisted of his huge collection of Balinese manuscripts on palm-leaf and paper, was sent to the Leiden University Library in 1896. In Van der Tuuk’s Dictionary, which was printed in 4 volumes between 1897 and 1912, we find many references to these texts and their titles. I L A Brandes compiled a catalogue of the Balinese manuscripts of the Van der Tuuk collection. The poem and its metrical scheme

by which one could gain power in those days the service of the Dutch. I Gusti Putu Djilantik, during his stay in Tabanan in 1906, wrote an extolling the heroism of the islanders in the poem "Tuubandhane" (Our Country), a poem that was also written by his close friend I Gusti Putu Djilantik. Balinese metres are divided into three categories: the Middle Metre (Sekar Madia), the Eclectic Metre and the Lipis Metre (Sekar Agung). The Balinese metres are called "Kodung" and "Sekar Ali" a Genggri. Sometimes also a kind of Balinese metre is called Kungkung, also a new style, which means something like a new style, or a new style.
The manuscript originates from the collection of a nobleman, Anak Agung Putu Djuliantik, the late Zelfbestuurder (Autonomous Ruler) of Bulèlèng. Before he became Zelfbestuurder in 1938, he was called I Gusti Putu Djuliantik. He was born in 1880 in North Bali, probably in Tukad Mungga. His mother was Jerë Wanuarsari and from her name it would seem she was of lower descent. He was not raised by his own father, but by a relative, I Gusti Putu Geria from Puri Kanginan in Singaraja. This nobleman, appointed by the Dutch as a Pâith in Lombok at the end of the 19th century, adopted the boy because he had no powerful son of his own to succeed him as the head of his lineage, which was striving to regain control over its former realm of Bulèlèng. One of the means by which one could gain power in those days was to become a high official in the service of the Dutch. I Gusti Putu Djuliantik began his career as Punggawa Keiling (Ambulant District Head). He accompanied the Dutch when they conquered Badung and Tabanan in 1906 and Klungkung in 1908. He even committed his experiences to writing (Djuliantik undated). In 1918 he was Punggawa of the district Sukasada, about 5 kilometres south of Singaraja. The climax of his career was when he became Ruler of Bulèlèng in 1938, when the former rulers of the eight Balinese petty kingdoms (Karangasem, Gianyar, Badung, Bangli, Tabanan, Jembrana, Klungkung, and Bulèlèng) were officially re-installed by the Dutch. It was on this occasion that I Gusti Putu Djuliantik changed his title from Gusti into the more aristocratic Anak Agung (Caldwell 1985:55-79). He died in 1945.

Anak Agung Putu Djuliantik was a man of letters, a writer, an author, and a collector of manuscripts. When the main royal palaces in Denpasar and Tabanan were devastated in 1906, he collected many manuscripts from the royal libraries and took them to his palace, called Puri Kanginan, or Gobraja, in Singaraja. Through his father he had connections in Lombok and he also had many manuscripts from the royal palaces in Cakranegara and Maramat that had been devastated in 1894 as a result of the Dutch Lombok Expedition. Texts that were of interest or importance to him, but were not available in the form of palm-leaf manuscripts, were copied by him in Balinese script and even in Latin script in large folio notebooks (Oudheidkundig Verslag 1921, Appendix I). He put his manuscripts on palm-leaf in in special wooden boxes, called kropak, and these kropak together with the paper manuscripts were stored in a large wooden chest in his palace. The majority of the manuscripts from his collection are provided with his signature and a date. These can be found on the a-side of the first leaf, and/or at the last page. Many texts also contain an additional colophon in which his name, the date of acquisition, and data on the origin of the text or manuscript are mentioned.

The poem and its metrical scheme

The poem has one canto of 143 stanzas. The transition from one stanza to another is marked by two short parallel lines slanting slightly to the left (ciri pasalalinen; see below). The name of the metre is given in the first stanza. It is called Demung Kangal-Kangal which means Hopping Demung. It seems that the author had a particular reason for applying this designation.

Balinese metres are divided into three classes: the Great Metres (Sekar Agung), the Middle Metres (Sekar Madia), and the Lesser Metres (Sekar Alit). A poem written in the Sekar Agung metres is called a Kakawin, that in Sekar Madia often a Kidung, and in Sekar Alit a Geguritan in most of the cases, but may sometimes also be a Kidung. All three terms, however, have the same meaning, namely song.
Cokorda Agung Tabanan, who was given the posthumous name Bhairara Ngeluhur Masatia, referring to the way he died in 1906. This Cokorda Tabanan was born around 1819. He reigned over the petty kingdom of Tabanan from 1843 till 1903. The Resident of Bali and Lombok, F.A. Liefbrinck, and the Controller for Political Affairs, H.J.E.F. Schwartz, paid him a visit in July/August 1899 and described him as a ‘honourable old man, more than 80 years old, but still strong and vital’ (Schwartz and Liefbrinck 1901: 132-158). With jaunty steps he walked towards them and directed them to the Patandakan.

Although he had decided to surrender himself to the Dutch at the time of their expedition to Badung, he was captured and put in custody in the ruins of Puri Dén Pasar in Badung. During the night he committed ‘virtual suicide’ because he felt now he really had lost face. He killed himself by piercing an artery in his neck with the sharp pin of a sixth pointer (Nieuwenhuyzen 1906-1910: 172-173). Such a self-inflicted death is called manastia (to offer oneself) in Balinese.

3 Now kept in the University of Leiden Library, Cod.Or. 15.102.

4 Now kept in the University of Leiden Library, Cod.Or. 12.787.

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In the Ouheidkundig Verslag of 1921, Appendix L, an alphabetical list of the lontar manuscripts of I Gusti Putu Dijantik of Singaraja is added. It contains 175 manuscripts, 37 of which, however, are transcripts on paper in large portfolios. The majority of the texts are in Old Javanese, only 11 are in Balinese, but the Gita Yuddha Mengwi is not among them. It appears that the Gita Yuddha Mengwi was copied in 1930 for the collection of the lontar library in Singaraja, the Gedong Kirtya Liefbrinck-Van der Tuuk (now called the Yayasan Gedong Kirtya). The Acquisition Book mentions K501, Yuddha Mangwi, 8/8/1930, copy of a manuscript from A.A. Pt. Dijantik, Anak Agung

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We may assume anyhow that the text came into the possession of the royal family in Singaraja between 1894 and 1930. This implies that the text was composed before or in 1894. We have a fairly good account of the texts composed and written or transcribed in 19th century Bali because of the Dutch linguist H.N. van der Tuuk (1824-1894). He was appointed in Singaraja in 1870 to collect material to compile a Balinese-Dutch Dictionary. For this purpose he ordered transcriptions of Balinese manuscripts in Balinese and Old Javanese. His legacy which i.a. consisted of his huge collection of Balinese manuscripts on palm-leaf and paper, was sent to the Leiden University Library in 1896. In Van der Tuuk’s Dictionary, which was printed in 4 volumes between 1897 and 1912, we find many references to these texts and their titles. J.L.A. Brandes compiled a catalogue of the Balinese manuscripts of the Van der Tuuk Collection (1901-1925). From these sources we know which texts were known at the end of the 19th century. However, a Gita Yuddha Mengwi, or a Kidang Nibré, or any other poem referring to the history of the defeat of Mengwi is not mentioned in them. This means that Van der Tuuk, who indeed had many contacts all over Bali and knew a great deal about owners of manuscripts, in particular manuscripts in the Balinese language, was not aware of the existence of this poem. It is, therefore, very tempting to conclude that this was because it had just been composed or had not yet been composed at the time of his death in August 1894. Therefore, I would suggest a date of composition of the text of ‘around 1894’.

5 So we find I Tíbing, instead of I Gusti Madé Tíbing in stanza 9. Such behaviour would never have been accepted from an ordinary Gusti, let alone a commoner. Even members of the highest caste, the bhumiahs, would never do this. Only a Cokorda was entitled to call his relatives of lower rank and his folk openly by their surnames and nicknames.

6 Information I Gusti Bagus Dijantik from Puri Bangkang in 1899; see also the Siáhirah Raja-Raja Bulbél compiled by I Gusti Bagus Dijantik.

IV

INTRODUCTION

The poem has one canio of 143 stanzas. TI another is marked by two short parallel lines pasalini; see below). The name of the metrical called Demung Kudang-Kaling which means the author had a particular reason for apply Balinese metres are divided into three classes: the Middle Metres (Sekar Madia), and the Le written in the Sekar Agung metres is called often a Kidang, and in Sekar Alit a Gekura sometimes also be a Kidang. All three te meaning, namely song.

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To understand the metrical scheme and the fact that it is necessary to deal with the metres of the detail. The majority of the metres belonging variants divided into two pairs. The first pair variant (Kawitan dawa or Panggaling dawa at bawak) to be used alternately in the intro beginning of the poem and the transition to a
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The poem and its metrical scheme

The poem has one canto of 143 stanzas. The transition from one stanza to another is marked by two short parallel lines floating slightly to the left (ciri pasalina; see below). The name of the metre is given in the first stanza. It is called Demung Kulan-Kaling which means Hobbling Demung. It seems that the author had a particular reason for applying this designation.

Balinese metres are divided into three classes: the Great Metres (Sekar Agung), the Middle Metres (Sekar Medias), and the Lesser Metres (Sekar Alt). A poem written in the Sekar Agung metres is called a kokawin, that in Sekar Medias often a Kidung, and in Sekar Alt a Gedurian in most of the cases, but may sometimes also be a Kidung. All three terms, however, have the same meaning, namely song.

The subject of a composition determines the language and, in the case of a poem, the metrical schemes that should be applied. For example, an author who wishes to render the Indian Epics or a religio-philosophical discourse into poetry, should use Old Javanese as a language and metrical schemes belonging to the group of Great Metres; if he wishes to write a romantic love poem centred on a famous Knight-Errant and lover, Prince Panji, who lived in East Java of the 13th–14th century, he should do so in Old Javanese with metres belonging to the Middle class. However in a poem with a topic situated in Bali in a recent past, he should use Balinese and apply Lesser Metres.

To understand the metrical scheme and the name of the metre of Or. 23.059 it is necessary to deal with the metres of the second and third group in more detail. The majority of the metres belonging to the Middle Metres have four variants divided into two pairs. The first pair consists of a long and a short variant (Kawitan dowa or Panggangan dawa and Kawitan bawak or Panggangan bawak) to be used alternately in the introductory stanzas indicating the beginning of the poem and the transition to a following canto; the second pair...
also consists of a long and a short variant, but of different length (Dasa and Bawak), to be used alternately in the following stanzas. The number of syllables per stanza taken in conjunction with the character of the vowel in the final syllable of the stanza determine not only the name of the Sekar Madia metre, but also whether it belongs to either of the long or short pairs. Within the group of Middle Metres two metres were very popular and widely used from the 18th century to the end of the 19th century. These are Demung (Sawit) and Rara Kadiri.

The metrical schemes of the metres belonging to the third group, the Lesser Metres or Sekar Alt, are determined by the number of syllables per stanza and the character of the vowel in the final syllable, but also by the way the stanza is divided into lines each of which has a characteristic vowel in the final syllable. Lines consisting of groups of four and eight syllables are preferred. The metrical schemes are not subdivided into long and short pairs as was the case with the Middle Metres.

Demung was a popular metre, in particular for love stories, in the 19th century. Often the author loved to use Demung in his text as well, but had to transpose the metrical scheme, belonging to the Sekar Madia type into that of Sekar Alt. He probably took a long version of the Kawitan of the Demung metre consisting of 75 to 77 syllables and ending on u as an example and designed a metre of 72 syllables, ending on u and divided these over 10 lines. The metrical structure, applied in all the 143 stanzas of the poem is as follows: 8i, 4a, 8u, 6i, 8a, 8u, 6a, 8i, 8a, 8u. The melody resembles that of the Demung Sawit Dasa. Because this new metre did not precisely fit within the structure of a real Demung, he called it Hobbiling Demung. So far, I have not found another poem with this metrical structure. It can be concluded that this scheme was designed by this particular author for this particular poem. The way in which the metre has to be sung is also restricted to this one metre and this poem only. It appears that knowledge of the melody is limited to the neighbourhood of the town of Tabanan, in particular the villages Krambiantan, Panurakan, and Jadi, where other manuscripts of this text were found.

Other manuscripts of the text
To date, I have found ten manuscripts of this text on Bali. They are all written on palm-leaf. Two of them are now kept in the Leiden University Library (Or. 23,059 and Or. 18,463), but transcriptions in Latin script of all the texts and photocopies of some are kept in the library as well. The manuscripts were dispersed over the following villages and towns: Krambiantan - three copies; Panurakan - two copies; Jadi - one copy; Singaraja - four copies. Two of the copies from Krambiantan (Or. 15,102; Or. 12,787), and one copy from Panurakan (Or. 12,781) form one group. The manuscript from Puri Gedé noted down in 1933 (Or. 15,102) was their model. The manuscript in Jadi (Or. 18,700), one in Panurakan (Or. 16,196), and one in the Gedong Kirtya in Singaraja (Or. 13,060, copied in 1929) form a second group, based on the manuscript from Jadi. Of the two manuscripts in Singaraja, one is a copy of the Puri Gedé and the other is the manuscript from Anak Agung Putu Djianjut from 1894 now in Leiden (Or. 23,059, dated 1894), and two copies made from his manuscript (Or. 19,814 and Or. 21,415, copied in 1930). The texts of all these manuscripts run almost parallel. The differences consist in syllables that are missing or in excess and in spelling conventions. The manuscript of Jero Asem in Krambiantan (Or. 19,463), however, misses 1½ stanzas. So far, no copies have been found in Tabanan, in particular in Puri Agung where the author lived. However, one has to bear in mind that this palace was burnt in 1906. It appears that Anak Agung Putu Djianjut took at least three manuscript from the collection of Puri Agung in Tabanan when he visited the palace after its demolition in 1897.

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When Nèrèt learned that I Kamoning had revealed facts that could be used against him, he concluded that the old man knew too much. He convinced the ruler that the slanderous old man had to be killed. "Bind him, lead him to the cremation place, and pierce him with the lance of the late king to whom he feels so close" was his order to a court servant. When the servant came to I Kamoning, the old man had a premonition that he would be punished for serving the late king and remaining true to his principles of leading a honest and decent life. Before his departure he ritually cleansed himself and changed his clothing. He wrapped around himself a white wrap-around skirt (kamben) adorned with gold that he had once received from the late king for his splendid performances as an administrator himself in order to buy lots of opium for his own use. He began to slander Madé Tibung, who had been granted privileges, notably tax exemptions, under a previous ruler, Anak Agung Madé Mungguh. He discussed the possibilities of withdrawing the grants with the ruler, but this seemed impossible, because a deed had been drawn up and there were witnesses. Nèrèt proposed the ruler resort to an old ruse, namely to turn the switch in the dam that regulated the water supply of the fields and then sell the water, which would then flow in the opposite direction, towards Mengwi, to Madé Tibung. The idea was to release just enough water the crops would still grow, but as the water came from Mengwi, the ruler of Mengwi could then confiscate the taxes on the crop and collect tolls from the traders.

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Contents of the poem

The author introduces the scenario against which the events he will describe took place a long time ago. The battle for Marja, the misrule of the strong but aged noblewoman Sayu Oka, who reigned instead of the legitimate, but weak ruler of Mengwi, I Gusti Agung Putu Agung, and the growing influence of a foreigner of lower rank on the state affairs. Officials and court functionaries who used to be chosen from specific noble families were dismissed. Their posts were taken by brahmans. Four brahmans and two figures of lower descent controlled the group of a thousand young courtiers and soldiers who lived within the halls of the palace. A Pragusti (nobleman of lower rank) from Kramas in the realm of Gianyar enjoyed the confidence of the ruler both in and outside the palace. His name was Gusti Agung Ndiert, he was in charge of the tax, the harvest tax, the village tax, or whatever other tax he chose to impose. And, if the people did not pay in time, they were fined, and if they were unable to pay their fines as well, all their goods were confiscated by him, but he did not hand these over to the ruler. So Ndiert grew richer and richer. He realized his stock for strings of Chinese copper coins, silver coins, and most important, opium. He even made money by exploiting young girls. He picked out as many girls as possible, preferably rich ones, even if they were ugly, to be married to the ruler. And if their fathers did not agree, he asked a ransom for them.

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So it happened. Madé Tibung felt deserted. He, an honest nobleman belonging to the confidants of the Old Order, was put aside by a jealous coward, a fugitive from abroad, from Kramas in the realm of Gianyar, who had had to flee because he had proclaimed himself to belong to a higher caste. Madé Tibung consulted the lord of Siang. They both knew that bad times lay ahead and that they would probably die if the conflict escalated.

I Kamoning, an old courtier, who was still loyal to the late ruler, tried to warn the ruler of Mengwi about Ndreär and his malicious practices. He told to the people in the palace, who were not specifically aware of Ndreär’s malpractices, that the folk of Mengwi was being oppressed. They had to produce as many crops as possible, trade furiously, even sail to Java and sell their produce, and widows, who used to seek shelter in the palace after the death of their husbands, were forced to stay home and breed sucking pigs for Ndreär, and he took all the extra profits for himself. Only he could sell pigs at the market, even for a fixed price, moreover he gorged himself on roast pigs all day.

And then I Kamoning also related the story of the dam, the dam of Gumasih, and the loyalty of Madé Tibung to the former ruler of Mengwi. Long ago the people from the realm of Badung had tried to vanquish Padang Luah, at the time the villagers were constructing the dam of Gumasih. Sayu Oka, then still young, was terrified at the thought that Mengwi would be vanquished by Badung. Thanks to the heroic behaviour of the people of Padang Luah, the enemy was forced back, at the cost of many lives. Madé Tibung was rewarded for his conduct.

When Ndreär learned that I Kamoning had revealed facts that could be used against him, he concluded that the old man knew too much. He convinced the ruler that the slender old man had to be killed. "Bind him, lead him to the cremation place, and pierce him with the lance of the late king to whom he feels so close" was his order to a court servant. When the servant came so to I Kamoning, the old man had a premonition that he would be punished for serving the late king and remaining true to his principles of leading a honest and decent life. Before his departure he ritually cleansed himself and changed his clothes. He put on the white wrap-around kite (kamben) adorned with gold he had once received from the late king for his splendid performances as an actor and dancer in the Gambuh theatre. Kamoning arrived at the cremation place, and requested the servant to delay the stabbing for a while. He wished to perform a last dance in honour of the late king before being stabbed to death.

Meanwhile there was a severe water shortage in Padang Luah because nobody any longer maintained the dam of Gumasih. Starvation threatened. The people complained to Madé Tibung. He decided to go to Mengwi with a force of armed farmers to request water and the return of the old grants. At the sight of the army, Ndreär hid himself and the ruler had no wish to receive Madé Tibung. The latter returned to Padang Luah after three days of waiting in vain for an audience. Knowing that Mengwi was on bad terms with the realms of Gianyar, Tabanan, and Badung, he decided to look for allies there to launch an attack at Mengwi. He sent a trusted messenger to the Anak Agung, Gusti Gedé Ngurah of Puri Dénias in Badung. Gusti Gedé Ngurah promised to mobilize an army, but Agung Ngurah Kaleran, a close relative, warned him to beware of trickery and of Ndreär in particular on this venture. Gusti Ngurah said he had Kaléran suggested looking for a group of people in a battle. They were the 500 Buginese troops of the army, while the Balinese troops and the If the Buginese won, the Balinese troops would be the advance guard and if they killed the Balinese troops would have ens.

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So it was decided. As usual before embarking into a battle, the Buginese were given a stimulating beverage, but this time maybe too much of it, because they became mad. They no longer recognized their friends, they screamed and shot and murdered their own people. The Balinese fled, but the Buginese troops headed towards the north to Padang Luah. They grabbed hold of Madé Tibung and stabbed him. In the dark no one was able to discern friend from foe. When the army of Balinese finally arrived from Badung, they mistook the Buginese for the army from Mengwi. As a result they began to fight each other. A real massacre ensued. The next day, at dawn, they realized what had happened. "O, what a tragedy", remarked Anak Agung Dauh from Badung. "So many Buginese and Balinese have died. How much tax money could I have squeezed out of them?" He was told not to worry: they would soon head for Mengwi and recieve taxes from there.

Meanwhile Gianyar and Tabanan prepared their attack. The people from Badung thought it wise to await this attack. If it should transpire that Gianyar and Tabanan were able to vanquish Mengwi, Badung would join in and in this way avoid the loss of yet more people. Ubud attacked from the north, Gianyar from the south. There was hardly any resistance. Moreover, the people of Mengwi were suffering from a cholera epidemic. The sick sat or laid down in every street. Houses and temples were looted and burnt. Many noblemen with their retainers tried to seek refuge in the palace in Mengwi. Ubud, Gianyar, and also Payangan vanquished several villages in the north of Mengwi which they always had coveted.
The acts of Badung and Tabanan are no longer mentioned. A silence falls over Ndéré. The text continues with the deeds of another nobleman in Mengwi, Gusti Kompiang. Three years earlier he had fled from Samu with 200 men to seek refuge in the palace because of a drought. The enthusiasm of the ruler of Mengwi was somewhat tempered by the fact that they devoured large quantities of food, but he was unable to send them back. He now embarked upon the idea of getting rid of Gusti Kompiang in an easy way by sending him off to a dangerous area in the north-west, close to the border with Tabanan. By making Gusti Kompiang lord of the neighboring village Sembung and promising him the title of Anak Agung if he could oppress the village of Marga (that belonged to Tabanan) and vanquish it, he would have a double profit: a new ally and 201 people less to feed. So it was decided. Here the poem ends.

The historicity of the poem

A question that the reader of this poem will ask, is whether this poem is based on fiction or reality. Was there really a Battle in Mengwi, and if so, when did it take place and did things occur as described in the poem? The history of the petty kingdom of Mengwi was characterized by conflicts, battles, temporary rises and downfalls from its foundation about 1700 till its final destruction in 1891 (Schulte Nordholt: 1988). Control over rivers and dams for the regulation of the water supply for irrigation works was an important issue in Bali before the Revolution. This can be gleaned from Balinese historical chronicles, genealogies, and literary works and is confirmed by many reports, archival materials, and travel accounts from the 19th century written by non-Balinese.

The figure of Ndéré

The figure of Ndéré disappears from the arena in the poem. It is evident that the author regarded him as an evil, greedy person, who did not know his place in the hierarchy of the nobility, who introduced new taxes and levies, new forms of trade and commerce and new customs. Schulte Nordholt (1988: 100-101) points out that Ndéré can also be seen in a more positive way as a reformer of the economy, who tries to make Mengwi's financial position on a strong and healthy footing. He therefore promoted the growing of secondary crops and pig breeding for export and promoted the opium trade instead of the trade in slaves that had been abolished. A new tax system had to refill the empty coffers of the treasury of the rulers of Bali as a man who tried to monopolize the rulers. Evidently these measures the political infrastructure of the state of Ndéré to continue his reforms.

Poems on battles and destructions, a genre

Balinese literature in Bali is a late development, offering calendars and horoscopes, law, court genealogy, and adaptations and translations of Ramayana had to be written in the sacred language. At the end of the 19th century there was a dispute between Van der Tuuk, whose job was dictionary, who claimed that there was such a thing as Balinese. Nobody can write Balinese without words' he wrote. Yet, in the second half of the 19th century it had been written in poetry in Balinese type. It is striking that so many of these poems of a village, realm or royal family as a subject Uug, which means 'battle', 'conflict' or 'friction' considered as translations into Balinese of the famous example of the conflict for the Mahabharata legend, the Great Battle of the last chapter of the serious internal conflicts of the whole of the Dutch occupation in Bali itself in 1908, after the decline of the dynasty, and Tabanan in 1906 and Klungkung feeling that their concept of Bali as the center of the universe.

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Javaese as the sacred language of their ancestors has come to an end as well. Everything had turned upside down, this was the real kalyong, the time of confusion, war and destruction, about which they had always been warned in their classical literature from India.

The composers of poems and literature have felt that it was not appropriate to write about these topics in the holy language, so that they had begun to use Balinese. One of the earliest examples of such a poem is the Rusa Banjar, composed in 1868 in Bali, after the Dutch expedition to Banjar (Van Eck 1874), and another one is the Rusa Sasa of 1894 after the Dutch expedition to Lombok. However, internal conflicts resulted in poems as well, for instance the Uug Gianyar and the Uug Payangan. Reading these poems leads to the preliminary conclusion that many of them give very detailed information on critical events which have really taken place and people involved in them.12 Because the metrical schemes used in these poems the a-side of a Balinese palm-leaf manuscript should be slightly shorter than the right-hand side. A piece of white string with knots at both ends passes through the holes in the centre holding the leaves together.

The third leaf has been repaired, because it has a vertical fold at 5.3 cm from the left (on the a-side). To prevent separation two horizontal stitches of thread have been passed through small holes made between the first and the second, and the third and fourth line of script.

The first leaf actually consists of two leaves sewn together by means of thin metal thread containing some silver that has oxidized. There is a vertical line of neat stitches at 3.3 and 3.1 cm from short outer sides of the leaf at the left and right and at both sides of the central hole at 21.6 and 23.1 cm. There is an ornamental element in the shape of a leaf with three lobes around the perforation on the outer left and right. The vertical stitches divide the leaf in two columns.

11 Letter to Engelmann, 30th July 1870, coll. Dutch.

12 Balinese numerals in the left margins on the text page and the numerals show the same hand.

The beginning of the text (leaf 1b) is indicative of two paman with a small circle in between.

pangawinakakawin or ciri pasalinan (the beginning of the translation or the beginning of the text) After the incantation in (not quite correct) namastidham, let there be no hindrance, hot second punctuation mark of the abovementioned text in Balinese.

The end of this text part on the final leaf. 1' mark consisting of a pair of short parallel lines to the left; a circle and another pair of such lines.
The figure of Ndrèt

The figure of Ndrèt disappears from the arena in the poem. It is evident that the author regarded him as an evil, greedy person, who did not know his place in the hierarchy of the nobility, who introduced new taxes and levies, new forms of trade and commerce and new customs. Schulte Nordholt (1988:100-101) points out that Ndrèt can also be seen in a more positive way as a reformer of the economy, who tried to make Mengwi's financial position on a strong and healthy footing. He therefore promoted the growing of secondary crops and pig breeding for export and promoted the opium trade instead of the trade in slaves that had been abolished. A new tax system had to refit the empty coffers of the treasury of the rulers of Mengwi. In this way Ndrèt can be seen as a manager who tried to monopolize the economy of the state on behalf of the rulers. Evidently these measures were not accepted by others and the political infrastructure of the state of Mengwi was too weak to enable Ndrèt to continue his reforms.

Poems on battles and destructions, a genre

Balinese literature in Balinese is a late development. Treatises on religion, offerings, calendars and horoscopes, law, codes of conduct for rulers, history, genealogy, and adaptations and translations of the Indian epics Mahabharata and RamaYana had to be written in the sacred language, that is Old Javanese. At the end of the 19th century there was not yet much literature written in Balinese. Van der Tuuk, whose job was to compile a Balinese-Dutch dictionary, complained that it was such a difficult task. He had come to the conclusion that there was not yet any comprehensive literary tradition in pure Balinese. 'Nobody can write Balinese without the use of Kawi (=Old Javanese) words' he wrote. Yet, in the second half of the 19th century, a hesitant beginning was made to write poetry in Balinese and metres of the Sekar Alit type. It is striking that so many of these poems have a battle, or the annihilation of a village, realm or royal family as a subject. Such texts are called Rusak, or Uug, which means 'battle', 'conflict' or 'destruction'. Both terms can be considered as translations into Balinese of the Sanskrit Vadhha, and the most famous example of a conflict for the Balinese is of course the Mahabharatayudha, the Great Battle of the Bharatas. It is tempting to conclude that the serious internal conflicts between the petty kingdoms, the expeditions of the Dutch from 1868 onwards, and finally the establishment of the Dutch authority in Bali itself in 1908, after the Annihilation (Puputan) of Badung and Tabanan in 1906 and Klungkung in 1908, gave the Balinese the feeling that their concept of Bali as the centre of the (Hindu) world with Old Balinese numerals in the left margins on the b-side of each leaf. The whole textpart and the numerals show the same hand.

The beginning of the text (leaf 1b) is indicated by a punctuation mark consisting of two pomada with a small circle in between. This mark is called cri pangawating kakawin or cri pasolinan (mark to indicate a new canto of a kakawin or the transition of one canto into another; see Schwartz 1931:9). After the incantation in (not quite correct) Sanskrit - avignham astu namasheth, let there be no hindrance, homage to the perfect insight - the second punctuation mark of the abovementioned type is written to introduce the text in Balinese.

The end of this textpart on the final leaf, 17b, is indicated by a punctuation mark consisting of a pair of short parallel lines (carik kalih) slightly slanting to the left; a circle and another pair of such parallel lines. This combination of
A question that the reader of this poem will ask, is whether this poem is based on fiction or reality. Was there really a Battle in Mengwi, and if so, when did it take place and did things occur as described in the poem? The history of the petty kingdom of Mengwi in Bali was characterized by conflicts, battles, temporary rises and falls, and the island's federal system was founded about 1700 till its final destruction in 1891 (Schulte Nordholt: 1988). Control over rivers and dams for the regulation of the water supply for irrigation works was an important issue in Bali since the Revolution. This can be gleaned from Balinese historical chronicles, genealogies, and literary works and is confirmed by many reports, archival materials, and travel accounts from the 19th century written by non-Balinese. Taxes, levies, trade, export of products and slaves to other islands and power were closely linked with the Cokorda, Anak Agung and Gasti Ngurah ruling the petty kingdoms and their circle of privileged local lords (Deva, Anak Agung and Gasti) ruling over smaller areas. They controlled trade and commerce. There was an enormous competition not only between the petty kingdoms, but also between the local lords, even between members of the same noble family (see for instance Schulte Nordholt: 1988: 89-91). Knowing one's position within the Balinese social hierarchy was the key to power and wealth.

The composer of this poem was the Ruler of Tabanan, it is not illogical to conclude, that he wrote the poem after the state of Mengwi had ceased to exist.

The figure of Ndrèt

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INTRODUCTION

The a-side of a Balinese palm-leaf manuscript should be slightly shorter than the right-hand side. A piece of white string with knots at both ends passes through the holes in the centre holding the leaves together.

The third leaf has been repaired, because it has a vertical fold at 5.3 cm from the left (on the side). To prevent separation two horizontal stitches of thread have been passed through small holes made between the first and the second, and the third and fourth line of script.

The first leaf actually consists of two leaves sewn together by means of thin metal thread containing some silver that has oxidized. There is a vertical line of neat stitches at 3.3 and 3.1 cm from short outer sides of the leaf at the left and right and at both sides of the central hole at 21.6 and 23.1 cm. There is an ornamentation in the shape of a leaf with three lobes around the peripheries on the outer left and right. The vertical stitches divide the leaf in two columns. The other leaves of the manuscript show a similar division, but the verticals are incised with a stylus.

Sixteen leaves are inscribed on both sides and the seventeenth leaf is inscribed on one side (the a-side) with Balinese numerals on the b-sides of the leaves. The script is very regular, elegant, and fine. The leaves are upright and rather angular thus not so rounded. The average height of the leaves amounts to 0.2 cm.

The horizontal lines of plant sap that have been drawn on the surface layer of the leaves to facilitate writing are still visible in the outer and central margins and on the leaves that have not been inscribed. They have not been removed, but those parts of the lines within the columns which are inscribed were erased when the letters of the text were blackened with soot.

Leaves 1b-16b contain four lines of script per side and leaf 17 is only inscribed on the a-side and contains three lines of script. Numbers are inscribed in Balinese numerals in the left margins on the text and the numerals show the same hand

The beginning of the text (leaf 1b) is indicated of two pandama with a small circle in between of a line in the text. The first line consists of the word kakawin or ciri pasalain (maju kakawin or the transition of one onto the next). After the incantation in (not quite corr) pastan/Rhag, let there be no hindrance, but second punctuation mark of the abovement mentioned text in Balinese.

The end of this textpart on the final leaf, 17 mark consisting of a pair of short parallel line to the left; a circle and another pair of such marks is called ciri pasalain or pangau transition, or a new canto of a kidung; see Sch added in Balinese script and in the Balinese la Jlantik, ring Puri Singaraja. This textends w lines, and then 1849 is added in Arabic numerals broad, roundish, slightly slanting to the left a in Balinese means: owned by Ida I Gusti I 1849. By Puri Singaraja is meant the palace regency of Blèlung.

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11 Letter to Engelman, 30 July 1870, coll. Dutch

12 Keep in the Leiden University Library, Or. 13.360.

13 Even the bloodbath of 20 November 1946 in Margarana in which I Gusti Ngurah Rai and his soldiers died in a conflict with a Dutch army has become the topic of a poem of this genre, namely the Papuan Margarana, see Or. 15.140 and Or. 15.926.

14 Four lines of script per page conforms to the req

15 The fact that Ida is added to the name of the owner a person of a lower status or rank than I Gusti Petu Dijant, his son, have been his son, Anak Agung Panji Tino, who was (Caldwell 1985:55-79).
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of their ancestors had come to an end as well. This was the real kalijutag, the time of
about which they had always been warned in divination.

I literature may have felt that it was not topics in the holy language, so that they had
the earliest examples of such a poem is the 58 in Bulłęng after the Dutch expedition to
the other island is the Rasuk Sasak of 1894 after

However, internal conflicts resulted in poems

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The end of this text on the final leaf, 17b, is indicated by a punctuation mark consisting of
a pair of short parallel lines (carik kalth) slightly slanting to the left; a circle and another pair of such parallel lines. This combination of
marks is called ciri pasinggali or pasinggali kidung (mark to indicate
transition, or a new canto of a kidung; see Schwartz 1931:9). Another hand has
been added in Balinese script and in the Balinese language: druwén Ida I Gusti Putu
Jianar, ring Puri Singaraja. This text ends with another pair of short parallel
lines, and then 1894 is added in Arabic numerals. The script is rather irregular,
broad, roundish, slightly slanting to the left and 0.5 cm high. This inscription in
Balinese means: 'owned by Ida I Gusti Putu Djianar in Puri Singaraja,
1894.' By Puri Singaraja is meant the palace in the town of Singaraja in
the regency of Buleleng.

4 Four lines of script per page conforms to the requirements of a literary text in prose or verse. There exist manuscripts with three lines per leaf. Such manuscripts contain texts in two languages: a literary or religious text in Old Javanese in the second line and translations into Balinese of particular Old Javanese terms on the first and third lines. In manuscripts containing texts and drawings on magic, one or two leaves may be inscribed with five or six lines.

6 The fact that Ida is added to the name of the owner indicates that the addition was made by a person of a lower status or rank than Ida I Gusti Putu Djianar. This could, but need not necessarily, have been his son Anak Agung Pandi Tiis, who was his secretary between 1927 and 1929 (Caldwell 1985:55-79).