



Bali Mini Empire: Dynamics of Gelgel Kingdom as Maritime Kingdom in 16th - 17th Century



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Manuscript submitted: 27 February 2024, Manuscript revised: 18 March 2024, Accepted for publication: 09 April 2024

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Keywords

Bali;
culture;
empire;
Gelgel kingdom;
maritime kingdom;

Abstract

The meaning of the title above is that the Gelgel kingdom was fairly large in the archipelago (Imporium) as the successor to the Hindu-Majapahit kingdom. Gelgel controls four large islands, namely East Java (Blambangan), Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa. The Gelgel Kingdom also lasted quite a long time for four centuries (14-17th century), longer than its predecessor - Majapahit which lasted for 2 centuries (14-15th century). Majapahit's real power was East Java, Bali and Madura, while the regions mentioned in the Kertagama State cannot yet be ascertained. In several of his writings, historian Sartono Kartodirdjo no longer uses the terminology of the modern ancient era or the colonial era. This Indonesian historian focuses more on the dynamics of society in accepting the presence of foreign powers in Indonesia. Likewise, various interactions occur in relationships such as politics, culture, trade or military power (Sartono Kartodirdjo, 2020). It is in the context of interactions and relationships that topics such as the title above are written. In this case, the dynamics of the Gelgel kingdom between 1300 and 1686 were able to develop shipping networks, political trade and other relations for more than three and a half centuries. The networks of the Gelgel kingdoms met each other, accepting the contestation of various powers in the waters of Bali and its surroundings such as East Java, Lombok, Sumbawa, Madura, Makassar, and even the Mataram kingdom and the VOC which is interesting to discuss. After 1686, the Gelgel kingdom experienced disintegration due to the rebellion of I Gusti Agung Maruti. Finally, small kingdoms emerged, each of which was independent, which was originally the origin of the Gelgel kingdom. The Gelgel kingdom then experienced the same fate as its predecessor, the Majapahit kingdom.

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1 Gelgel and Relations with Outside Powers (Europe)

The Bali kingdom (at that time the Gelgel kingdom) was large. Because of this, the VOC had taken it into account and sent an envoy to Bali. In those days, the VOC tempted the Balinese king to fight against the Mataram kingdom in Java. Likewise, with the kingdom of Goa Sulawesi Sultan Alaudin agreed with the king of Gelgel not to attack each other in 1624. The greatness of the Gelgel kingdom was demonstrated by its extensive territory covering Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, and Blambangan (East Java).

The first contact between Bali and foreigners was with the Portuguese in 1586, a Portuguese ship was stranded on the southern coast of Bali, about five people on board the ship then settled in Bali, and one of them married a Balinese and settled in Gelgel. When the Dutch envoy came to Gelgel in 1597, he met the Portuguese who served as the king's interpreter ([Lekkerkerker, 1920](#)). The Portuguese and Malays usually served as interpreters for the kings of the archipelago, because Malay served as a "lingua franca". In 1634 King Gelgel sent a letter to the Portuguese in Malacca, which contained a request for increased friendly relations, and trade relations and a Christian Pastor was sent. The Portuguese authorities in Malacca asked about the fate of Pastors Manuel de Azevedo and Manuel Carvalho who had carried out their duties in Bali twelve years earlier ([Ardhana, 1992](#)). Before relations with the Portuguese, the English sailor Drake had also visited Bali before, namely in 1580. Then in 1586, the English ship under the command of Captain Thomas Cavendish on his voyage to the Philippines was actually in Bali before crossing the Bali Strait. According to [Nielsen \(1928\)](#), the arrival of the British sailors only stopped briefly while refilling drinking water supplies ([Agung, 1989](#)). Relations between Bali and the Dutch government began a year after the Dutch fleet landed in Banten ([Rouffaer & Ijzerman, 1915](#)), four ships (see photo), namely Mauritius, Hollandia, Amsterdam, and Duifje under the leadership of Cornelis de Houtman departed from the Netherlands on April 2, 1595. They arrived in Banten at the end of 1596 and on their way the ship "Amsterdam" ran aground and sank.

The Dutch group with three ships did not stay long in Banten because the reception from the people was unfriendly and full of suspicion. This was because the Portuguese who were first in Banten, badmouthed the Dutch because they were their tough rivals. Cornelis De Houtman continued his journey east and stopped in Bali for approximately a month between 25 January and 26 February 1597 ([Leupe, 1856](#)), one of his ships anchored on Loloan beach (Jembrana), the second anchored in Kuta which was called Coutea. The third ship anchored on Jumpai Beach.

Three crew members from the ship that anchored in Kuta landed on the beach, namely: Aernoudt Litgens, Manuel Rodenburg and Juan, a Portuguese who was found in Java who was willing to come along as an interpreter. Litgens reported that the Balinese king (Gelgel) Dalem Bekung at that time was in Kuta watching the Balinese troops of approximately 20,000 under the leadership of Kei Lor crossing the Bali Strait to attack Belambangan which was controlled by the Mataram kingdom. The Dutch crew said: "de Koningen Van Baelle de Kei Lor an de Couteau. The group was amazed by the greatness of the Balinese king Dalem Bekung and his Patih Kei Lor ([Utrecht, 1962](#)).

Lintgens then visited the Palace of King Gelgel and stayed for 1 (one) week from 9-16 February 1597. The visit of the Dutch group was well received by King Dalem Bekung, very different from visits in other places which were not well received. The messenger presented gifts on behalf of Cornelis de Houtman who lived on the ship in the form of crystal glasses, beads, velvet cloth and Dutch currency made of silver ([Lekkerkerker, 1920](#)).

King Gelgel was amazed by the explanation about the Netherlands, the ship with its large crew, and the guns and weapons it had. The Dutch crew even made up a false story saying that: The Netherlands is bigger than Türkiye or China. They took out a map and it turned out to be a map of all European countries which was said to be from the Netherlands. Before the Dutch group left Gelgel, in the morning the king had time to look at the group of Dutch ships. The king and his bodyguards watched the Dutch ships in the waters of Jumpai harbour (Suwendri et al., 2022).

During the visit of the Dutch envoy, he found Portuguese people who had lived in Gelgel for a long time. It could be that they were members of the entourage of Pastors Manuel de Azevedo and Manuel Carvalo who had previously carried out duties in Bali as missionaries in 1586 as mentioned earlier. Even though every year there were trading ships from Malacca that visited the coast of Bali, the Portuguese were not allowed to go by the King (Lekkerkerker, 1920).

This first Dutch visit was purely friendly and there were no agreements whatsoever. There was an atmosphere of mutual respect and the Balinese king handed over several gifts to the envoy for the Dutch king. When the Dutch group left Bali, two people from the group, namely Manuel Rondenburg and Jacob Claess, volunteered to stay in Gelgel (de Joug II, 1864).

Several years later, Dutch sailor Cornelis van Heemskerck was recorded as visiting Gelgel in 1601. Cornelis was also warmly received by the king of Gelgel and met two Dutch people who lived in Gelgel. Because during four years of living in Gelgel Rodenburg and Claess could speak Balinese well (Utrecht, 1962). To the king of Bali, Cornelis delivered a letter and gifts from the Dutch king, Prince Maurits. Besides that, a gift from the king was also given to Cornelis, a beautiful Balinese noble girl. Cornelis did not want to accept the gift but finally accepted it because of Rodenburg's advice. According to Rodenburg, rejection would be felt as an insult and would disrupt the already good relations between the Dutch and the king of Bali (de Joug II, 1864).

During the VOC era, the Dutch continued to send envoys in 1633 under Jan Oosterwijk to invite King Gelgel to war against the Mataram kingdom. This ambassador carried a message from Governor General Hendrik Brouwer. It seemed that the Governor General wanted to quickly get an answer from the Gelgel king Dalem Segening, therefore he was followed by another envoy under the leadership of Captain Joachim Roelofsz van Dentenkom, accompanied by a company of infantry troops to Bali and accompanied by Reverend Justus Heurnius. These two envoys invited King Gelgel to fight against Mataram. The Dutch succeeded in establishing a *loji* (ward) in Bali in 1620 for the slave trade. But without knowing why, the following year the ward was dismantled (Paulus, 1917). King Gelgel did not want to take risks because the Mataram fleet at that time was very strong. Indeed, in 1635 Gelgel fought against Mataram because of the Blambangan problem. The Gelgel Blambangan region was attacked by Mataram. The second envoy was sent again by VOC Jacob Bacharach in 1651 with the same purpose. This second envoy failed because in Gelgel there was a power struggle going on. The royal governor, I Gusti Agung Maruti, staged a rebellion. During the VOC era, Bali became a place to supply soldiers and slaves who were used as military forces in Indonesia. Of course, with big rewards to the king. Balinese people are known for their loyalty to their superiors (Brouwer, 1856).

2 From Emporium to Empire

The Emporium concept refers to the idea of Kartodirdjo (2020), which is a trade center, as a port and a place for ships to stop by to pick up supplies for a voyage or *rendez-vous*. Emporium is also defined as a market or trading place (Prent, 1969). The import function for centuries was played by the Sriwijaya kingdom, Majapahit, and then several trade centres afterwards. In the Emporium, trade routes from various corners meet, both international and regional trade. Lombard (1996), has mapped the Indonesian trade routes into 6 zones. Bali's territorial waters, which also include East Java and Lombok, have become a distinct zone outside the influence of Islam since the 16th century.

It was visited by Bugis and Chinese traders. In the past, Hall (2019), placed Bali waters into the Java Sea trade network (Java Sea trade networks) which included: the Java Sea, Nusa Tenggara and the Banda Sea. From the trade routes mapped by the two maritime historians above, it can be seen that the Gelgel kingdom had long been visited by Javanese, Bugis, Malay, Arab and Chinese traders. This is also because Bali since the 15th century has been in the spice route zone (Suwitha, 2022). Indeed, Bali does not produce spices like Maluku or pepper like Kalimantan, but Bali has an important community that supports the spice trade and is

Suwitha, I. P. G. (2024). Bali mini empire: Dynamics of Gelgel Kingdom as maritime kingdom in 16th – 17th century. International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities, 8(1), 11–21.

<https://doi.org/10.53730/ijssh.v8n1.14868>

in the Indonesian trade zone. What the Balinese community needs is rice, beef jerky, and Balinese cloth which is needed in Maluku to be exchanged for spices. Maluku does not produce these three products from Bali so they sell well in Maluku.

From the *pararaton story* written in Gelgel, it is stated that the Gelgel kingdom was quite prosperous, with the ups and downs of a power base that was able to control the kingdoms of Mataram, Blambangan, Penarukan, Lombok and Sumbawa. The Dutch who visited Gelgel in February 1597 were impressed by the power and prosperity of the kingdom (Vickers, 2009). The Gelgel kingdom prioritized trade, as evidenced by the transfer of the royal centre from Samprangan to Gelgel by King Dalem Ketut Ngelesir in 1388 (Sidemen, 1983). which has a palace in Samprangan, but does not have a port or access to the sea. Gelgel City has Jumpai and the port of Teluk Padang (Padang Bai).

Adrian Vekers, referring to the Panji story, said that the elements of coastal civilization were formed before the 14th century. The 14th century saw a plurality of local (Coastal) kingdoms related to trade (Vickers 2009). Furthermore, Kenneth Hall stated that most of the classical kingdoms in Southeast Asia were maritime countries such as Malacca and coastal kingdoms that emerged later as stated by Anthony Reid in the first volume of his book entitled *The Commercial Age in Southeast Asia*.

Trade is one of the livelihoods that has long been known in the archipelago. Varying soil fertility and natural resources in each region also cause variations in the commodities produced. They need each other's goods that are not available in their place, so exchange relationships arise in the form of trade between regions or between islands. Maluku and the rest of Eastern Indonesia do not produce rice, requiring rice from Bali, Java and Lombok. On the other hand, Maluku produces spices, and Kalimantan produces pepper. Even in South Kalimantan, there is an area called Lada Hill (Tunjung, 2017).

Since the beginning of the century AD, Bali has been a trade route for the archipelago. The existence of a trader group called Wesya is an indication of the existence of traders. In ancient times there were several inscriptions mentioning Wanigrama which means male merchant and Wanigrami which means female merchant. In the Julah inscription, it is stated that traders with their ships and boats anchored in Manasa. Likewise, it is stated in the Lutungan inscription that the child king Wungsu bought 30 buffalo from Gurun (Tunjung, 2017).

The third king Dalem Ketut Ngelesir laid the foundation for the Gelgel kingdom to develop trade and shipping. This king moved the royal capital from Samprangan which was located inland to Gelgel on the south coast of Bali. Gelgel was supported by two important ports Jumpai and Padang Bay (now Padang Bai). Apart from that, three other important ports are Kuta and Tuban in South Bali and Buleleng in North Bali. Ships crossing the Bali Strait before sailing to Maluku or East Nusa Tenggara will choose to transit at the port of Buleleng or the ports of Kuta and Tuban. Tuban Harbor was discovered by Javanese traders who came from Tuban (East Java). Ketut Ngelesir pioneered shipping from Gelgel via ports such as Sanur, Kedongan, Kelan, Tuban, Kuta, Seseh, Purancak, and small ports on the coast of the Bali Strait. The next voyage is to East Java to the old Majapahit port such as Bubad. Likewise, when Ngelesir went to Madura to attend Cakraningrat's inauguration as king of Madura. Ngelesir succeeded in laying a strong foundation as a maritime kingdom to develop the port in Bali as an open port (Mare Liberum).

As proof, the Chinese Temple in Tanjung Bena has existed since the 16th century. When several Gelgel people fled because of the Maruti rebellion in 1651, they came across a simple Temple. This temple is used every 6 months following the wind currents along with the arrival of traders from South China. Temples are a sign of economic development in an area. The temple in Buleleng is contemporary with the temple in Tanjung Bena (Suwitha, 2023).

The expansion and development of the Gelgel kingdom were then continued by his son Dalem Watu Renggong. Watu Renggong, accompanied by Danghyang Nirarta as a priest, paid attention to coastal communities. Many temples were erected on the coast of Bali at that time, indicating that maritime-based coastal communities were developed to support the Gelgel kingdom. Without maritime relations and means of transportation, it would be impossible for Gelgel to control East Java, Lombok and Sumbawa.

Trade contacts between Bali and foreign traders have occurred since ancient times. This happens because Bali has economic potential with a dense population, fertile land, strategic location and many natural harbours that can be landed throughout the year. In the 16th and 17th centuries, Bali conformed to the general international trade pattern of Southeast Asia. At the beginning of the 17th century, Bali sent cloth to Maluku.

Traders from Maluku looked for cloth and rice in Bali. Traders native to the archipelago before the Dutch came, always visited Bali and brought spices (Reid, 1992).

Tome Pires noted that the most interesting trade through Bali was centred in Malacca before it was conquered by the Portuguese in 1641. Then trade from Malacca went through Java or directly to Bali. Traders from Malacca bought food, coarse cloth, slaves and horses while looking for sandalwood in Sumba and Timor (Pires, 2016; Ricklefs, 1992). Busy shipping between Bali and the North coast of Java was reported by a PY Archaeologist. Manguin, in his book *The South East Asian Ship: An Historical Approach* reports shipping conditions on the north coast of the islands of Java, Madura and Bali. One thing that hinders shipping in Bali is the coral prison law (Utrecht, 1962). Ships that ran aground were taken prisoner, that is, they were seized with all their contents. In Bali, stories about Jung (Chinese Ship), Sam Po Kong, and Dempu Awang are closely related to shipping and trade. Even though foreigners had entered Bali in the 17th century, indigenous shipping was still dominant and prominent.

At least since the 15th century, Bali can be said to have been included in the Asian trade network. Furthermore, it is stated that since the 15th century, the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea have been general trade zones in Asia. The two zones can connect a wide trading network (Guldenmund, 2000; Cooper, 2000). in Asia and connecting one trade centre with another. Henk S. Nordhoit mentioned that the coastal beaches are outsiders (Vreendeligen). There was regular trade with the Maluku people following the winds and seasons. The products from Bali that can be traded are cotton cloth and coconut oil. There were trade contacts with customers in Bugis, Timor and Salor (Nordholt, 1981).

Trade routes in Bali waters as mapped by Kenneth Hall and Lombard have been going on for a long time. The islands of Bali and Lombok, which are at the intersection of Australia and Asia, between the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean, and between Indonesia and China, have long been visited by traders from various nations and tribes, this shipping trade network creates a communication channel that unites a community in the waters. this is what is involved in it. In this context Philip D. Curtain (taken from Hamid (2013) and Edward Poelongo (2006) called a trade network, namely a maritime network that is built from one region to another and tends to be outward, which is with the trade diaspora that will be explained later in another section.

In the trade network between Bali and China which occurred since the early centuries AD, it was proven that many pieces of pottery were found which identified the occurrence of international trade (Warda, 1999). The change in China's trade route, which was supposed to pass through Central Asia, instead of via Southern waters, had an impact on Bali as the entry point for Chinese trade on its voyages to India. This has been the case at least since the 8th century (Mills, 1979). The trade network or trade diaspora is a trade network created by the authorities to attract the attention of traders to come to a port by providing convenience and security. Philip D. Curtain said that diaspora trade is more inward in nature, namely attracting outsiders to trade at a port (Curtain, 1984). Concerning the attractiveness of maritime trade, as stated by Dick (1988), because it has an international nature, the characteristic of early Southeast Asian trade before the arrival of colonialism was its international nature. The ruler invited the merchants who were given special privileges. If traders are too restricted they will look elsewhere. Therefore, traders were given freedom as long as they paid taxes. In the end, the authorities should not carry out a trade monopoly as was done by the Dutch.

It seems that since the Gelgel era (15th-16th century) there has been trade between Bali and Malacca. It is said that the Gelgel kingdom was relatively prosperous, with the ups and downs of its power base being able to move resources as far as East Java, Lombok and Sumbawa. Able to fight with the Mataram Kingdom in East Java and the Makassar Kingdom in Sumbawa and Lombok. In 1597, the Dutch, who visited Bali (Kuta), were impressed by the power and prosperity of the Gelgel Kingdom (Vickers, 2009). Every year junks from Malacca visit Bali. Likewise, Portuguese traders visited Bali and usually brought fine cloth (silk). In Bali, Bugis traders bought rice and brought coarse cloth to Maluku and exchanged it for spices (Meilink-Roelofs, 2016). Maluku does not produce rice, it is more profitable to grow pepper and other spices. Meanwhile, rice is imported from Bali and Lombok. In the 15th century, Chinese traders visited Bali, Lombok and Nusa Tenggara to buy slaves, sandalwood, sapan wood and forest products (Parimartha, 1995). Furthermore, according to Parimartha, since 1650, slave exports from Bali to Batavia numbered in the thousands, between 1650-1830, the number was approximately 150,000 people.

Javanese traders, especially from the Port of Tuban, brought pepper to Bali and in Bali bought coarse cloth to exchange for spices in Maluku. Javanese traders followed the trade routes carried out by Portuguese traders (Meilink-Roelofs, 2016). Dutch travel reports also confirm that Javanese traders traded first in Bali before continuing their journey to Maluku. "Cayn Bally" (Balinese cloth) is very popular in Maluku because it is very suitable for use by the general public (De Opkoms III, 1865). Traders from Bali also took part in the trade, especially the royal elite. Referring to Hans Hagerdal quoted by Parimarta (1995), the royal elite used their boats to trade to Maluku. Since then, Bali has become an important area, especially as an island surrounded by sea, which became a stopover for sailors coming from China in their trade to Maluku after Maluku Island was discovered by the Portuguese as a spice island. At that time, foreign traders bought high-quality Balinese cloth.

3 Geo Politics of Gelgel Kingdom

The political condition of Gelgel's wealth is quite stable. The move of the Palace from Samprangan (Gianyar) to Gelgel (Klungkung) did not cause any turmoil. Likewise, the change of Gelgel kings from the period of Dalem Ketut Ngelesih (1383) to Dalem Dimade (1630) with 6 changes of kings went well. This is different from the situation in the Majapahit kingdom which experienced turmoil every time there was a change of king. During the reign of Dalem Ketut Ngelesih (1383-1460) in Majapahit five kings ruled successively. Why is the Gelgel kingdom compared to the Majapahit kingdom? Because the Gelgel kingdom is considered the successor to the Majapahit Kingdom (Sidemen, 2010; Vlekke, 2004). The Gelgel kingdom for more than three centuries, longer than the Majapahit kingdom, was almost without turmoil. Conditions like this indicate that economic life is going well and people are prosperous. The Kingdom's economy was supported by extensive rice fields and advanced trade (Vickers 2009). The three main ports of the Gelgel kingdom are Buleleng in North Bali, Tuban and Kuta in South Bali. These three ports are connected to ports in the waters north of Java and have permanent connections with Malacca (Suwita, 2023).

When Majapahit's power weakened, then the government changed to Demak, Pajang, and Mataram, the Balinese rulers felt interested in controlling Pasuruan and Blambangan. Incidentally, the rulers of these two regions have kinship relations with Bali. To the east of Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa were also controlled to stem the influence of Islam from Makassar (Ricklefs, 1992). So began a new chapter of complicated relations between Bali, Pasuruan, Blambangan, and Mataram. Likewise between Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa and Makassar. Blambangan needed Gelgel (Bali) to face the Mataram invasion which emerged as a new power under Sultan Agung (1613-1645). On the other hand, Blambangan also wanted to be free from Balinese influence (Graaf, 1941). Likewise, a new power in the east, the Makassar Kingdom, since the end of the 16th century threatened Sumbawa and Lombok.

Since the 16th century, Blambangan has been a place of traces of struggle, struggle and collaboration between actors, and a place of struggle for power, ideology and economics. For Mataram, Blambangan was the last border region that prevented the formation of a Javanese Islamic kingdom. For Gelgel, it is in his interest to maintain Blambangan which can be controlled as a Hindu defence bumper. So Lekkerkerker's opinion is correct, since 1600, the kings of Blambangan "blooded" Bali (Margana, 2012).

After the Balinese kingdom (Sri Tapolung) was conquered by Majapahit in 1343, the new Majapahit king Sri Kresna Kepakisan was appointed in 1352, whose palace was in Samprangan (Gianyar). At the same time, 3 Kepakisan brothers were appointed, namely, Dalem Wayan in Pasuruan, Dalem Made in Blambangan, and the third woman was married off to Prabu Sukania in Sumbawa (Berg, 1929; Putra, 2013). To expand the power of the Balinese king, kinship networks with the kingdoms of Blambangan, Pasuruan and Sumbawa were initially used. All four kingdoms are descendants of Majapahit. However, efforts to expand kinship networks did not go well. Due to a misunderstanding, a war broke out between the Pasuruan kingdom the Gelgel kingdom and the Blambangan kingdom. Blambangan had begun to be controlled by Gelgel since king Dalem Watu Renggong, the second king of the Gelgel dynasty after Ketut Ngelesir.

At the end of the 16th century, a triangular conflict occurred between Pasuruan, Blambangan, and Gelgel at the end of Watu Renggong's reign. The daughter of the King of Blambangan who married the king of Pasuruan was killed by the king because she did not want to follow her husband's beliefs in 1595. There was a war between Blambangan and Pasuruan. This event was recorded by the Dutch Fleet under the leadership of

Frank der Does who visited Blambangan (Sutjipto, 1983; Opkomst, III: 352). Because of that, Blambangan asked King Gelgel for help. In 1597, Gelgel troops numbering approximately 20,000 attacked Pasuruan in Blambangan to save Blambangan from being besieged by 8000 Pasuruan soldiers. This incident was witnessed by a group of Dutch fleets who were anchored at Kuta port. Since then Blambangan has been completely controlled by Gelgel. Watu Renggong made Blambangan a field of contestation for the clash of civilizations between the two religious forces of Hinduism and Islam.

In the period 1625-1636, Blambangan was occupied again by the Mataram kingdom under Sultan Agung. After Demak failed to Islamize Blambangan, Sultan Agung encouraged a movement to eliminate Hindu elements from Blambangan. Sultan Agung succeeded in controlling Blambangan but failed to convert it to Islam. After Sultan Agung died in 1646, Dalem Dimade again attacked Blambangan and appointed Mas Kembar as ruler of Blambangan under the Gelgel kingdom. However, Amangkurat I, the successor of Sultan Agung, returned to attack Blambangan and the Mas twins from Bali. Amangkurat I planned to attack Bali under Wiraguna and Danusaha. but Patih's second attempt failed and his fate ended tragically, he was killed on the orders of Amangkurat I because he failed to attack Bali (Margana, 2012).

Meanwhile, in the eastern part of Bali, Prince Prapen Putra Sunan Giri from Gresik succeeded in converting Lombok to Islam. But Prince Prapen and his entourage immediately sailed to Sumbawa and Bima. Dalem Watu Renggong then took advantage of this opportunity to control Lombok in the mid-16th century. The second expedition group from Gresik (Graaf, 1941) encountered resistance from Watu Renggong, king of Gelgel. Watu Renggong had experience in rejecting envoys from "Mecca" who wanted to invite the king to convert to Islam. The envoy, under the leadership of Kimoder, immediately came to Gelgel (Berg, 1926).

To strengthen Gelgel's position in Lombok and Sumbawa, Watu Renggong sent a priest as a royal advisor, namely Danghyang Nirarta. Danghyang Nirarta in Lombok disguised himself as Prince Sangupatu and in Sumbawa as Lord Semeru. Until now, Nirarta's teachings are still practised in Lombok, which is often called Islamic Time Telu, which contains the practice of Hindu traditions (Cederroth, 1981). Dalem Segening (1582-1630) continued the Gelgel hegemony in Lombok and Sumbawa. In 1624 Dalem Segening agreed with Sultan Alauddin, king of Makassar (De Graaf, 1941). Why was the agreement made with Makassar? Because the competition between the two kingdoms was very sharp. Each kingdom wanted to maintain its hegemony in Lombok and Sumbawa.

Several local sources such as the Babad Dalem mention that there was a conflict between the two kingdoms. There was a riot at the port of Tulamben (East Bali) by "Wong Sunantara", a foreigner who was probably from Makassar-Bugis. There is also a story about Bugis people who came to Serangan Island in the Badung area and spied on the Gelgel kingdom. These Bugis people were then exploited by the Mengwi kingdom in the 17th century because Gelgel had collapsed (Source of Oral Tradition).

Utrecht noted that Gelgel began to lose its power in the East since the reign of Dalem Dimade (Utrecht, 1962). In 1633 Bima and Sumbawa were captured by the Makassar kingdom (Lekkerkerker, Berg 158). In 1640 Lombok was also captured by Makassar (Graaf, 1941). The 1624 agreement failed to prevent war between the Gelgel kingdom and the Makassar kingdom in Sumbawa and Lombok. According to Vickers, competition between the Kingdom of Gelgel and Makassar occurred many times, even to the point of using poisoned arrows and spears (Vickers, 2009). After Gelgel collapsed in 1650 and Makassar also fell into the hands of the VOC in 1669, Gelgel's hegemony in Lombok and Sumbawa were continued by the Karangasem kingdom. In 1692 the entire island of Lombok came under the Karangasem kingdom (Utrecht, 1962).

The territory of the Gelgel kingdom as a geopolitical unit is very broad, covering East Java, Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa, its territory is almost the same as Majapahit. Majapahit actually controlled East Java, Bali, Madura and Lombok. Temporally, Gelgel ruled for almost 4 centuries while Majapahit for 2 centuries. The centre of Hindu culture and religion has moved from Majapahit to Gelgel. Even though the territory of the Gelgel kingdom was very large, like the character of the archipelago kingdoms before the arrival of foreign (European) powers, they did not destroy each other's collaborative character (Glatz, 2009). There are power relations between kingdoms in Foucault's sense, which do not cancel each other out. There was contestation and resistance but they did not destroy each other. The Gelgel Kingdom and the Majapahit Kingdom collapsed because they broke inward, not because of attacks from other kingdoms. The Majapahit Kingdom collapsed due to civil war which left society weak. There is no time to take care of the economy because there is constant war. The Gelgel kingdom also collapsed not because of attacks from Makassar or Mataram but because of the rebellion of the royal Patih I Gusti Agung Maruti in 1651 because of political ambitions. The Gelgel Palace was

controlled by Maruti for 30 years until 1681. During that time the people were invited to war and in a hostile situation so that society declines. Allies outside Bali such as Blambangan, Lombok, and Sumbawa began to separate themselves (Vickers, 2009).

Relations between kingdoms before the arrival of the Dutch in the 17th century were based on power relations that did not cancel each other out. Bali does not want to be hostile to Mataram. The VOC sent an envoy to Gelgel in 1633 to invite the king of Bali to join forces against Mataram in this alliance. Bali certainly wanted to because Mataram was Muslim but Bali refused. The VOC could not understand Gelgel's 180-degree change in attitude and the VOC was shocked by this rejection. Likewise, Gelgel allied with Makassar in 1624 to avoid conflict between the two kingdoms. The conflict between the Bali and Mataram kingdoms in East Java was not actually to eliminate each other, but to maintain the Hindu Javanese Clan (Taagepera, 1978). Likewise, with Makassar, there was a conflict regarding the distribution of power to the East which was finally achieved. Gelgel controlled Lombok and Makassar controlled Sumbawa. Indeed, after Amangkurat I (1646-1667) came to power in Mataram, this king was eager to destroy Bali because he was influenced by VOC instigation. The relationship between the VOC and the kingdoms in the archipelago was already mutually destructive, mutually eliminating each other. The Makassar kingdom was destroyed by the VOC in 1669, the Blambangan kingdom suffered the same fate, it was destroyed by the VOC in 1776, and other kingdoms in the archipelago also suffered the same fate (Sulistiyono & Rochwulaningsih, 2013; Schottenhammer, 2012).

4 Conclusion

The Gelgel Kingdom was a relatively strong kingdom after Majapahit. The Gelgel Kingdom as the successor to the Majapahit Kingdom, especially in the fields of religion and culture, lasted more temporally, approximately 4 centuries and geopolitically controlled 4 large islands in real terms, namely: East Java, Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, and had influence as far as Madura. Majapahit's real power was Java and Bali, not including Sunda. The list provided by the Kertagama state is still in doubt. Whether Majapahit is sovereign over other islands in the archipelago is probably just a myth. Meanwhile, the Gelgel kingdom had real sovereignty over East Java, Lombok, Bali and Sumbawa.

In terms of military strength, Majapahit was afraid of the Balinese king - Sri Astasura Ratna Bumi Banten or Sri Tapolung, so the Balinese king was often called pig-headed. The King of Blambangan is also often called dog-headed. To conquer Bali, Patih Kebo Iwo was promised a beautiful girl so he could be subdued. The Sunda King was also tricked by Gajah Mada, giving rise to a long-lasting grudge. The governor of another Balinese kingdom, Pasung Gerigis, was sent to war with the king of Sumbawa. Majapahit also took 12 years to conquer Bali.

The relationship between the Gelgel Kingdom and other kingdoms is not one of power but of collaboration and mutual need. When the Majapahit Kingdom weakened, the Balinese rulers felt an interest in Blambangan and Lombok to maintain and continue culture and religion. Blambangan needs Bali to face Mataram's strong innovation, as well as Lombok to face Makassar. So began a new chapter of complicated relationships, which can only be understood in the context of history and genealogy, both of whom are descendants of Majapahit, the closeness of origin between Bali, Blambangan, Pasuruan, Sumbawa, Madura, Lombok, who are descended from Majapahit descendants.

The Gelgel kingdom which lasted 4 centuries (1353 - 1686) was a single kingdom, borrowing Muhammad Yamin's term called "*senusa state*", from Emporium became an Empire according to Sartono Kartodirdjo. The form of government of the Gelgel kingdom is close to the form of a classical state like Southeast Asia in general, namely a decentralized unitary state. Why did Gelgel's wealth last so long, unlike the other 3 kingdoms of that period? This is because Gelgel has succeeded in combining the fields of agriculture and trade (commerce). As a maritime kingdom, it had 3 ports that were busy and growing rapidly before the arrival of the VOC, namely Kuta and Tuban in South Bali, Buleleng in North Bali. The three main ports have direct connections with Malacca and Maluku.

Tome Pires noted that Bali was included in the trade map issued by Francesco Rodinques in 1624. It was stated that Bali, Lombok had many ports and the availability of sufficient food to complete the spice route shipping. Portuguese traders regularly visited Bali, even the king of Gelgel had a Portuguese interpreter for trade matters. Every year Jung-jung from Malacca still visited Bali bringing fine cloth (silk), poslin, and pottery

and in Bali bought rice and coarse cloth to exchange for spices in Maluku. Relations between Maluku and Bali are very close in trade matters. Maluku does not produce rice but does produce pepper and cloves. Rice was imported by Balinese traders and brought by Javanese traders. Coarse cloth (Bali cloth) is used by Maluku clove farmers. The Gelgel Kingdom was relatively prosperous, with vast rice fields stretching across southern Bali. Supported by advanced trade, it can mobilize resources from East Java, Lombok and Sumbawa. Able to fight with the Mataram kingdom in East Java and the Makassar kingdom in Lombok and Sumbawa. The Dutch who visited the Gelgel Palace in February 1597 were impressed by the prosperity and great power of the king established by the power of Majapahit.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to two anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments on the earlier version of this paper.

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Biography of Author

