Cosmopolitan Kingship:
The raja of Bulèlèng in Buginese costume.
With the king are his daughter and retinue. 1865.

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HINDUISM AND ISLAM IN INDONESIA: BALI AND THE PASISIR WORLD*

Adrian Vickers

Western scholarship has come to regard Bali as somewhat apart from the rest of Indonesia, a Hindu island in a sea of Islam. Between the early sixteenth century, when Hindu kingdoms ceased to have any influence in Java, and the Dutch conquest of Bali from 1846 to 1908, relations between Balinese and Muslims were anything but straightforward. Wars between Balinese and Islamic kingdoms were matched by degrees of accommodation and synthesis with Islam on various levels of Balinese society. Balinese were vitally interested in the cosmopolitan culture of the rest of Indonesia, and recognized a common appeal to origins in the great Hindu-Buddhist Javanese kingdom of Majapahit.

"*A Thing Apart*"

Most writers on Bali have used religious difference to characterize the essential distinction between Bali and the rest of Indonesia, or at least Islamic Indonesia.

> Bali . . . is of course in many ways similar to Java, with which it shared a common culture to the fifteenth century. But at a deeper level, having continued Hindu while Java was nominally at least, Islamized, it is quite different. The intricate, obsessive ritual life--Hindu, Buddhist and Polynesian in about equal proportions--whose development was more or less cut off in Java, leaving its Indic spirit to turn reflective and phenomenological, even quietistic, . . . flourished in Bali to reach levels of scale and flamboyance that have startled the world and made the Balinese a much more dramatic people with a self to match. What is philosophy in Java is theater in Bali.[1]

Although not displaying the coarse caricatures of Orientalism, this kind of vision of Bali lays emphasis on its separateness. A lack of contact between Java and Bali after the fifteenth century is seen as determining the separate

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1. Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), p. 62.

natures of the two cultures. Some versions of this difference, especially those which emphasize economics, tend to use less sophisticated terms:

> Islam provided a ready-made ideological link among the Muslim trading emporia that ranged from the ports of the Indian Ocean to the Sulu seas of the Philippines. . . . Only in Bali would a group of Hindu-Buddhist refugees maintain intact the older ideological cult of the island world . . .

and,

> At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the rulers of inland Java adopted Islam as well, perhaps to keep control over the peasantry, to which Islam had begun to spread. . . . Only Bali, located at the periphery of the trade routes, remained staunchly Hindu. Islam and trade thus went hand in hand in the Asian seas.[2]

In this reading of Balinese history, Hindu-Balinese "refugees" from Islam sacrificed trading connections for the sake of an "ideological cult."

In the nineteenth-century Orientalist perceptions of Bali which precede these writings, Balinese religious identity, formed through opposition to Islam, led to the development of a "Museum" of Hindu Java. One of the first to articulate this view in any depth was Raffles, who was particularly interested in the literature of the *Kawi* or "Old-Javanese" language: "For Raffles, Old Javanese was an Asian Latin, banished to Bali by invading, Goth-like Muslims."[3] This portrayal of Bali preserving Majapahit filtered down from Raffles to twentieth-century Dutch administrators; his presentation of the Balinese aristocracy as "refugees" from Islam was even more pervasive.[4] Raffles himself was influenced by Javanese histories, in which the Islamization of Java was seen to have been consolidated by a military defeat of the last Hindu Javanese kingdom, Majapahit, in 1478.[5] Allegedly, priests and aristocrats bundled up what they could of the great Hindu tradition, and fled to Bali, where, we are to infer, no further literature of consequence was produced.[6]

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2. Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 58, 234.

3. Anthony Day, "Islam and Literature in South-East Asia: Some Pre-Modern, Mainly Javanese Perspectives," in *Islam in South-East Asia*, ed. M. B. Hooker (Leiden: Brill, 1983), p. 133.

4. On the anti-Islamic, Hindu "Museum" view of Bali as practiced by Dutch administrators, see Henk Schulte Nordholt, *Bali: Colonial Conceptions and Political Change 1700-1940* (Rotterdam: Comparative Asian Studies Programme Publications, 1986).

5. For a summary of current historical knowledge of the foundations of the Islamic kingdoms of Java, see M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia* (London: Macmillan, 1981), pp. 33ff. On the limitations of the major Javanese source used in earlier accounts, see J. J. Ras, "The Babad Tanah Jawi and Its Reliability: Questions of Content, Structure and Function," in *Cultural Contact and Textual Interpretation*, ed. C. J. Grijns and S. O. Robson (Dordrecht: Foris, 1986), pp. 246-73.

6. Literature in the languages known as Old- and Middle-Javanese continues to be produced on Bali to this day, but many scholars assume that the "Javanese"

Friederich, writing some thirty years after Raffles, was probably the first to present the Balinese belief that there was no great Islamic victory over the kingdom of Majapahit, which had disappeared as a result of what the Balinese perceived as demonic influences and general chaos.[7] In the perspective most generally accepted on Bali, the aristocracy, and in fact most of the inhabitants of Bali, are descended from Majapahit conquerors of the island who arrived in the fourteenth century. Most Balinese families which are not *Bali-Aga* or "original Balinese" can claim descent from one or another of the major figures from Majapahit. Only the founder of the Balinese *brahmana*, Danghyang Nirartha, is supposed to have come over to Bali from East Java later, perhaps in the fifteenth century.[8]

Most twentieth-century Dutch administrators still maintained the idea that Balinese Hinduism was something to be "preserved" from Islam, which they associated with a lack of art or the destruction of a noble culture.[9] This aim of preserving native culture was not unique to Dutch colonialists in Bali, but was generally the avowed goal of most imperial powers.[10] In the case of Bali, however, the perception had a long genealogy. In 1633, for example, when the VOC sent a mission to Bali to promote an alliance between Batavia and Bali against the Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram, the premise the Dutch worked from was that "[the king] and all his folk are heathens, and therefore certain enemies of the people of Mataram, who are Moors."[11] The Dutch were surprised when Gèlgèl, the principal kingdom on Bali, procrastinated and subsequently expressed a desire to establish friendly relations with Mataram. The Dutch could not comprehend this change, since their system of religious classification did not accord with the political practices of the Balinese ruler.

The confusions are interesting. The very first Dutch sailors to reach Bali produced another version of this conceptualization in their reports of a meeting with the *patih* or chief minister of Bali, Kiayi Lêr. They reported that they were told they were very like Balinese, because they ate pork, unlike "Turks and Moors," and ate on Fridays and Saturdays, unlike "Spaniards and Portuguese."[12]

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linguistic form means that this literature is originally Javanese rather than Balinese.

7. See R. Friederich, *The Civilisation and Culture of Bali*, ed., trans. and revised by E. R. Rost (Calcutta: Susil Gupta, 1959), p. 113.

8. C. C. Berg, *Kidung Pamañcangah* (Santport: Mees, 1929), canto 3, stanzas 23ff. The chief Balinese sources which associate the coming of Islam with the age of chaos of Hindu thought are the dynastic genealogies of the *brahmana* (Raechelle Rubinstein, pers. comm.).

9. See Schulte Nordholt, *Bali: Colonial Conceptions*, p. 36.

10. See Hugh Ridley, *Images of Imperial Rule* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), pp. 21ff., 110ff.

11. P. A. Leupe, "Het Gezantschap naar Bali onder der Gouverneur-Generaal Hendrik Bouwer in 1633," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* [hereafter *BTLV*] 5 (1856): 14-15.

12. Quoted in G. P. Rouffaer and J. W. IJzerman, *De Eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman 1595-1597*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1915, 1925, 1929), 2: 81; discussed in James A. Boon, *The Anthropological Romance of Bali* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 14.

These categorizations of Muslims and Catholics as natural enemies of Protestants and Heathens are familiar within the pattern of early European descriptions of voyages of discovery.[13] To the Dutch these religious distinctions were definitive statements of unchangeable differences. The 1633 report of the mission to Bali is quite explicit in saying that pre-existing religious differences should be emphasized as part of a "divide and rule" strategy of playing off native rulers (both in the Indonesian region and in India) against each other.[14] This policy continued in the eighteenth century, when the Dutch attempted to use conversion to Islam to remove Blambangan in East Java from Balinese hegemony.[15]

In these cases the Dutch abstracted Balinese signs of differentiation from their context and inserted them into European taxonomies. An emblematic status was ascribed to features of religious practice, and these features were hierarchically arranged below the paradigmatic state of human being, Protestantism. The Balinese, however, did not perceive "religion" or "humanity" in such a fashion in their orderings of the world.

Balinese Ethnicity

Balinese categories of ethnicity which were contemporary with these Dutch perceptions seem to have been fundamentally at odds with them. Such Balinese statements as that of Kiayi Lêr (filtered as it is through a Dutch retelling) were concerned with practical idioms adopted strategically by groups which were basically similar in kind.

The Balinese view is illustrated by a variety of narratives which portray kingdoms outside Bali. In the *Malat*, one of the major *kidung* poems of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Bali, it is exemplified in the description of a meeting between Javanese and "Malayu" people. The *Malat* narrates how a prince of Daha, Java, has gone off to "Malayu" to search for his lost sister. There he is adopted by the old king of Malayu, whom he succeeds as ruler. Returning in disguise to Java, the young king lands at Tuban, an old royal port city on the north coast. In the narrative the Malayu people are described as "Non-Javanese" (*Tan Jawi*) who are distinguished by their "overseas" clothing (*pahès sabrang/pahès lor*), especially their gold leaf *patola* double *ikat* from Gujerat and their head cloths. They also have different food, dancing, and music from the Javanese, but are described as handsome, and really like the Javanese in appearance.[16] In oral renditions of this episode, Malayu and Java are iden-

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13. On religious typologies in early European accounts of voyages to Asia, see James A. Boon, *Other Tribes, Other Scribes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), ch. 5.

14. Leupe, "Het Gezantschap naar Bali," p. 15.

15. See Ann Kumar, "Javanese Historiography in and of the Colonial Period: A Case Study," in *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, ed. A. Reid and D. Marr (Singapore: Heinemann, 1979), p. 190.

16. "Kidung Pañji Malat Rasmin" (unpublished) canto 4, stanzas 11-57. From my research on this text, I estimate that the major literary versions originated in the seventeenth century. The earliest dated manuscript of part of the *Malat* was written/copied in AD 1725.

tified, and "Jawa" merges with Bali. In these versions, the dances brought by the Malayu people are the well-known *jauk, baris,* and *lègong* dances of Bali.[17]

In this Balinese categorization, religious differences function like clothing styles. They are signs used to differentiate groups which have basic similarities. The signs of distinction can be translated as "cultural" differences--culture, however, not in the sense of an underlying structure of ideas or complex of meaning, but of observable behavior, especially artistic behavior. The many "cultures" are manifestations of a common "civilization." It is impossible to conceive of a different system of social organization, and so there is no absolute category of the "alien," only a distinction between people of the same island and people from overseas (*sabrang*). The nature of this model can be gauged from the way it accommodated the Dutch. They were seen as a group belonging with Chinese and other traders, since they were not led by kings and princes; they partook in maritime trading and lived in coastal regions; and they did not manifest the signs of belonging to a "kingdom" which the Balinese knew from their immediate neighbors and their own Majapahit background. Therefore the Dutch were fitted into the Balinese social order, at the bottom.[18]

Other narratives which belong to the same genre as the *Malat,* and which are performed along with it in the *gambuh* dance-drama, portray ethnicity as a feature of social order within what could be called an Asian World System. These narratives provide variations on a common structure of kingdoms, in which the main ingredients are kings, upwardly mobile princes pursuing beautiful princesses, and elaborate hierarchies of courtly rank. This common structure is found in kingdoms ranging from India to China. In the *Wasèng* story, for example, the chief villain is the king of Magada, an ancient kingdom of India, and the story features kings of Sunda, Inangkabo (Minangkabau), Tumasik (Riau-Lingga?), Singapura, Jumur Jipang (Japan?), and Koñci (Southern China or Indo-China). In the *Smarawédana* poem this list is extended to take in Tatar, Kling (Kalingga), Palèmbang, Semarang, Kertasura (the Central Javanese kingdom which was successor to Mataram), and Jayakerta (Jakarta-Sunda). These kingdoms are added to the list of Central and East Javanese kingdoms which form the core locations of all the narratives: Koripan, Daha, Gegelang, and Singasari. In some texts these core kingdoms are opposed to Mataram, Lasem, Pajang, and other kingdoms, and Majapahit occasionally appears as a key location. In the *Malat,* Malayu also has hegemony over the kingdoms of Tañjungpura (Kalimantan) and Awantipura (an Indian kingdom?).[19]

Some of the narratives performed with these stories in *gambuh* dance-drama have "Islamic" associations, and so extend this list of locations still further. The *Mégantaka,* for example, is set around Malaka, and, in its poetic form, the narrative is said to be a version of one from "Kling" (South India) which the author heard from a Buginese sailor he met in Ampenan, the port of West Lombok.[20]

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17. I collected versions of the episode in the village of Batuan in 1981.

18. See Adrian Vickers, "Ritual and Representation in Nineteenth-Century Bali," *Review of Indonesian and Malayan Affairs* [hereafter *RIMA*] 18/2 (Winter 1984): 1-35.

19. Balinese explain the relationship between such narratives in *gambuh* by the metaphor of a tree or plant. The *Malat* is the *pokok* or "stem" of *gambuh* and the other stories are *carangan* or "branches."

20. R. van Eck, *Tekst en Vertaling van der Mégantaka,* Verhandelingen Bataviaasch Genootschap 38 (Batavia: Albrecht, 1875), pp. xxiv-xxv.

Other *gambuh* narratives include the *Rengganis*, which comes from the *Mènak* or *Amir Hamzah* cycle, and is set in Mekah, Mokadam (Mocca), Medaim (Medina), and Cina. The *Amad-Muhammad* story is set in Mesir (Egypt).[21] As these narratives depict them, there is little to distinguish these Islamic kingdoms from Hindu ones. Instead, all form parts of a world through which the characters move freely. This lack of distinction is clear from the use of the name "Malayu" for a kingdom in the *Malat*. Although "Malayu" may once have referred to the area around Jambi, in Sumatra, it would not have had such a meaning for the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century audiences of the *gambuh* and the poetic versions of the text. At that time "Malayu" referred to what is sometimes called the Malay world, where to "*masuk Melayu*" meant to convert to Islam. In this textual schema, "Malayu" and "Jawa" are divisions of a common civilization.

Other texts express the same view of the world using different orientations. The *Kidung Pamañcangah*, an early nineteenth-century poem about Majapahit and the establishment of the kingdoms of Gèlgèl and its successor Klungkung, describes Bali as part of a Majapahit-centered world.[22] The text treats the Majapahit origins of the Balinese kingdoms at length, but it also deals with other kingdoms which have similar origins. For example, a ceremony held by the king of Madura is described as being attended by other Majapahit rulers: from Bali, Blambangan, Pasuruan (the East Javanese regions immediately adjacent to Blambangan), Sumbawa, and Palèmbang. Envoys come from other parts of the world which the text recognizes as part of the same complex of kingdoms: Makassar (South Sulawesi), Sulo (the Sulu Zone in the Southern Philippines), Cina (China), and Rum (Byzantium/Turkey).[23] At the time it was written the majority of these kingdoms were Islamic, but the *Kidung Pamañcangah* is more concerned with what they have in common in terms both of origins and of their political culture.

The *Malat*'s interest in "Jawa" as the major location of its action is not an exercise in antiquarianism, but an attempt to locate the cultural basis of Balinese civilization in Java. The main kingdoms with which the text is concerned--Koripan, Daha, Gegelang, and Singasari--are the same ones that were the focus of Majapahit state ideology.[24] They, even more than Majapahit, were the source of Balinese culture, and reference to them was a vehicle for manifesting Majapahit civilization in Bali. The paradox at the heart of this relationship was that "Jawa" or "Jawi" was at the center of Balinese culture, yet it also literally meant the "outside" (*jawi/jawa/jaba*) of Bali. Bali was both of Java and not of Java.

The genre to which such representations as the *Malat* belong is only one amongst many models which patterned and reflected Balinese encounters with "the foreign" and Islam. The *Kidung Pamañcangah* belongs to another genre in which genealogies and stories of origin are used to contextualize the kingdoms of

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21. For summaries of the *Amad-Muhammad* and *Rengganis* as performed in *gambuh*, see Beryl de Zoete and Walter Spies, *Dance and Drama in Bali* (1938, Reprint, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 289-92.

22. Berg, *Kidung Pamañcangah*. For the dating of this text, see Adrian Vickers, "The Writing of Kekawin and Kidung on Bali," *BTLV* 138 (1982): 493.

23. Berg, *Kidung Pamañcangah* canto 3, stanzas 7-9.

24. See, for example, canto 6 of the *Nâgarakertâgama*, edited, translated, and annotated by Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the Fourteenth Century*, 5 vols. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1960-63), 3:7.

Bali as they existed at the time of writing. There are, in addition, didactic texts aimed at describing the specific place of Islam and Islamic teaching in the world; there are texts of a "magical" nature used in curative, purificatory, and exorcistic rituals; there are temple objects and structures awaiting ritual activation; and there are oral and written sources which describe the coming of Islamic communities to Bali. Some of these are, like the *Malat*, products of the courts; others come from priestly houses or from the practices of either Muslim or Hindu Balinese villagers. All are capable of being used by different social groups. In the case of rituals, different genres can be simultaneously presented, as, for example, when dances are performed or texts sung during priestly rites and the parading of ceremonial objects and offerings. There is not one Balinese view of Islam, but a variety of modes of interaction with it which are found throughout the island on different social levels. It is not possible to describe all the historical permutations of these modes of interaction, since texts are rewritten, performances change, and rituals die out or are restructured to fit new situations. Nevertheless, the different voices available to us can be placed within a framework of culture and ethnicity.

Political Relations and Local Settlements

Balinese views of ethnicity were practiced in a variety of ways with regard to Islam. From the time of Gèlgèl onwards Balinese kings engaged in both friendly and hostile relations with their neighbors, but they also fostered the growth of local Islamic communities.

Dutch records describe the clashes between Gèlgèl, Mataram, and Makassar which arose during the seventeenth century as all three "autocratic" or "centralized" states engaged in conflicting policies of expansion.[25] These hostilities seem to have eventually resolved themselves into the more peaceful establishment of spheres of influence, notably through the treaty between Dalem Seganing of Gèlgèl and Sultan Alauddin of Makassar.[26]

A variety of Balinese sources record these events and those of the subsequent period, during which the great polities dissolved into smaller states. Some of the stories have circulated through written dynastic narratives, while others are known as stories of origin of the various Islamic or quasi-Islamic communities on Bali.[27]

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25. On the late seventeenth-century fragmentation of the large states of the Indonesian archipelago, see Takashi Ito and Anthony Reid, "From Harbour Autocracies to 'Feudal' Diffusion in Seventeenth Century Indonesia: The Case of Aceh," in *Feudalism: Comparative Studies*, ed. E. Leach, S. N. Mukherjee, and J. O. Ward (Sydney: Pathfinder Press, 1985), esp. p. 199. The terms "autocratic" and "centralized" are those of Ito and Reid.

26. H. de Graaf, "Lombok in de 17e Eeuw," *Djdwd* 21 (1941): 359.

27. In recent times many of these stories of origin have been collected together under the auspices of an Indonesian Government project dealing with the spread of Islam throughout the archipelago, in Mulyono et al. (Tim Peneliti), *Sejarah Masuknya Islam di Bali* (Denpasar: Proyek Penelitian Pemuda Tingkat I Propinsi Bali, 1979/80). It is quite possible that, in the interests of emphasizing national harmony, some of the oral histories have been ignored or played down in this collection. The picture emerging there can be weighed against material

The oral histories begin with the foundation of the present Balinese social order. At least one legend recognizes the presence of a Muslim community in the capital of Majapahit,[28] and describes how forty Muslims from Majapahit accompanied Dalem Ktut Ngulesir when he founded the capital at Gèlgèl.[29] These Muslims are the ancestors of the present inhabitants of the Islamic *kampung* in Gèlgèl. The legend that Muslim missionaries came from "Mekah" during the golden age of Gèlgèl, the reign of king Baturènggong, appears in the *Kidung Pamañcangah*. In its version of the incident, the failure of these missionaries to convert the king (and his kingdom) is signified by their inability to cut the hairs on his big toe.[30] Two legends associate Javanese who accompanied these messengers from Mekah with the establishment of a Kampung Jawa at Lebah, Klungkung, and the community of Saren Jawa in Karangasem.[31] In contrast to these stories is one in which the Balinese demonstrate a willingness to use Islamic idioms against Islamic enemies: when Gèlgèl was in conflict with Makassar over control of Lombok 70,000 men were armed with lances smeared with pig fat to repel a Makassarese invasion of Bali.[32]

The period after the fall of Makassar (in 1667) coincided with the disintegration of Gèlgèl and the rise of new states on Bali. Aristocrats exiled from South Sulawesi were then constantly traversing a large part of the archipelago, and many became involved in Balinese affairs as they attempted to establish power bases for a return to Sulawesi. Kraèng Galésong, son of Sultan Hassanudin, temporarily settled in Bali around 1673, and he and others operated as "pirates" in the seas around Madura and East Java. His uncle, Daèng Tulolo, together with Kraèng Jarannika of Makassar, assisted Sumbawans in opposing Balinese attempts to gain control over Lombok. In about 1700 Kraèng Jarannika is reported to have died resisting Karangasem's rule of Lombok.[33] A number of Balinese narratives describe conflict with "I Krahèng," who is sometimes called the king of Lombok.[34]

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from other sources, and a general awareness that there are still many more oral histories of this type in circulation in Bali.

28. On the well-documented Muslim gravestones which are evidence of the presence of Muslim communities in Majapahit, see Ricklefs, *History of Modern Indonesia*, pp. 3-5.

29. Mulyono et al., *Sejarah Masuknya Islam*, p. 14. The Gèlgèl mosque is built in the tiered-roof style of the older mosques of Java. See also Hasan Ambary, "Mesjid Kampung Gèlgèl," *Archipel* 30 (1985): 39-41.

30. Berg, *Kidung Pamañcangah*, canto 4, stanzas 129-30.

31. Mulyono et al., *Sejarah Masuknya Islam*, p. 19.

32. De Graaf, "Lombok," p. 359. Oral versions of this story are still known in Bali, but, in the interests of diplomacy, people are generally unwilling to relate them.

33. For more extensive accounts of these and other "refugees" from South Sulawesi in the region, see de Graaf, "Lombok," pp. 362-78 and Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1981), pp. 208-37.

34. H. Hinzler (pers. comm.). In some accounts of the life of Nirartha, he comes into conflict with this king of Lombok. See R. Rubinstein, "The Brahmana According to Their Babad" (Paper given at the Royal Institute for Linguistics and Anthropology International Workshop on Indonesian Studies No. 1: Balinese State and Society, Leiden, April 21-24, 1986).

One legend describes a revolt by Sumbawan "*bajaq laut*" or pirates against Ki Pasek Tulamben, head of the port of Tulamben in Karangasem.[35]

One consequence of the fall of Makassar, according to various sources, was establishment of a community of refugees from South Sulawesi at Loloan, in Jembrana, West Bali. Oral histories relate that the community was founded as a *Kampung Bajo* (Wajo) by Daèng Nakhoda ("Captain") in 1669, with permission from I Gusti Ngurah Pancoran, ruler of Jembrana.[36] Various Dutch sources make note of the community because of a revolt it staged in 1808.[37] At that time the South Balinese kingdom of Badung supposedly exercised hegemony over Jembrana, yet it was the ruler of Bulèlèng who suppressed the community at the request of Jembrana's lord, who claimed that the Muslims were contravening caste distinctions by marrying Balinese women of high status and inciting local Balinese to do likewise. It is uncertain just how far this was merely a convenient excuse for the king of Bulèlèng, since he became overlord of the whole of Jembrana after he slaughtered the leader of the Loloan community, Kapitein Mandar Patimi, and many of his followers.[38] The community did survive, however, and in 1848 a Bugis from Trengganu, Incé Ya'qub, settled there and donated land and a Koran for the founding of a mosque.[39] There is a legend that part of the Bugis community around Loloan was founded by Syarif Abdullah bin Yahya Al-Qodry of Pontianak, who with his followers was fleeing a Dutch attack on them as pirates.[40] In oral traditions it is usual to have a variety of legends regarding a community's origins. Heterogeneity and lack of congruence means that different stories can be used in different contexts.

Similarly the long-standing "Bajo" settlement of Bulèlèng claims to have originated from a group sent by the Sultan of Johor to find his daughter, who had been abducted by a king of Eastern Indonesia. Unsuccessful in their quest, the group stayed in Bali rather than return to Malaya. The nearby community of Lingga has two separate stories of origin. In one they claim to have come from

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35. Mulyono et al., *Sejarah Masuknya Islam*, pp. 16-17.

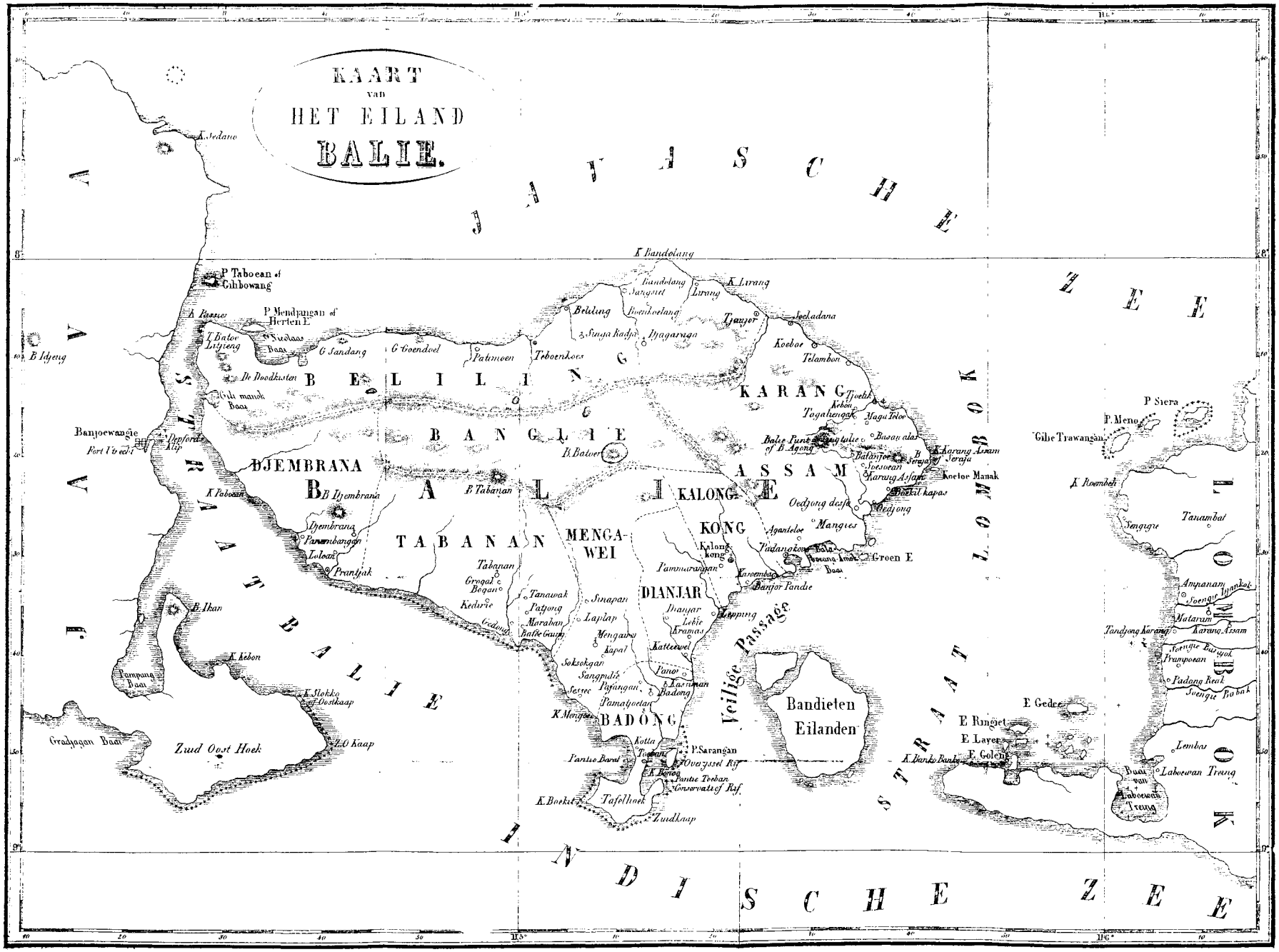
36. Ibid., p. 23.

37. A problem of terminology arises in these different sources. Many say that the community is Bugis, but others Mandarese. The attribution "Bajo" would indicate Bugis origins, since Wajo was the Bugis kingdom which was one of the first sources of migrants. "Bajo" origins were usually associated not only with trade, but also with warfare. In Bulèlèng this was brought home to the Dutch in the wars of 1846-1849, when they encountered the strongest resistance from Bugis under the leadership of Pa' Kelab. See I Putu Gedé Suwitha, "Perahu Penisi di Selat Bali" (MA thesis, Universitas Gajah Mada, 1979), p. 168, who mentions that these Bugis were not from Bulèlèng, but from Jembrana. Reference to people from Wajo resident in Bulèlèng (and used as troops) is found in the *Jayaprana*, a narrative poem set in Bulèlèng, possible dating from before the nineteenth century: C. Hooykaas, *The Lay of Jayaprana: The Balinese Uriah* (London: Luzac, 1958), pp. 59, 62, 111. See also Mulyono et al., *Sejarah Masuknya Islam*, p. 22.

38. See Suwitha, "Perahu Penisi," p. 128.

39. Ibid., p. 183. Suwitha also notes that in 1860, after the Dutch takeover of Jembrana and Bulèlèng, the head of the "Bugis" community was Pa' Mustika, and other leaders were Pa' Ider, Pa' Kamar, and Pa' Bun.

40. Mulyono et al., *Sejarah Masuknya Islam*, p. 23.



G. Lauts, Het Eiland Balie en de Balienezen (Amsterdam: G.J.A. Beijerinck, 1848)

the island area of Lingga, and to have named their community after this area. In another they are the descendants of a Javanese from Prabalingga, who was sent to Bulèlèng as keeper of an elephant given to king Gusti Pañji Sakti of Bulèlèng by Dalem Solo of Java. Two other keepers of this elephant founded Bañjar Jawa in Bulèlèng.[41]

The Muslim communities of Badung have a similar range of stories of origin. The Angantiga community, for example, is supposed originally to have been set up at the behest of one of the rulers of Mengwi, who appointed three Muslims, Daèng Mapilih (or Wak Daèng), Aji (Haji?) Jamaludin, and Daèng Manganeng as border guards there.[42] The rulers of Badung are known for using Bugis as shock troops in different wars, and these may be either the members of the community of Angantiga or the Bugis who settled in the harbor areas around Tuban, Kapaon, Serangan, and Kuta. The Serangan community was allegedly founded by a Bugis, Puak Matuwa, while the Tuban community is said to have been established as a grant from the king of Pamecutan, one of the main houses of the Badung royal family, in return for assistance given in ridding him of "pirates."[43] According to various Dutch sources, however, in the early nineteenth century Badung was a haven for "pirates" who came from as far away as the Sulu Zone. One of the Dutch agents, Pangèran Said Hasan al Habashi, a wealthy Arab trader, noted that there were ninety "pirate" *prahu* operating from Badung when he visited it in 1824.[44]

Not all the communities of Badung with Islamic ties associate themselves with South Sulawesi. Some also claim connections to Madura, usually with reference to the story of the princess of Badung who married a Madurese prince. According to this story, the princess had returned home to visit her father and

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41. These stories are discussed in ibid., pp. 20-23. See also Suwitha, "Perahu Penisi," pp. 99-100.

42. Ibid., p. 106. Mulyono et al., *Sejarah Masuknya Islam*, p. 27.

43. Suwitha, "Perahu Penisi," pp. 103, 118, 176-78. Suwitha mentions Puak Matuwa as head of the Bugis mercenaries of Badung, later succeeded by his descendant Haji Abdulrachman. He also refers to the *Geguritan Yuda Mengwi*'s account of a war between Badung and Mengwi, in which Bugis shock troops from Badung chewed marijuana in order to run amok in battle. In a Dutch report by van den Broek on his 1818 trip to Bali (Geheim Besluiten La A No. 9, 2 July 1818, Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia), the harbor master of Tuban is called Nengah Tuban. In Huskus Koopman's report on his trip to Bali in 1840 ("Dagverhaal . . . 16 Mar. 1840-31 Mei 1840 . . ." Bali Archive 5/15, Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia), one of the Bugis heads in Badung is called Daèng Palélé, the head of the traders is Anachoda Salim, and the Matua (head of the Bugis) at Tuban is Haji Abdula (?).

44. C. Lekkerkerker, "Het Voorspel der Vestiging van de Nederlandsche Macht op Bali en Lombok," *BTLV* 79 (1923): 201-2. See also Denys Lombard, "Regard Nouveau sur les 'Pirates Malais' lère moitié du XIXes," *Archipel* 18 (1978): 237-38. Pangèran Said Hasan al Habashi, according to I. Broeze ("The Merchant Fleet of Java 1820-1850," *Archipel* 18 [1978]: 265), was the co-founder of one of "the greatest single fleets" of Javanese ships in Surabaya in the mid-nineteenth century. His secretary, Abdullah bin Muhammad al Mazri, the son of an Egyptian from Pontianak, wrote an account of Bali which was published by Baron W. van Hoevell as "Eenige Mededeelingen omtrent het Eiland Bali" in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsh Indië* 7 (1845).

was performing her daily Islamic prayers when one of the palace guards entered her quarters. Mistaking her gesture of prayer in which she bowed to Mecca for an act of a *léak* or witch, the guard instantly cut off her head. The perfumed blood issuing from her corpse marked her innocence, and her father built the Pura Kramat, a temple of mixed style, in the graveyard of Pemecutan to her memory. In one version of this story, the community of Bañjar Madura, near Blanjong, Sanur, is descended from the princess's followers. This same community claims also to have originated at an earlier time from Blitar in Java, fleeing a force of Tatar (Mongols).[45] Another version of the story asserts that the princess, Anak Agung Ayu Rai, was not killed, only separated from her husband, Radèn Sastroningrat, by her father. She was sent to Kapaon, where she (or her followers) founded the local Muslim community, and her husband founded the community of Ubung, now in the northern part of the city of Dénpasar.[46]

Madura had other historical ties to Bali within the framework of Balinese political activities in East Java. These connections were more with Bulèlèng and Mengwi, the successive controllers of Blambangan, than with other parts of Bali. After the fall of Gèlgèl, Blambangan was free from Balinese influence, until Gusti Pañji Sakti of Bulèlèng (circa 1690), in alliance with Surapati, the Balinese-born ex-slave who became ruler of Pasuruan, regained control. Hence the story of origin linking a Bulèlèng community with Prabalingga, and hence also the story that the village of Mayong was founded by a Javanese from the area of Mayong Java (Japara). This story, however, is matched by another which states that the community of Mayong are descended from Bugis who operated from the Javanese harbor of Pampang, and who formed an alliance with Pañji Sakti.[47] Pañji Sakti and other Balinese rulers gave military assistance to various rulers of Madura, and were quite active in other Javanese politics.[48]

A number of communities in Mengwi profess descent from Javanese who came over while the king of Mengwi was overlord of Blambangan in the mid-seventeenth century, but only some of these communities declare an Islamic connection. Many of the others recognize that Blambangan did not become Islamized until after the Dutch actions there in 1767 and 1771, when Rempek, claiming to be the legitimate ruler of the area, staged a final revolt in which Muslims and "heathens" united against the Dutch with Balinese military support.[49] Rempek asserted that he was Wong Agung Wilis, who, with his brother, Pangèran Pati, had been taken to Bali, and had returned to Blambangan after the ruler of Mengwi had ordered his brother's death.[50]

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45. See Barbara Lovric, "The Art of Healing and the Craft of Witches in a 'Hot Earth' Village," *RIMA* 20/1 (Winter 1986): 77. I first heard a version of the story of the princess of Pamecutan from A. A. Kompiang Gedé of Dénpasar, but heard the one associating her with Bañjar Madura from Madé Wijaya, a long-time resident of Sanur.

46. Mulyono et al., *Sejarah Masuknya Islam*, pp. 25-26.

47. Ibid., p. 21 and Suwitha, "Perahu Penisi," p. 100.

48. According to F. A. Sutjipto Tjiptoatmodjo, "Kota-Kota Pantai di Sekitar Selat Madura (Abad XVII sampai media Abad XIX)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Universitas Gajah Mada, 1983), pp. 198-210, 403, the main kingdom of Madura which had alliances with Balinese rulers was Sumenep.

49. Kumar, "Javanese Historiography," p. 191.

50. Ibid., p. 190. See also W. Arifin, *Babad Wilis* (Jakarta: Ecole Français

Bali Slam

All of the Islamic communities mentioned above, and others which claim origins from Java, South Sulawesi, Sumbawa, Lombok, and elsewhere in the Indonesian-Malaysian region, are known as *Bali Slam*, or Balinese Muslims. In the earlier part of this century perhaps only one or two percent of the population of Bali fell into this category.[51] Not included within it are communities which claim some kind of "Islamic" ancestry but are otherwise ostensibly Hindu in their ritual practice.

The Hindu communities which retain some trace of Islam occupy an intermediate position in the spectrum of Islamic practice on Bali. At the extreme ends of this spectrum are such groups as the community of Loloan who are strongly Islamic and even use South Sulawesi styles of architecture (stilt houses),[52] and the *brahmana* high priests of South Bali whose rituals are specifically Hindu-Buddhist. In between are communities which have responded to Islam in a wide variety of ways.

In the case of the community of Mayong mentioned above (p. 42) for example, the main (Hindu) community temple still preserves as hereditary sacred objects weapons inscribed with the *kalimat basmalah* (*bismillahir rahmanir rahim*) and *syahadat*, and a Javanese inscription.[53] In Bañjar Madura, Sanur, pork cannot be offered to the gods of local temples,[54] and this is also the case for deities called Dêwa Gedé Madura and Batara Paakan di Tegal in temples in Bratan, North Bali.[55] This practice is called *nyelam*, from *selam*, "Islam." The term *selam*

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d'Extrême-Orient, 1980). C. Lekkerkerker, "Bali 1800-1814," *BTLV* 82 (1926): 322, notes that Mas or Wong Agung Wilis stayed in Bali for some time after his brother's death, and that Wilis' son, Mas Anom, died in Klungkung and another descendant died in Bulèlèng. Only some of the descendants of the brothers went back to Blambangan, others stayed on Bali and doubtless intermarried with Balinese.

51. V. E. Korn, in his famous *Het Adatrecht van Bali*, 2nd rev. ed. (The Hague: Naeff, 1932), pp. 62-67, discusses the various Muslim communities on Bali. He identifies two categories of Muslim in Bali, those who are "Bali Slam," and Muslims from South Sulawesi, Madura, Java, and Lombok. The former are found in the villages of Kusamba (Klungkung), Kepaon (Badung), Pulukan, Pagajaman, Tegallinggah, and Bañjar Jawa (Bulèlèng), and include Balinese women married to Muslims from other parts of the archipelago. The latter are found in the villages of Loloan and other parts of Jembrana, Pabéan, Kalibukbuk, Temukus, and Watu Gunung (Bulèlèng), Tuban, Benoa, and Serangan (Badung), and Bukitabuan and Tibulaka (Karangasem). These last two villages are *wetu telu* Sasak villages. Problems of defining the two types of Balinese Muslims make the various statistics surveyed by Putu Suwitha, "Perahu Penisi," pp. 131-33 unreliable.

52. Suwitha, "Perahu Penisi," lampiran E-F. Balinese houses normally consist of a series of open and enclosed pavilions arranged within a yard, and are never built on stilts.

53. Ibid., p. 100.

54. Barbara Lovric (pers. comm.).

55. C. J. Grader, "Pemayun Temple of the Banjar of Tegal," in *Bali, Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual*, ed. J. L. Swellengrebel et al. (The Hague: van Hoeve,

or *slam* occurs in many contexts, and refers to types of ritual practice that differ from the norm in other parts of Balinese life. For example, most Balinese recognize a variety of healers called *balian slam*, who usually come from those communities professing Muslim origins. The practice of these healers does not necessarily differ in kind from those of other *balian* or healers, but in some instances their *slam* magic is more efficacious than other types of magic, and so Balinese Hindus feel no compunction about visiting such *balian slam*. Associations between Islam and healing are perpetuated in one of the etymologies of Loloan, which traces the name from *loloh*, a Balinese word meaning "herb" or "medicine."[56]

Practices of Islamic magic and the figure of the *balian slam* are the most likely sources for many of the "Islamic" incantations which are found in various Balinese *lontar* or palm leaf manuscripts. Hooykaas has surveyed some of these manuscripts and has especially drawn attention to formulæ to be used during pregnancy and childbirth, calling on Allah in association with the religion of Kling, and on "Muhamat." Some of the texts surveyed by Hooykaas are clearly of North Balinese origin, and they use Islamic Javanese titles with reference to deities. These titles include "Paku Bhuwana" and "Senapati ing Alaga," both of which can be directly associated with royal titles used in Central Java, as well as the more clearly Islamic "Ngabdurrahman" (servant of the Merciful) and Sayyidin.[57]

Reaching to an even deeper level of Balinese religion is the use of Islamic semi-divine identities with reference to the *kanda* or *nyama*, the mystical siblings which accompany each Balinese ego as the soul moves through life and death. These siblings are invoked in a variety of forms, and must be placated or held in harmony through offerings and life rituals. They take on such forms as gods, demons, animals, and physical locations, in accordance with Balinese ideas of macrocosm and microcosm.[58] It is appropriate that the cosmic schema of the *kanda* or *nyama* should thus include I Jabrail (Gabriel), I Mikahil/Mekahir (Michael), I S(a)rapil (Israfil), and Israil (Ijrail), as well as others such as I Ra(h)man, I Katibin, I Lahir, Salahir, Makahir, Mokahir, and Slabir. Various prophets (*Nabi*) and caliphs are identified with places in the body and the summoning of power (*sakti*).[59]

This textual evidence and the practices of the *balian slam* illustrate how awareness of Islam has become part of what may be called "popular" religion in Bali. Given the small size of the island and its very high population density

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1960), p. 226. See also Jean-François Guermonprez, "Les Pande de Bali" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ecole des Hautes Etude en Sciences Sociales, 1984), pp. 153, 207, 240.

56. Suwitha, "Perahu Penisi," p. 189.

57. C. Hooykaas, "Islam in Bali," *Institute of Social Sciences, Seva-Bharati* 1 (1976): 57-59.

58. C. Hooykaas, *Cosmogony and Creation in Balinese Tradition* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1974).

59. Ibid., p. 99 and Hooykaas, "Islam in Bali," pp. 59-60. See also Barbara Lovric, "Bali: Myth, Magic and Morbidity," in *Death and Disease in Southeast Asia*, ed. Norman G. Owen (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 117-41, where various *mantra* are shown to link smallpox, Majapahit, Islam, and foreign kingdoms.

(even in precolonial times), it is hardly surprising that Islamic features are found in healing and other rituals in the island's inland areas. For example, one group of the Smith (Pandé) descent group in the mountains has come to revere an ancestral figure called I Ratu Gedé Mekah. The texts which are part of this group's tradition also refer to Gunung (Mount) Mekah, although the people who use them are not precisely sure of this mountain's location.[60]

Here, in the practices of the *balian slam* and the invocations of Islamic figures, formulæ, and names, Islam is the exotic, a foreign force, different from Balinese practices and potent because of this difference. This is a key idea in Balinese magic and ritual, where complementarity coexists with fundamental duality. Differences can be harnessed to attain magical liberation or control over natural and supernatural elements. Thus it is important that Islam remains different, but at the same time it is also the familiar, so familiar as to be counted as an element of the ancestral forces of some groups.

Krama Slam and Other Texts

The various elements of social background and magical-religious practices converge on a number of texts within the Balinese literary-artistic system. I have already mentioned narratives like the *Amad-Muhammad*, which are known both as poems and as plots for the classical *gambuh* dance-drama. These are stories which can be identified as coming to Bali from an "Islamic" literary sphere. They became well known throughout Bali, to the extent that audiences may not necessarily have seen them as having inherent "Islamic" characteristics, but instead have gained from them a sense of continuity between the Balinese and Javanese kingdoms and those depicted in the stories. Other texts, which address Islam in relation to Bali more directly, are called *Krama Slam*. These texts were probably less well known, and represent attempts by specific courts, priestly families, communities, or individuals to give philosophical coherence to widespread views on Islam.

Two separate texts calling themselves *Krama Slam*, each known so far only through a single manuscript, discuss the nature and customs of Islam. The first of them is a copy of a manuscript belonging to the collection of the late Gusti Putu Jelantik, former ruler of Bulèlèng, the MS having been copied in 1927 for C. C. Berg.[61] The original MS identifies its writer as "Sang Guru [Reverend Teacher] Kuturlikup" of Bañjar (Ward) Bagung, Gèlgèl, who wrote or copied the text in *saka* 1615, AD 1693. This text also has an alternative title of *Witaning Selam*, "The Origins of Islam." Its language differs from the *Kawi* or "Poetic" language used in other types of Balinese literature and is closer to that of Javanese texts, although the more usual forms of *Kawi* are designated as forms of "Old-" or "Middle-Javanese" by linguists from the Dutch tradition.

The *Krama Slam/Witaning Slam* is less a story of origins than a series of teaching about the basic principles of Islam, beginning with the teaching of God's (Allah's) creation of the world. The text deals with the meaning (*teges*) of different levels of belief (*yakin*--a Malay/Arabic word) and the nature of

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60. Guermonprez, "Les Pande de Bali," pp. 215, 241 n. 15.

61. Leiden University Library Oriental Manuscripts Section (LOr) Berg 63, copied from a MS belonging to I Gusti Putu Jelantik of Singaraja, copied for him by Gusti Ktut Lindu of Kloñjing, 27th August 1927. The major guide to the Leiden collection consulted was Th. Pigeaud's *Literature of Java*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1967-70).

the *iman* or believer. There is mention of the superiority of Islamic belief over the practices of "Siwa-Buddha" religion. Of particular interest are references to the teachings of Pangèran (a title sometimes translatable as "Prince") Bonang, and Susuhunaning ("The Supreme Lord of") Kudus, who may be identified with two of the famous Wali Sanga or "Nine Saints" who spread Islamic belief in Java and thence to other parts of the archipelago, the Saints of Bonang and Kudus. The importance of this reference to Pangèran Bonang comes not only because he, as the religious head of Demak, is associated, together with Sunan Giri, with the spread of Islam eastwards from Java,[62] but also because his name is linked with various Javanese mystical and didactic treatises in circulation during the seventeenth century.[63] Although this *Krama Slam* is not necessarily identifiable with any known versions of these treatises, it is quite possible that members of the Islamic community of Gèlgèl brought Javanese mystical texts to Bali in order to strengthen their Islamic religious practices, and this could be one of those. The Javanese language of the text, in combination with its abundant use of Arabic religious terms, suggests extensive prior knowledge of Javanese Islam by its readers.

This is not the case with the other text calling itself *Krama Slam*. This text, unfortunately undated and not traceable to any particular part of Bali,[64] addresses itself to an audience already familiar with Balinese religion, and seeks to explain many Islamic terms in a far more basic manner than the Gèlgèl text. There is some overlap between the terms discussed in the two texts, raising the possibility that the author of the second *Krama Slam* had access either to the first, or to other Islamic texts from the same didactic tradition. The second text refers to the use of various *kalimat* which are in the language of "Jawa," although whether this is Javanese or another language of the "Outside" world is hard to know.[65]

This second text traces the differences between the "people of Islam" (*bangsa I Slam*) and the "religion of Bali" (*igama Bali*) to the teachings studied by two brothers, I Wiradñana and I Wiracita, the sons of a *padanda* (*brahmana* high priest) and a Widyadari (heavenly nymph). The first of the brothers received instruction in the *Wéda* or ritual texts of the Balinese priesthood, the other in the *kitab Kor'an* and in healing. When meditating at Mount "Balèndu," I Wiracita received very detailed instructions in the practices and terminology of Islam from a "Padanda Resimuka." Although it appears from this that the aims of the text are combinatory, there is also a careful division of the spheres of Islam and "*Igama Bali*." Nowhere is this tension clearer than in the passage identifying Allah with Widhi, the Supreme Being of Balinese Hinduism, but which then goes on to warn against attention to the "*Déwa*," Gods, in the form of *mbérawa* or Tantric practice.[66]

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62. See C. Pelras, "Religion, Tradition and the Dynamics of Islamization in South Sulawesi," *Archipel* 29 (1985): 113.

63. G. W. J. Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari: A 16th Century Javanese Muslim Text Attributed to the Saint of Bonang Re-edited and Translated with an Introduction* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1969).

64. Gedong Kirtya (Singaraja) MS 793, transcribed for the Hooykaas-Sangka Project, no. 1801.

65. The reference to the language of "Jawa" comes in canto 5, stanza 2, whereas in c.6.14 there is mention of *Sastra 'Arab*, "Arabic literature."

66. Canto 6.15-17. Here the *déwa* or gods are called *brahala*, "idols," and the

The attention this text pays to religious teachings and the central role of *padanda* as sources of authority places it within the religious discourse of Balinese *brahmana*. The references to "Islam" as a *bangsa* or "nation"/"lineage"/"caste" belongs with the perpetuation of caste as an ideology by the *brahmana*, the foremost caste. This second *Krama Slam* has to be considered intertextually as part of a Balinese image of the *bangsa Slam* as a fifth caste. The idea of Muslims forming a caste below the four Balinese castes was important in maintaining Balinese rule over Lombok, where Muslim subjects outnumbered the Balinese rulers from Karangasem and their subjects.[67] The idea would also have been important on Bali in describing limits for Muslim communities there. The role of Islamic groups in trade and warfare meant that they were potentially capable of developing independent power bases. It was in the interests of many Balinese groups to describe Muslims as "low" in caste, therefore making it impossible to conceive of them replacing the "natural" rulers of Bali.

It is in keeping with *brahmana* visions of religious order to present an image of a kind of Islamic priesthood which ultimately owed its origins to Balinese priests. After all, in most treatises on caste and the stages of life, it is acknowledged that the other castes below the *brahmana*--the *satria*, *wésia*, and *sudra*--all have their respective forms of priesthood attained through levels of consecration which parallel the role of the *padanda* in the *brahmana* caste.[68] The priests of other castes usually have to be consecrated by a *padanda*, and do not have the right to replace the *padanda* in all forms of ceremony.

Further significance can be found in another feature of the second *Krama Slam* which echoes a common pattern in Balinese texts: the motif of two brothers who follow different paths of devotion or ways of life. This motif occurs in stories such as the *Bubuksah*, which explains the origins of "Siwa" and "Boda" priests as two separate types of *padanda* on Bali,[69] as well as in stories explaining the differences between the *padanda* and the Sengguhu priests, whose worship is directed towards the chthonic domain.[70]

A third version of the same motif is used to explain the origins of the two forms of Islam on Lombok, "syncretist" *wetu telu* Islam and "orthodox" *waktu lima*.[71] The Lombok connection reveals another textual response to Islam which

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earlier *Krama Slam* refers to *kapir*, "infidels," worshipping *brahala*. On *mabérawa* in Bali, see Lovric, "Art of Healing," p. 73.

67. W. Cool, *With the Dutch in the East* (London: Java Head Bookshop, 1934, trans. by E. J. Taylor of *De Lombok Expeditie* [The Hague: Kolff, 1896]), pp. 60-61 n.

68. See, for example, C. Hooykaas, *Surya Sevana: The Way to God of a Balinese Śiva Priest* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1966), p. 182.

69. W. H. Rassers, "Çiva en Buddha in den Indischen Archipel," *Gedenkschrift . . . van het 75-jaarig bestaan KITLV* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1926), pp. 222-53.

70. See C. Hooykaas, "The Balinese Sengguhu Priest, a Shaman, but not a Sufi, a Śaiva and a Vaiṣṇava," in *Malayan and Indonesian Studies, Essays Presented to Sir Richard Winstedt*, ed. J. Bastin and R. Roolvink (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 267-82.

71. S. Cederroth, *The Spell of the Ancestors and the Power of Mekkah* (Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1981), p. 180.

is less sympathetic than that of the second *Krama Slam*. This appears in the *Kebo Mundar* story, known under a variety of names virtually throughout Bali, which has been the subject of artistic representation by painters from Kamasan (Klungkung), Sanur (Badung), and Batuan (Gianyar). The story, at least in most versions relevant to Bali, deals with the origins of Islam up until the Islamization of Lombok. According to the story, the first person to bring Islam to Lombok was the descendant of a pig and a dog, the two animals most unclean in Islam. To compound the insult, the hero of the story, Kebo Mundar, is a trickster who introduces Islam through its association with healing, but with a significant twist. He is given a means of spreading disease by his heavenly sponsor, Batara Indra, which enables him to infect the various communities he wishes to convert. Kebo Mundar then cures these communities through circumcision, thus converting them. In one version of the story, the wearing of head-cloths and the use of *kris* with hilts resembling a circumcised penis are commemorations of the hero.[72]

Like the second version of the *Krama Slam*, the *Kebo Mundar* story refers to a common authority or governing power over Islam which is Hindu--in the former a *pandanda*, in the latter Indra. Indra's role in the *Kebo Mundar* story has a ready reference in Sasak *wetu telu* beliefs, where Batara Indra is the divine ancestor of Sasak aristocrats. The story also identifies the signs by which Muslims are known: circumcision, the wearing of head-cloths, and the use of a particular stylized form of *kris* hilt. This takes us back to the *Malat* story of the landing at Tuban discussed at the beginning of this article (above, p. 34), where the Malayu people are identified by head-cloths and other outward characteristics. Over the centuries conversion to Islam or "*masuk Melayu*" has meant many things, from the adoption of clothing styles to study of the Koran and the observance of religious feasts and prohibitions. The *Kebo Mundar* story identifies a core ritual idiom in conversion: circumcision. At the very least, Balinese could distinguish themselves from Muslims because they did not circumcise.

Sasak Islam

The Islam of the Sasak population of Lombok owes much to Javanese Islam in its various forms. There is a well-known tradition that the religion was brought to Lombok by Pangèran Prapèn, the son of Sunan Giri, in the sixteenth century.[73] This tradition would, on its own, explain the Javanese influence in Sasak culture, particularly the prominence of the North Coast "Pasisir" literature, or at least versions of Pasisir texts.[74] Yet other stories trace the origins of Sasak Islam to alternative sources. On the orthodox side there is a literary tradition that *waktu lima* Islam was associated with the Malays, who

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72. Cool, *With the Dutch*, pp. 59-61 n., a summary of an earlier article by van Eck. Could the "Mundar" of the hero's name be a form of "Mandar," the name of a group from Sulawesi?

73. De Graaf, "Lombok," pp. 356-58.

74. The most extensive discussions of varieties of "Pasisir" texts are found in R. M. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, *Menak: Beschrijving der Handschriften* (Bandung: Nix, 1940) and R. M. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, P. Voorhoeve, and C. Hooykaas, *Indonesische Handschriften* (Bandung: Nix, 1950).

are described as a great ship compared to which Lombok is a *prahu*.[75] More important is the tradition, well known amongst *brahmana* in Bali, that *wetu telu* Islam was brought to the Sasaks as the teachings of Nirartha or Dwijèndra, the ancestor of the Balinese *brahmana siwa*.[76] In one version of this, Nirartha assumed the guise of Pangèran Sangupati in Lombok to found Islam there, and of Tuan Seméru or Suméru in Sumbawa, where he spread similar teachings. In other versions, Pangèran Sangupati is a completely different person from Nirartha, but may have been a Sasak pupil of his.[77]

The names Tuan Suméru and Pangèran Sangupati are associated with a variety of texts ranging from magical incantations to Islamic mysticism to explanations of the teachings of Islam.[78] These texts occupy an important position in Sasak-Balinese literary traditions. Some of the *Pangèran Sangupati* texts explicitly deal with the different forms of Islam. One version talks about three different types of Islam: Islam "Jawa," Islam "Kudus," associated with the *kampung*, and Islam "Arab," associated with Sumbawa,[79] and it speaks of God as Yang Widhi rather than Allah. Some of the *Tuan Seméru* texts, on the other hand, seem more poetically obscure. They deal with such themes as the mystical experience of love in a similar manner to that employed in the mystical-erotic poetry known as *lelungid* on Bali.

Because the various *Tuan Seméru* and *Pangèran Sangupati* texts are interesting in themselves, they tend to divert attention from the fact that these names are as much used for collections of different texts in single manuscripts (*lontar*) as for what we would call individual works.[80] Some other works in these collec-

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75. De Graaf, "Lombok," pp. 356-58. The source mentioned here is a text called the *Pusaka Jatiswara*. On the association of Malays with Islam in Bima, Sumbawa, see H. Syamsuddin, "The Coming of Islam and the Role of the Malays as Middlemen on Bima," in *Papers of the Dutch-Indonesian Historical Conference . . . 1980*, ed. G. Schutte and H. Sutherland (Leiden: Bureau of Indonesian Studies, 1982), pp. 292-300.

76. De Graaf, "Lombok," pp. 356-58. Also discussed in Rubinstein, "Brahmana According to Their Babad."

77. Cederroth, *Spell of the Ancestors*, p. 32.

78. The various forms of these texts are discussed in Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, sections 16.800ff. and 22.700ff.

79. MS LOr 10.338, a copy of Gedong Kirtya MS 10.087 from Selong, East Lombok.

80. In this respect it is important that a number of MSS include the same texts in the same or similar order, for example LOr MSS 3895, 3920, and 3925 all consist of the *Cowak* (a Balinese poem in *tembang* or *geguritan* meters) followed by a poem in *tengahan* meters, a text called *Mulaning Pati*, which Pigeaud calls an "Islamic devotional poem," *Tuan Sméru*, then *Mpu Sadu*, a poem about an ascetic. LOr 3802 has all these except *Tuan Sméru*, and LOr 3640 has all of the texts except the poem in *tengahan* meters, which is replaced by a Balinese text about Islam. In LOr 5195 the *Mulaning Pati* is attributed to Tuan Seméru's authorship, along with another text called *Kembang Langit*; this same MS begins with the *Sangupati* version alternatively called *Suluk Ali-Patimah* or *Smaragama* (see also LOr MSS 3986, 3698, and 5090). For a discussion of the problem of codex as "work," see C. C. MacKnight, "The Concept of a 'Work' in Bugis Manuscripts," *RIMA* 18/2 (Summer 1984): 103-14.

tions would, by themselves, be considered standard Balinese compilations of incantations or mystical treatises without any specific reference to Islam. Others could be viewed as standard Javanese Islamic mysticism. Some of the *Tuan Seméru* MSS, for example, include the *Cowak*, which elsewhere appears as a separate Balinese didactic text with no ostensible mention of Islam. Inclusion of this with Islamic texts such as the *Mulaning Pati* and the *Tuan Seméru* may serve to make the *Cowak* and other texts Islamic. Some of the "Islamic" codices also include versions of texts which had an Islamic dimension added to them. This is the case with the *Smaragama*, a treatise on mysticism as it is related to love (*smara*). In codices where this text is included as part of *Tuan Seméru* collections, the otherwise Hindu treatise includes mention of Ali and Patimah (Fatimah), the son-in-law and daughter of the Prophet.[81]

These texts from the Lombok literary tradition incorporate not only Hinduism and Islam, but also Balinese and Javanese literary-artistic traditions. Many of them circulate independently on Bali.[82] Other narrative texts, for example the *Angling Darma* or *Aji Darma*, are known through versions coming from Java, Bali, and Lombok,[83] and are written either in the archaic *Kawi* language, or in a form of Modern Javanese, or in Balinese, or Sasak.

There is evidence that this synthesis of Javanese and Balinese traditions on Lombok was not an historical accident, but was actually fostered by the island's Balinese rulers. For example, many of the MSS of the texts which exemplify this tradition come from royal collections of the Karangasem rulers of Lombok,[84] and some of the late Karangasem rulers who married members of the Sasak aristocracy were known to have fostered Islamic learning even within their own courts.[85] Prior to this, however, probably at the beginning of the

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81. See previous note. Not all of the texts mentioned by Pigeaud (*Literature of Java*, section 16.800) as *Smaragama/Sangupati/Ali-Patimah* refer to Ali and Patimah. MS LOr 3698, called "Tuwan Sméru? en Kidoen Roemaksa ing Wengi" in a note by J. L. A. Brandes written on the front of the MS, begins with a *Smaragama* which does not mention these two. This MS has a colophon ("*punika sakalan ipun, paksa pandita prajña wong . . .*") probably equivalent to AD 1750.

82. One of the popular texts of Islamic magic known in different versions in Java and Lombok is the *Kidung Rumeksaing Wengi*, which is called *Aji Belias* on Bali. Gedong Kirtya MS 1185 is an example of this text from Panarukan, Bali. Many of the *Tuan Seméru* and other manuscripts now in Leiden were collected by H. N. van der Tuuk in the late nineteenth century, although it is impossible to say whether he acquired them in North Bali, where he resided, or Lombok.

83. G. W. J. Drewes, *The Romance of King Angling Darma in Javanese Literature* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1975). It is significant that the version of this text translated by Drewes is actually the *kidung* version found on Bali (in the "Middle-Javanese" form of *Kawi*).

84. LOr MSS 5060, 5195, 5205, 5261, 5280, 5309, 5315, and 5417, for example, all came originally from the Cakranagara palace of the Balinese rulers of Lombok. LOr 3121, which includes a *Kidung Rumeksaing Wengi*, was originally owned by Anak Agung Agung Gedé Ngurah, a member of the Karangasem dynasty.

85. The most famous example is the marriage of the last ruler of Lombok, Anak Agung Ktut Karangasem, to the Sasak princess Dinda Aminah, which led the king to foster Islamic teaching within his court, and even to sponsor pilgrimage to Mecca. See J. van Goor, "The Death of a Middleman; Scheming in the Margin of

eighteenth century, the houses of the Karangasem dynasty established their palaces in West Lombok following Javanese patterns. They named their centers of rule according to the names of Javanese kingdoms known through texts like the *Malat*: Mataram, Kediri, Gegelang, Jagaraga, Koripan, Pamotan, Pajang, Pagutan, Glogor, and so on.[86] This practice was continued in the palace of Cakranagara or Singasari, which became the main palace of the king of Lombok after its restoration in 1871. The palace extended the reference by including courtyards with names of "foreign" kingdoms such as Trengganu, Pulèmbang (Palèmbang), Batawi (Batavia), Mesir (Egypt), Stembul (Istambul), and even Majapahit and Bangsul (Bali).[87]

Paralleling the stories of a Balinese origin for Sasak Islam there are stories of Balinese origins for the form of shadow play known on Lombok, *wayang sasak*. This form of *wayang* has a strong resemblance to the Javanese *wayang gedog*, but does not involve the performance of Pañji stories as does *wayang gedog*, presenting instead narratives from the *Mènak* or *Amir Hamzah* cycle and other Islamic narratives.[88] The resemblance to *wayang gedog* is possibly explained by stories which link the coming of Islam to Lombok with that of the *wayang sasak*, both brought by Pangèran Sangupati. Yet other Balinese traditions record *wayang sasak* coming to Lombok via Bali. In one version of these stories, Pangèran Pati and his brother Mas Wilis bring two sets of Javanese *wayang gedog* from Blambangan to Mengwi. One of these sets becomes the Balinese *wayang gambuh*, used to narrate Balinese Pañji tales such as the *Malat*, while the other is taken to Lombok to become *wayang sasak*.[89] This tale accounts for the strong stylistic resemblance between the two types of *wayang* and the *wayang gedog*, and shows why in recent memory more practitioners of *wayang sasak* have lived in the Balinese area of West Lombok and in Karangasem than in East Lombok, and why even a famous *brahmana* high priest from Bodakling in Karangasem was a *dalang* (puppeteer) of *wayang sasak*.[90]

Royal Perspectives

It is difficult to know how much of the Balinese "Javanization" of Lombok was the result of a coherent policy carried out by Balinese kings, and how much

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the Dutch East Indies," in *Papers of the Dutch-Indonesian Historical Conference*, pp. 223-49. A longer version of this paper is found as "Said Abdullah, Politicus in de Marge van het Imperium," in J. van Goor, *Koopleiden, Predikanten en Bestuurders Overzee* (Utrecht: Hes, 1982), pp. 58-108.

86. Further discussed in my "The Desiring Prince: A Study of the Kidung Malat as Text" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Sydney, 1986), pp. 285-86.

87. Cool, *With the Dutch*, pp. 114-15.

88. One of the few published discussions of *wayang sasak* is found in Günter Spitzing, *Das Indonesische Schattenspiel* (Köln: DuMont, 1981), pp. 175-206.

89. This story was related to me by the wife of the late *dalang* (puppeteer) of *wayang gambuh* from Blahbatuh, who claimed descent from a follower of Pangèran Pati, which she said was evidenced by the fact that the family still worships at Pura Sèsèh, Tabanan, the temple which commemorates the murder of this Blambangan prince. For an alternative version of the origins of *wayang gambuh* and *wayang sasak*, see H. I. R. Hinzler, *Bima Swarga in Balinese Wayang* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1981), pp. 30-33.

90. Ibid.

the diverse accounts of it are retrospective explanations to legitimize the Balinese presence on Lombok in the face of potential revolt from Sasak subjects. Nevertheless, the pattern of relations between Muslims and Balinese on Lombok does accord with that on Bali. The chief difference is that on Bali Muslims were in the minority, while on Lombok they formed the majority of the Balinese ruler's subjects. This difference could have been viewed from two possible perspectives. One possibility is that, if Balinese saw themselves as an isolated group of Hindus in a religiously hostile region, then their hegemony over Lombok could have been seen in terms of accommodating Balinese culture to an antagonistic environment. The other, and to my mind more likely possibility, is that Islam was not the "outside" to be contrasted with a Hinduism "inside" Balinese culture. From the evidence of the *Malat* and other facets of Balinese views of ethnicity, I would argue rather that both Hinduism and Islam were idioms practiced within the same cultural sphere, and that this sphere was based on Javanese civilization which went back to Majapahit and Kediri.

The majority of the historical and literary-artistic material discussed above can be most directly attributed to Balinese rulers and priests. We know that Balinese rulers were not interested in incorporating Muslims into their states through assimilation. Hence the complaint made by Balinese Muslims to the Englishman, Crawfurd, during his 1814 visit to the island:

> Some of the Mahomedans themselves gave me to understand, that the protection of some of the native princes was carried to a still greater length, some going so far as to insist with their Mahomedan subjects upon a more punctual performance of the duties of their religion, than was suited to the lukewarm devotion of many of them.[91]

Here the rulers were clearly interested in emphasizing Islam as different and exotic. The Muslim subjects were collectibles like the unusual animals, dwarves, albinos, and Europeans that the Balinese rajas were keen to incorporate into their courts. For rulers, as well as priests and musicians, greater power came from harnessing a greater range of differences. Islam was, from the rajas' point of view, another aspect of the macrocosm to be incorporated into the court, so that it could be an expression of the kingdom which was the world.[92] Islamic communities were assigned trading and mercenary roles because these activities were considered part of the idiom of Islam. Through an ambiguous relationship with Islam, Bali was connected with the rest of the world.

The rulers' attitudes to Islam involved a certain amount of conscious manipulation of signs, textual and otherwise. With the exception of the Balinese rulers of Lombok, little is known about how such signs may have been used, displayed, or interpreted in state rituals, and whether such rituals offered

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91. Quoted in Korn, *Het Adatrecht*, p. 63.

92. See Vickers, "Ritual and Representation." It is significant that traditional ways of representing Chinese, Muslims, and Europeans seem to have had much in common. Balinese kings also had Malay scribes, for example, Abdul Balin, scribe to the Dêwa Agung of Klungkung, whom Huskus Koopman met in 1840 ("Dagverhaal . . ."), and Arya Nur Alam, who, according to Mulyono et al., *Sejarah Masuknya Islam*, pp. 27-28, was scribe to the ruler of Tabanan in the early nineteenth century. Tjiptoatmodjo, *Kota-Kota Pantai*, p. 453 n. 34, seems to contradict the story presented by Mulyono et al. that Arya Nur Alam was the first to bring Islam to Tabanan when he cites the autobiography of the famous Javanese poet Ranggawarsito, who claims to have studied in Tabanan with Kiayi Ajar Sidalaku in the early nineteenth century.

views of Islam alternative to those found in texts. This seems unlikely for a number of reasons. First, from the shrines and temple objects found in some parts of Bali it appears that ritual harnessing of differences was similar in kind to textual harnessing of differences. Second, texts form the prescriptive patterns for ritual: they provide descriptions and analogies of ritual processes, and sets of signs to be performed (in sung or theatrical form) during rituals. Texts in Bali, then, constitute some of the multiple voices of ritual.

Such an understanding of texts and rituals has a number of implications for other groups in Balinese society. Some of the material discussed above indicates that the group most eager to assert its ritual and doctrinal superiority over Islamic beliefs and practices was the *brahmana*, especially the high priests. *Brahmana* views of Islam were incorporative and oppositional. Including Islamic figures, names, or objects within the sphere of Balinese religion enabled the *brahmana* to demonstrate that their sphere of influence was truly macrocosmic. In rituals the *padanda* could demonstrate that their own forms of *mantra*, gestures, and ceremonial manipulations of elements of the world were the paramount form of Balinese idiom, the "core" of Balinese identity. This oppositional view was not necessarily accepted at all levels of Balinese society, but it was an assertion to be made for the benefit of kings and subjects.

Most Balinese subjects signaled their acceptance of this assertion by using *padanda* in their village and domestic rituals and receiving the holy water of these *brahmana* priests. The use of *mantra* containing Islamic elements and of Islamic ritual objects and shrines by commoners could then be seen as one of the many forms of imitation of royal priestly practice which ensured that kings and *padanda* held a central position in Balinese society. The widespread knowledge of "Islamic" stories could be seen in the same light. However the issue has something of a "chicken-and-egg" quality. Instead of commoners imitating kings and priests by incorporating Islamic idioms into their practice, kings and priests may have needed to incorporate Islamic elements into their rituals and texts in order to keep abreast of commoners, who were adopting features of Islam to assert their difference from priests and kings. Balinese kings issued decrees restricting marriage between Muslims and other Balinese subjects because such marriages were relatively frequent and were not frowned upon by the majority of the community.[93] Balinese subjects marrying Muslims and adopting aspects of Islam could enter into relationships with non-Balinese groups or rulers without having to go through Balinese kings. To guard themselves against such a danger Balinese kings needed to demonstrate an exemplary form of relationship with the rest of the world; Balinese *brahmana* priests needed to exert their exemplary ritual difference for the same reasons.

Islamic Attitudes to Bali

Crawfurd's accusation that Balinese Muslims were "lukewarm" in their devotions was part of a more general Orientalist perception of Indonesian Muslims as "nominal." Seizing upon examples of "syncretic" or ostensibly Hindu-Buddhist teachings even in the more famous *pesantrèn* of early nineteenth-century Java, colonial scholars lamented the absence of the kind of "pure" Islam which could match their own idea of how Christianity was practiced.[94] Although the trends

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93. Suwitha, "Perahu Penisi," pp. 122-24, 187.

94. Day, "Islam and Literature," p. 134. See also K. Steenbrink, "Priests,

within Islam variously called modernism, revivalism, and fundamentalism tend to confirm this image of Indonesian Islam from another stance, the practice of Muslims in the archipelago was no less Islamic for all its alleged syncretism and heterodoxy.

The Central Javanese kingdoms were very interested in their Hindu "Boda" past, and this interest was manifested in collections of ancient Hindu-Buddhist sculpture kept in the courts. The presence of Sepoys in Central Java in the early nineteenth century may have revived some of this interest, although at least one commentator "suspects that Islam was a more powerful influence in the life of the court in the seventeenth century than in the eighteenth."[95] This earlier Muslim strength may have been the result of political competition with the Islamic powers of the north coast in the seventeenth century, a kind of rivalry for the attributes of superior spiritual purity cognate with political influence.[96] Later texts mix Yusup (Joseph) and Wisnu as models of kingship, and even eighteenth-century texts which ostensibly aimed at promoting orthodoxy are really more concerned with the maintenance of a royal social order than with strict adherence to one set of teachings.[97]

Islamic rulers on Java were not averse to accepting help from Balinese kings, as was also the case with the rulers of Madura.[98] This is true as well of Dipanagara, whose rebellion in the early nineteenth century was considered to have Islamic overtones.[99] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Central Javanese rulers employed bands of Balinese as corps of palace guards, many of whom were converts to Islam, for example Surapati and his followers.[100] Even so, these Balinese condottiere maintained signs of Balinese identity in the form of costume and *kris* styles. Similarly the Balinese community of Angké in Batavia used elements of Balinese, Chinese, and Islamic art and architecture in their famous mosque (founded in 1761) to signal their ethnic identity.[101]

It seems likely that the Javanese rulers responded positively to Balinese because they, like the Balinese rulers, regarded Majapahit and its predecessors as the basis of their culture. The *Babad Wilis*, a Javanese narrative concerning the events in eighteenth-century Blambangan, describes the king of Mengwi as a friend of the *wong slam* because he was a descendant of Gajah Mada, the famous

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Popes and Penghulu's: A Review of Dutch Names for Indonesian Muslim Leaders," in *Papers of the Dutch-Indonesian Historical Conference*, pp. 85-97.

95. M. C. Ricklefs, "Six Centuries of Islamization in Java," in *Conversion to Islam*, ed. N. Levitzion (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979), p. 107. On the presence of the Sepoys in Central Java, see Peter Carey, "The Sepoy Conspiracy of 1815 in Java," *BTLV* 133 (1977): 300-303.

96. Ricklefs, "Six Centuries of Islamization," pp. 109-10.

97. Day, "Islam and Literature," pp. 144-48.

98. See above n. 48.

99. Peter Carey, *Babad Dipanagara: An Account of the Outbreak of the Java War (1825-30)* (Kuala Lumpur: Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1981), p. 250 n. 58.

100. Ann Kumar, *Surapati: Man and Legend* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), pp. 55, 332, 376.

101. Denys Lombard, "A Travers le Vieux Djakarta (1) La Mosquée des Balinais," *Archipel* 3 (1972): 97-101.

prime minister of Majapahit.[102] Religion here is not a fundamental difference so much as Majapahit is a point of fundamental identity.

Trunajaya, the Muslim Madurese prince who played a major role in seventeenth-century Javanese politics, in his last testament shows that Islamic Javanese used Majapahit as a point of reference. In this last letter to Amangkurat II, ruler of Mataram, Trunajaya urged the king to take his court to Majapahit, "so the whole island of Java may know that Your Highness has established his court there."[103] On two occasions in the eighteenth century the Balinese rulers of Klungkung, Mengwi, and Tabanan, acting in conjunction with their vassals in Blambangan and the Hindu priests of the Tengger region, attempted to do exactly the same thing. They organized abortive expeditions to the site of Majapahit's capital in order to restore it, and hence symbolically to display their importance within the political world of Majapahit culture.[104]

Although few data exist on Malay attitudes towards Bali comparable with the Javanese textual and historical information, the role that Majapahit played in Malay culture shows that Balinese, Javanese, and Malay ideas of civilization and ethnicity share vital common features.

The picture of Majapahit which emerges from various major Malay texts has already been discussed by Supomo.[105] Such texts as the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* and the *Sejarah Melayu* depict Majapahit as a great empire redolent with prestige and wealth. The famous *Hikayat Hang Tuah* is largely about the greatness of the kingdom of Malaka, which it describes as the central kingdom of "Melayu" or "Tanah Melayu" (which includes Inderapura, Trengganu, and Brunai). In this text Majapahit, the central kingdom of Java, is the other great kingdom of the world of "Nusantara" (the archipelago). The relationship between Malaka and Majapahit--Melayu and Jawa--is a key dramatic issue in the text, which nevertheless recognizes three other important powers whose influence is relevant to the Malaka-Majapahit relationship: Cina, Keling (India), and Rum (Turkey/Byzantium), and a fourth "outside" power which is the Portuguese (Feringgi).[106]

Perhaps the greatest testimony to the importance of Majapahit and Jawa to the cultural sphere usually known as the "Malay World" is the distribution throughout Southeast Asia of narratives with a Pañji theme. Pañji stories are found from Burma to Sulawesi, Thailand to Lombok, and what ties them together is a common reference to the kingdoms of Java.[107] Many Malay Pañji texts emphasize their links with Java through authorial notes which attribute Javanese origins to the narratives.[108] Malay manuscript collections, such as the one

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102. Arifin, *Babad Wilis*, canto 7.5-7.

103. Ricklefs, "Six Centuries of Islamization," p. 110.

104. Schulte Nordholt, *Bali: Colonial Conceptions*, p. 14 and n. 14, refers to archival material summarized by H. de Graaf in box 8 of the de Graaf Collection, archive of the KITLV, Leiden.

105. S. Supomo, "The Image of Majapahit in Later Javanese and Indonesian Writing," in *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, pp. 174, 177-79.

106. Sulastin Sutrisno, *Hikayat Hang Tuah: Analisa Struktur dan Fungsi* (Yogyakarta: Universitas Gajah Mada Press, 1983), pp. 177-80.

107. R. M. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, *Pandji-Verhalen Onderling Vergeleken* (Bandung: Nix, 1940).

108. For example *Hikayat Andaken Penurut*, ed. and trans. S. O. Robson (The

formerly belonging to the Sultan of Palèmbang, highlight the complexities of Malay culture by mixing Malay treatises on Islamic doctrine with the rich Javanese air of Pañji poems.[109] Along with the Pañji tales went Javanese styles of shadow puppets, dance, and weaponry in the form of the *kris* with its various types of hilt.[110] All these Javanese elements became firmly embedded in Malay culture and spread beyond its political boundaries to the cultural world of Thailand.

For some commentators the figure of Pañji has come to represent a peculiarly Islamic type of hero.[111] Since on Java Pañji representations predate Islam, and since on Bali the *Malat*, a Pañji story, occupied an important place in art and literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is easy to dismiss this view as mistaken.[112] Nevertheless, the multiplicity, popularity, and stature of Pañji stories are not negated by the fact that they also exist in Bali and pre-Islamic Java. The problem is one created not by the Pañji stories, but by the definitions of Islam and Islamic culture which surround them. In recent reassessments of Islam and Malay culture alternative propositions have been raised which help explain to some degree how Bali could have formed part of an archipelago-wide culture.

The "weakness" of Islamic institutions in Southeast Asia, particularly of Islamic law as a cohesive judicial system, was something perceived by colonial scholars and converted into an analytical dichotomy between Islam and *adat* or customary law. This perception has constrained any discussion of whether Islam formed either a social system or a culture or civilization in Southeast Asia. A number of scholars, however, have recently argued against using the Islam-*adat* dichotomy as an analytic starting point. In Roy Ellen's view Islam should be seen as an idiom of practice, by which he means that it should be studied as a way of understanding social action through the employment of symbols and their relations in social experience. In this sense it is not crucial to the discussion of Islam in Southeast Asia that the religion "in traditional Malay states was partial, idiomatic and syncretic," but important that "under certain conditions the role of Islam in the state became more central."[113] What Ellen is saying, in part, is that Islam does not constitute the essence of the pre-colonial (or colonial) Malaysian-Indonesian region, since it provided neither a comprehensive social structure nor a self-complete culture.

By talking about the "Malay World" in a broader sense, one that takes into account the presence of Malays and Malay cultural influences in Sumatra, Sula-

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Hague: Nijhoff, 1969), pp. 12-16.

109. See G. W. J. Drewes, *Directions for Travelers on the Mystic Path* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1969), pp. 12-16.

110. For instance, Malay courts in Kalimantan sponsored Javanese *topèng* performance. For examples of the type of *kris* hilt found in various forms of stylization on the North Coast of Java, South Sulawesi, Sumatra, and the Malay peninsula, see G. and B. Solyom, *The World of the Javanese Kris* (Honolulu: East-West Center, 1978), ill. 95 and 96, and J. Engel, *Krisgreppen* (Amsterdam: Samurai Wapenshandel, 1981), pp. 43, 88-94, 97-98.

111. Day, "Islamic Literature," p. 158, commenting on analysis by James Peacock.

112. Poerbatjaraka, *Pandji-Verhalen*, and Vickers, "The Desiring Prince."

113. Roy F. Ellen, "Social Theory, Ethnography and the Understanding of Practical Islam in South-East Asia," in *Islam in South-East Asia*, ed. Hooker, p. 74.

wesi, and Nusa Tenggara, scholars have side-stepped the question of whether there was a general "Islamized" culture of the region, and substituted for it a general "Malay" culture. There are a number of problems with this. First, recent work has shown that it is difficult to speak of a "Malay World" constituted by political institutions, since some of those institutions taken to be central to Malay political culture do not exist in the same form in some so-called "Malay" states.[114] This problem is related to a second objection, which is that, while courts and kingdoms from Aceh to Bima used Malay as a language of literature, administration, and religion, they also had other languages which they could employ for the same functions, including, in many cases, Javanese. Palèmbang may have been a "Malay" kingdom in Sumatra, but it could equally have been called a "Javanese" culture on similar grounds to those on which its "Malay"-ness is based.

Neither of these objections means that some kind of common culture did not exist in the region in precolonial times. The weight of historical research makes the picture of a cosmopolitan milieu undeniable. From early times there was a great circulation of trade goods, people, and cultural forms and objects throughout the area, which was only exacerbated by later events, such as the fall of Malaka which led to the movement of Malay princes, or the fall of Makassar with the consequent migrations of groups from South Sulawesi to as far away as Thailand. History has shown that political events in one state of this polyglot, cosmopolitan world had implications for many others. Thus it is possible to talk in terms of historical developments which characterize the region as a whole.[115] Denys Lombard has proposed that the culture of the region, if we take culture in its narrower sense of literary and artistic forms, could be termed a "Pasisir" (Coastal) culture, utilizing the name hitherto given to the literary culture of Java's north coast.[116] Although the term requires further investigation, it does draw attention to the intimate relationship between the cultural forms and the social worlds in which they circulated. If we are to engage in the "substantive analysis of particular social formations," as Ellen urges,[117] then it is necessary to have some mechanism for demonstrating the possibility of wider relationships between these particular social formations.

The major barrier to locating Bali within a "Pasisir" civilization is to think of the Pasisir world as essentially Islamic, and Bali as essentially Hindu. The picture changes dramatically when viewed from the standpoint of texts instead of religion. The texts are products of historical interaction within a civilization, and they are produced in order to pattern participation in that culture. Pañji narratives like the *Malat* are the most widespread manifestation of Pasisir culture. By following the trail which leads from

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114. Jane Drakard, "Ideological Adaptation on a Malay Frontier," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 17/1 (1986): 39-57.

115. Ito and Reid, "From Harbour Autocracies to 'Feudal' Diffusion," and the essays collected in *Slavery, Bondage and Dependence in Southeast Asia*, ed. A. Reid with Jennifer Brewster (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983), exemplify attempts by historians to elicit Southeast Asia-wide trends in history.

116. Denys Lombard, "Réflexions sur le Concept de 'Pasisir' et sur son Utilité pour l'Etude des Litteratures," in *Cultural Contact and Textual Interpretation*, ed. Grijns and Robson, pp. 19-24.

117. Ellen, "Social Theory, Ethnography," p. 91.

studies of individual Pañji texts and related artistic forms, it is possible to use positive aspects of earlier textual scholarship to displace an Orientalist tendency to separate Bali from the rest of the archipelago.

Texts, like archives and ethnographic fieldwork, cannot form a total description of how Bali was historically constituted, they can only ever offer partial perceptions. Texts do enable scholars to ask different questions about how people see themselves and others. In this case they make it possible to ask what cultural practices were available in political and economic relations between kingdoms and islands and how cultural forms and elements of identity could be used in different interests. Contextualizing Balinese cultural practices within the Indonesian-Malaysian region extends the field of research, so that events of Balinese history have to be seen in terms of patterns of regional history and social interaction.