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# A PUPUTAN TALE: "THE STORY OF A PREGNANT WOMAN"\*

Helen Creese

## Introduction

On September 20, 1906, Dutch armed forces launched their final offensive against the remaining independent kingdoms of South Bali. By late afternoon the royal families of both of Badung's ruling houses—the senior house, Puri Denpasar, led by Cokorda Ngurah Made Pamecutan, and Puri Pamecutan, under the leadership of the ailing Cokorda Agung Pamecutan—had been annihilated.<sup>1</sup> Dressed in ceremonial white and brandishing their *kris*, the rulers, together with hundreds of their followers—men, women, and children—walked directly into the Dutch fire and fell in a hail of bullets. This ceremonial ritual of death is known as *puputan*, or "ending." On April 28, 1908, a second *puputan* in Klungkung, the last bastion of the Balinese precolonial order, marked the end of Balinese independence and brought the whole island under colonial domination.

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<sup>1</sup> Discussions of the *puputan* are found in most studies of Bali dealing with this period; a number of these studies are cited in the following footnotes. The most comprehensive, modern historical overview of the sequence of events, drawn largely from Dutch sources, is Anak Agung Gde Agung, *Bali Pada Abad XIX: Perjuangan Rakyat dan Raja-Raja Menentang Kolonialisme Belanda 1808–1908* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1989), pp. 499–654.

The conflict's immediate trigger was a dispute over traditional Balinese salvage rights (*tawan karang*) to vessels wrecked off the Balinese coast, a custom that had been a point of contention between the Balinese and the Dutch since the mid-nineteenth century. The wider context, however, was the Dutch hard-line approach at the turn of the century to colonial imperial expansion in the outer islands, coupled with the implementation of the Ethical Policy. The latter, introduced in 1901, provided the Dutch with a moral imperative in their civilizing mission to take stern measures to suppress slavery, to wipe out despotic and arbitrary rule, and, in the case of Bali, to bring to an end cultural practices regarded as abhorrent, such as widow burning (*sati*).

Two events in close succession brought matters to a head. The first was the *sati*-deaths of two women at the cremation of the Tabanan ruler on October 25, 1903, in spite of vehement opposition by local Dutch officials. Then, a schooner ran aground at Sanur on May 27, 1904. The owner, Kwee Tek Tjiang, a Chinese merchant from Banjarmasin, demanded compensation of 3,000 *ringgit* (Dfl 7,500) for goods he claimed had been plundered by the Balinese. After considerable debate over whether the Balinese rulers of Badung were in breach of clause 11 (concerning salvage) of the treaty of July 13, 1849, the Dutch officials decided to recover the costs of the merchant's claim from the Badung king. When Cokorda Ngurah Made refused to pay, the Dutch imposed a blockade. Ongoing demands for compensation were met with obdurate refusal. An ultimatum was delivered on July 17, 1906. Again the ruler refused to pay, and the decision was made in Batavia to launch the fifth military expedition against the Balinese. The inevitable defeat of the Balinese kingdoms followed swiftly. On September 14, Dutch troops landed at Sanur. Just over a week later the Badung *puputan*, in which hundreds died,<sup>2</sup> took place.

In 1977, seventy-one years after the event, as part of the *puputan* commemorations for that year, the Balinese daily newspaper, the *Bali Post*, published "The Story of a Pregnant Woman" (Ceritra Seorang Wanita Hamil Muda) under the heading "About the Puputan Badung" (Tentang Puputan Badung). This account, which appeared in seven installments between September 19 and 26, 1977, and was accompanied by a number of archival photographs,<sup>3</sup> was written by Anak Agung Sagung Putri Agung Kapandyan, from Puri Anom Kajanan, one of the sub-branches of the Badung royal family. In her account, the *puputan* and the days leading up to the final battle were related largely through the experiences of a *puputan* survivor named Jero Nyoman Nuraga, the pregnant woman of the title. This narrative is translated below.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to determine exact figures. The official death toll was 400, although it is estimated that over 1,100 people died during the Badung *puputan*. The 1,100 figure comes from the diary of one of the Balinese interpreters who accompanied the expeditionary forces. See I Gusti Putu Djlantik, "Catatan Harian Perang Badung 1906" (Singaraja: typescript 1980 [1906]). His entry for September 20, 1906, notes: "The body count at Puri Denpasar was about 800 men and women and at Pamecutan about 300." See also Henk Schulte Nordholt, *The Spell of Power: A History of Balinese Politics* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996), p. 214. In his poem, *Bhuwanawinasa* (KITLV Collection V. E. Korn, Or 435 no. 270), Pedanda Ngurah puts the figure at 3,600 casualties and authenticates this figure by noting (Canto 8.4) that: "the one who estimated it was the Tuan Besar and what was reported has been put in writing." The Djlantik diary and the text and Indonesian translation of the sections of the *Bhuwanawinasa* dealing with the *puputan* (Cantos 5.14-8.3) have been reproduced in Helen Creese, I Nyoman Darma Putra, and Henk Schulte Nordholt, eds., *Seabad Puputan Badung: Perspektif Belanda dan Bali* (Denpasar: KITLV-Jakarta, Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Udayana, Pustaka Larasan, 2006), pp. 81-83 and 125-164.

<sup>3</sup> The first three installments appeared prominently on page one. From September 22, the story moved to page two. At the time, the *Bali Post* typically comprised only four to six pages per edition. There was no Sunday edition. The Indonesian text is included in Creese et al., *Seabad Puputan Badung*, pp. 165-186.



**Dutch troops land at Sanur, September 14, 1906.  
(KITLV Collection, Leiden. Photo 10056)**

The story of the *puputan* has been told many times. The carnage was widely reported at the time in the Dutch and Indies press to a public shocked by the futile heroism of this fight to the death and especially by the involvement of women and children.<sup>4</sup> Eyewitness accounts, many incorporating a range of photographs and illustrations, soon appeared; the military and other official reports were duly published.<sup>5</sup> Coverage in contemporary periodicals varied widely. For example, in a series of weekly illustrated reports published between September 16 and December 16, 1906, the Surabaya-based *Weekblad voor Indië* adopted a tone of lofty imperialism that focused on Dutch military might and the futility of Balinese heroism. Its pictorial and textual materials were provided by a number of largely anonymous “correspondents,” who were members of the expeditionary force. One of the earliest of these shocked eyewitness accounts appeared in the *Weekblad* on November 4, 1906.<sup>6</sup> Written by a Dutch soldier, Ceës, it carried the title “Poepotan” [sic], which was explained in a footnote as “a Balinese lance attack to the death,” perhaps one of the earliest designations of these events by the term *puputan*. In the accompanying illustration, a chaotic crowd of defenseless Balinese, hands thrown up in the air, were depicted falling before the rifle-fire of Dutch infantry officers drawn up in orderly formation.

<sup>4</sup> Agung summarizes some of the reactions in the Indies daily press at the time (*Bali Pada Abad XIX*, pp. 623–64).

<sup>5</sup> The military reports were published in 1910. See C. H. van Rietschoten, “Algemeen Verslag van de Chef de Staf der Expeditie naar Bali, 1906,” *Indisch Militair Tijdschrift* (Extra Bijlage no. 27, 1910), pp. 1–139.

<sup>6</sup> *Weekblad voor Indië*, Vol 3, No 28 (November 4, 1906), pp. 612–13. The illustration and an Indonesian translation of this report are included in Creese, et al., *Seabad Puputan Badung*.

While the *Weekblad* reports were lavishly illustrated with drawings and photographs provided by some of those present as the *puputan*'s events unfolded, the same was not true for all periodicals. One striking early image, an entirely fabricated depiction in French revolutionary style, appeared soon after the end of the campaign in the French weekly magazine *Le Petit Journal*, on October 14, 1906.<sup>7</sup> The editors of the bi-monthly periodical *Bintang Hindia* reflected prophetically on the human tragedy of the potential loss of life on both sides, even before the first shot was fired.<sup>8</sup> Then, until early 1907, when it ceased publication, *Bintang Hindia* ran a series of largely ethnographic articles on Balinese history and culture, but provided no coverage of the actual events of the *puputan* or its aftermath, perhaps because of the magazine's European base in the Hague and the lack of immediate, direct access to eyewitness accounts and illustrative material.<sup>9</sup>

The most detailed Dutch eyewitness account was that of H. M. van Weede, whose day-by-day description of the campaign appeared in 1908—comprising over one hundred pages and incorporating many of the author's own photos.<sup>10</sup> A precursor to the modern embedded journalist, van Weede accompanied the expeditionary forces to Bali, following their every movement even onto the battlefield. Van Weede was an avid photographer, and his many photos make up the main pictorial record of the *puputan*. These photographs, a number of which are reproduced here, now form part of KITLV's historical documentation collection in Leiden.

Fictionalized interpretations of the *puputan* story, in a variety of genres (including poetry, short stories, plays, and television dramas) also abound, both in Bali and in the West. The earliest known Balinese literary account of the *puputan* is found in the *gaguritan* poem *Bhuwanawinasa* (Destruction of the World), composed by Pedanda Ngurah, between 1906 and 1918.<sup>11</sup> Later notable Indonesian representations include the *gaguritan* poem, *Puputan Badung*, written by Anak Agung Alit Konta in 1977, which will be discussed in more detail below,<sup>12</sup> the early Indonesian nationalist short story by Darmawidjaja, "Puputan: Kisah Sedjarah Djatuhnja Keradjaan Badung" (Puputan: The History of the Fall of the Kingdom of Badung),<sup>13</sup> and the *sinetron* (telemovie) *Gegernya Smarapura* (Uproar in Smarapura), which portrays the second major *puputan* that took place in Klungkung two years later in 1908.<sup>14</sup> Western depictions include Vicki Baum's *A Tale from Bali*, published in English in 1937,<sup>15</sup> and Graham Sheil's *Bali: Adat*.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>7</sup> It was reproduced in *Weekblad*, Vol. 3, No. 34 (December 16, 1906) and more recently in full color in Michel Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture* (Singapore: Archipelago Press, 1996), plate i.

<sup>8</sup> *Bintang Hindia*, September 15, 1906, p. 138.

<sup>9</sup> This lack of informed commentary on the *puputan* was in marked contrast to the journal's detailed illustrated coverage of the recently ended Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905).

<sup>10</sup> H. M. van Weede, *Indische Reisherinneringen* (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1908), pp. 403-518.

<sup>11</sup> *Gaguritan* is a form of Balinese metrical poetry. The final version of the *Bhuwanawinasa*, which covers the period from the 1880s to 1917, was completed in 1918, but an earlier colophon, dated 4 December 1906 (Canto 8.3), suggests the sections dealing specifically with the Badung *puputan*, comprising 159 stanzas, or approximately half the total text, may have been composed soon after the war.

<sup>12</sup> Anak Agung Alit Konta, *Puputan Badung*, first edition (Denpasar: Bandana Pralaya, 1977).

<sup>13</sup> Darmawidjaja, "Puputan (Kisah Sedjarah Djatuhnja Keradjaan Badung)," in *Almanak Nasional 1956*, ed. Andjar Asmara and Abdul Gaban (Jakarta: Gapura, 1956), pp. 352-70.

<sup>14</sup> Directed by Kadek Suardana (Denpasar: Pemda Tingkat II Klungkung/TVRI, 1992; re-edited version, 1995).

<sup>15</sup> Vicki Baum, *A Tale from Bali* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1973).

Of all these accounts and retellings, the most important narrative for our purposes is the story of Jero Nyoman Nuraga, retold by her niece and granddaughter-in-law, Putri Kapandyan, as “The Story of a Pregnant Woman.”



**Jero Nyoman Nuraga, toward the end of her life.**  
(Photo courtesy A. A. S Putri Kapandyan)

### The Story behind the Story

“The Story of a Pregnant Woman”<sup>17</sup> is unique for its focus on the concerns and experiences of ordinary Balinese women. The pregnancy reflected in the title is significant in this narrative because it provides a direct link from the main protagonist, Jero Nyoman Nuraga, via her unborn child, Anak Agung Biang Anom, to the author, Putri Kapandyan. Jero Nyoman Nuraga was born in Penarungan, in Mengwi, and was taken to Puri Denpasar as a child after Badung’s victory in 1891 over Mengwi. She later became the third wife of Anak Agung Alit Badra, the son of the former ruler of Badung, Cokorda Alit Ngurah Pamecutan (r. 1890–c.1902), and Jero Siulan (from Banjar Lelangon, a minor wife).<sup>18</sup> As the story makes clear, Jero Nyoman Nuraga’s husband was close to

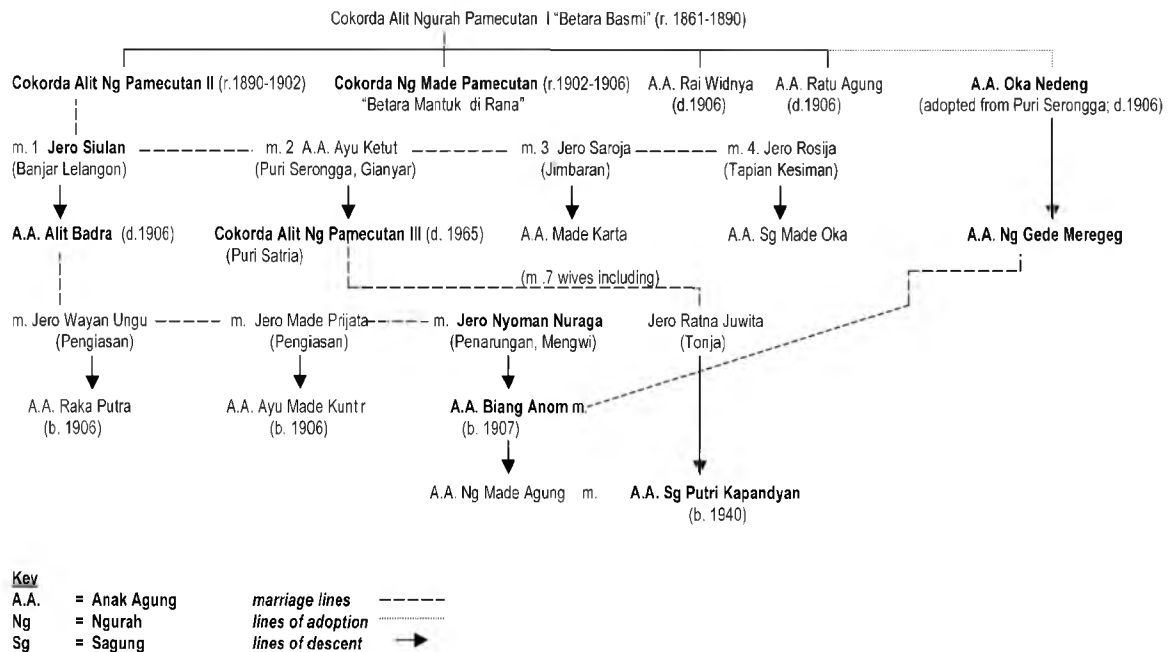
<sup>16</sup> Graham Sheil, *Bali: Adat* [with Indonesian text translated by Indrawati Zifirdaus] (Sydney: Currency Press, 1991).

<sup>17</sup> The Indonesian expression *hamil muda* of the title refers to the first two trimesters of pregnancy.

<sup>18</sup> See Figure 1. Balinese polygamous marriages make genealogical links highly complex. Only the major family relationships relevant to the narrative below have been included in Figure 1.

his uncle, Cokorda Ngurah Made Pamecutan (r. 1902–1906), the last Badung ruler in Puri Denpasar. At the time of the *puputan*, Jero Nyoman Nuraga would have been just two to three months pregnant, since her daughter was born in April 1907.

The author, Putri Kapandyan, is herself a member of the Badung royal family.<sup>19</sup> She was born in April 1940 in Puri Satria, the *puri* (palace) that was reestablished on the site of the former Puri Denpasar in 1930 by her father, Cokorda Alit Ngurah Pamecutan, the nine-year-old crown prince of Badung at the time of the *puputan*. Her mother was Jero Ratna Juwita from Tonja, the Cokorda's sixth wife. Putri Kapandyan grew up surrounded by stories of the *puputan*. In 1963 she married her cousin (*mindon*), Anak Agung Ngurah Made Agung Kapandyan from Puri Anom Kajanan. She is therefore linked by two separate genealogical connections to Jero Nyoman Nuraga. As a commoner wife of her father's brother, Jero Nyoman Nuraga was Putri Kapandyan's aunt. She was also the grandmother of Putri Kapandyan's husband, Anak Agung Ngurah Made Agung.



**Figure 1: Puri Denpasar and Puri Anom: Principal family relationships referred to in the narrative (main characters are indicated in bold).**

<sup>19</sup> The biographical details of her own and Jero Nyoman Nuraga's life were provided by Anak Agung Sagung Putri Kapandyan in interviews with I Nyoman Darma Putra between January and July 2006. Based on some of these interviews, Darma Putra wrote an account of Putri Kapandyan's life and her authorship of "The Story of the Pregnant Woman," which was published over a period of four weeks in *Tokoh*, the weekly supplement to the Sunday edition of the *Bali Post*. See I Nyoman Darma Putra, "Anak Agung Sagung Putri Kapandyan (Bagian 1)," *Tokoh* 371 (February 5–11, 2006), pp. 1, 10; "Anak Agung Sagung Putri Kapandyan (Bagian 2)," *Tokoh* 372 (February 12–18, 2006), p. 1; "Anak Agung Sagung Putri Kapandyan (Bagian 3)," *Tokoh* 373 (February 19–25, 2006), pp. 1, 10; and "Anak Agung Sagung Putri Kapandyan (Bagian 4)," *Tokoh* 374 (February 16–March 4, 2006), pp. 1, 10.



**The author, A. A. Sg Putri Kapandyan, January 2006.  
(Photo courtesy of Darma Putra)**

From her extended family, Putri Kapandyan learned still more about the events of the *puputan* and of the personal experiences of some of those who were caught up in it. She did not hear the stories directly from Jero Nyoman Nuraga, who died in 1962. Rather, her narrative was based on the many stories that she was told by elderly relatives and informants, but in particular the testimony of Jero Wayan Nerida, another wife of Cokorda Alit Ngurah Pamecutan, the former ruler of Puri Denpasar, whose cremation, which took place on the eve of the *puputan*, is incorporated into Putri Kapandyan's narrative. Her second core informant was her mother-in-law, Anak Agung Biang Anom, the baby whom Jero Nyoman Nuraga was carrying at the time of the *puputan*. Anak Agung Biang Anom, who was born in April 1907, became the fifth wife of Anak Agung Gede Meregeg of Puri Anom,<sup>20</sup> another figure with ties to the royal family who features in the *puputan* narrative below.

For historical detail, Putri Kapandyan drew on the work of the Balinese historian I Gusti Rai Mirsha, whose dissertation she cites at one point.<sup>21</sup> Putri Kapandyan was not a trained historian. She enrolled in undergraduate studies in archeology at Udayana

<sup>20</sup> See Figure 1. Such cross-generational marriages were not uncommon in royal Balinese families of the period.

<sup>21</sup> I Gusti Ngurah Rai Mirsha was the pioneer of conventional historical study of the *puputan* by Balinese scholars. Between 1973 and 1977 he issued a series of publications concerned with the history of the *puputan*, and indeed for many years after as chair of various local publication committees. For details of these publications, see David Stuart-Fox, *Bibliography of Bali: Publications from 1920 to 1990* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1992), p. 319.

University but did not complete her degree. Her interest in this story was a personal one and, having written her account in the snatched moments of spare time that her childcare and family responsibilities allowed, she offered the story to the editors of the *Bali Post*, who agreed to publish it.

From the vantage point of 2006, the publication of “The Story of a Pregnant Woman” in the *Bali Post* in 1977 can be seen in the broader, historical context of *puputan* narratives and memories from the 1970s. Putri Kapandyan’s narrative is imbued with the familiar nationalist rhetoric of the period, and pays anachronistic tribute to the implementation of one of the founding principles of the Indonesian nation state, the inter-group harmony that is reflected in its motto “unity in diversity.” According to Putri Kapandyan’s account, the principle of being “different but one” was already strongly in evidence in the (relatively) cosmopolitan turn-of-the-century Badung capital, Denpasar. There Balinese from throughout the island, as well as Bugis and Chinese, lived side-by-side in harmony. In her account, the Balinese are systematically portrayed as heroic opponents of colonialism.

In the post-independence period, particularly from the 1970s onward, in Bali the *puputan* became an important symbol of the nationalist struggle against colonial oppression, and the subject of academic discussion both in Bali and in the West.<sup>22</sup> Although *puputan* stories had always circulated widely in Bali, particularly as oral tales, the *puputan* only became a core topic for public discussion and documentation after 1973—when the first formal commemorations were implemented by the Badung regional government.<sup>23</sup> Rapidly becoming a cornerstone in Balinese history, as exemplified in the historical studies of I Gusti Rai Mirsha, the public representation of *puputan* at this time is also starkly reified in physical symbols such as the *puputan* monuments that were inaugurated in Badung in 1979 and in Klungkung in 1980, as well as in parades, commemorative events, and ceremonies. Monuments and museum displays and dioramas are also characteristic of late twentieth-century Balinese local commemorative practices.<sup>24</sup>

These officially sanctioned innovations in New Order discursive practices during the 1970s coincided with an interest in locally based understandings of the *puputan*. “The Story of a Pregnant Woman” belongs to a cycle of *puputan* writings from the 1970s and 1980s—not all of it published—that can perhaps be most appropriately designated the “family” history of Puri Denpasar.<sup>25</sup> Another key figure in this 1970s

<sup>22</sup> Margaret Wiener discusses some of these myriad representations in detail. See Margaret Wiener, “Making Local History in New Order Bali,” in *Staying Local in the Global Village: Bali in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Raechelle Rubinstein and Linda H. Connor (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), pp. 51–89. She correctly notes (p. 54) that “to trace [all these representations] would be impossible.” Rather than reiterating her discussion, which is set in the context of “the discursive formation of *puputan* through colonialism and nationalism,” here I have just touched on some of the stories and representations that she does not cover.

<sup>23</sup> Wiener, “Making Local History,” pp. 54–55. Her important earlier work on the colonial conquest of Klungkung has also provided considerable insights into memory and history in modern Bali. See Margaret Wiener, *Visible and Invisible Realms: Power, Magic, and Colonial Conquest in Bali* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1995).

<sup>24</sup> Wiener, “Making Local History,” pp. 71–78, discusses the political and cultural aspects of these “infrastructures of public memory” in detail.

<sup>25</sup> For example, the compilation of genealogies by Cokorda Ngurah Agung, “Lintasan Babad Badung” (Denpasar: unpublished manuscript, Puri Satria Collection, 1983).

wave of retrospective literary-historical works concerning the *puputan* was Anak Agung Alit Konta. In 1976 Konta, a contemporary of Putri Kapandyan, composed a long poem in *gaguritan* form, the *Bandana Wandawa Yuda*, an account of the history of the three royal houses of Badung up to the ascension in 1902 of Cokorda Ngurah Made Pamecutan as the last ruler of Badung in Puri Denpasar.<sup>26</sup> In January of the following year, 1977, Konta wrote, and later self-published, a collection of *puputan* narratives that included the *Gaguritan Puputan Badung*, the “sequel” to his earlier work on the dynastic history of Badung.<sup>27</sup>

According to Putri Kapandyan, she and Konta worked independently on their *puputan* stories; there was no active collaboration. For the second edition of his book, Konta then sought permission from Putri Kapandyan to include her singular account of Jero Nyoman Nuraga’s experiences.<sup>28</sup> Omitted from this version, which appeared under the slightly extended title “The Story of a Pregnant Woman During the Puputan Badung” (“Kisah Seorang Wanita Hamil Muda Sewaktu Perang Puputan Badung”), was most of the one-thousand word preamble, which made up the first installment of the narrative as it appeared in the *Bali Post* on September 19, 1977.<sup>29</sup>

With their large casts of characters and frequent narrative shifts, both “The Story of a Pregnant Woman” and Konta’s *Puputan Badung* echo the traditional Balinese oral and literary conventions that had shaped the work of Pedanda Ngurah. His poem, *Bhuwanawinasa*, composed seventy years earlier, and in the immediate aftermath of the war, was the first Balinese work to relate the *puputan* story in specifically Balinese terms.<sup>30</sup> Like Pedanda Ngurah’s poetical rendering, the 1970s *puputan* accounts center

<sup>26</sup> Anak Agung Alit Konta and Putra, *Bandana Wandawa Yuda* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1979).

<sup>27</sup> Anak Agung Alit Konta, *Puputan Badung*, second edition (Denpasar: Bandana Pralaya, c.1977).

<sup>28</sup> This second edition contains the same prefaces, dated January 5, 1977, August 4, 1977, and August 9, 1977, as the first edition. Although there is no indication of its actual date of publication, it seems likely it was sometime after the publication of Putri Kapandyan’s story in September 1977. In addition to the “Kisah Seorang Wanita Hamil Muda Sewaktu Perang Puputan Badung,” the second edition incorporates other additional material, including a number of photographs. Changes were also made to the list of informants acknowledged in the preface—Jero Nyoman Nuraga and her daughter, Anak Agung Biang Anom, were added, and two original informants—Anak Agung Ngurah Tokolan, from Puri Kaler Kawan, and Anak Agung Ngurah Gede Tegal, of Puri Jematang—were omitted. Those changes were reflected in the actual text of the poem, and the relevant stanza (Canto 1.2) was altered to match those acknowledged in the preface.

<sup>29</sup> Konta notes in the introductory stanzas that his account of the *puputan*, which he completed on January 5, 1977, was based on a number of historical and oral sources. He specifically acknowledges his debt to Pedanda Ngurah’s composition, the *Bhuwanawinasa*. The oral sources include informants who are identified by pseudonyms in the first two stanzas of the poem. The historical sources include, somewhat surprisingly, a volume published in 1964 by the National Archives, in Jakarta, containing the many treaties between the Balinese kings and the Dutch government since 1841, each of which is cited in detail, verse by verse, in canto 1, complete with relevant dates and the names of the Dutch and Balinese signatories. See *Surat-Surat Perjanjian antara Kerajaan-Kerajaan Bali-Lombok dengan Pemerintah Hindia-Belanda, 1841–1938* (Jakarta: ARSIP Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1964). The active pursuit of oral history and textual material appears to have been characteristic of Konta’s writing style. In the *Bandana Wandawa Yuda*, he notes in the colophon that he was helped by his son, who traveled around Bali extensively and asked for material and sought out information including *lontar*, books (*buku-buku*), and treatises (*tatwa*). See Konta, *Bandana Wandawa*, pp. 222–23.

<sup>30</sup> Wiener notes that one of the ways in which the Balinese narratives of the *puputan* differ from those of Euro-Americans is in memorializing key participants by name and identifying them individually by action. See Wiener, “Making Local History,” p. 58.

on the actions of a number of named individuals who, with the exception of the rulers and their immediate families, are minor players on the historical stage and thus largely absent from conventional Western and Balinese academic and historical accounts. Based on a mix of historical documentation and written and oral accounts, each offers a modern, historical, chronological treatment, replete with dates, but one in which literary concerns and individual stories are central. In Balinese literary–historical terms, the importance of the individuals depicted lies not in their status, or even in their participation in particular historical events, but in their connections to the personal networks of their authors.<sup>31</sup>

Preparations for the centenary commemoration of the Badung *puputan* in September 2006 sparked the most-recent wave of *puputan* fever and provided opportunities for Balinese to reflect on the long-term impact of the violent, final conquest. The 2006 *puputan* commemorations may well have implications for emerging cultural and political formations in Bali.<sup>32</sup> At the very least, the centenary also provides new opportunities for recounting the *puputan* in the twenty-first century.

### Jero Nyoman's Voice

*Puputan* survivors' written testimony has remained elusive, partly because the culture of individual witness has traditionally been outside Balinese textual practices, and also because such stories belonged to oral registers. As Wiener suggests, during the colonial era Balinese representations of the *puputan* did not circulate in public forums. Instead they were orally transmitted, or handwritten, and passed along via networks of personal relationships.<sup>33</sup> As part of wider oral literary practices, stories were handed down through the generations, so that Jero Nyoman Nuraga's story, a private, personal account of something that happened in 1906, entered public discourse only in 1977, fifteen years after her death in 1962, and over seventy years since those events had taken place. Her story is not strictly speaking an eyewitness account but instead is one version of her story, handed down to her own daughter, Anak Agung Biang Anom, and penned by one of her descendants, Anak Agung Sagung Putri Kapandyan.

Jero Nyoman's story is a combination of historical fact, personal memory, and (possibly) conjecture. It has been fleshed out by a modern, educated editor. The somewhat stilted, third-person, depersonalized narrative style—interspersed with authorial didactic comments and digressions—adds to the power of the narrative

<sup>31</sup> The clarification, in family terms, of the place of individuals is the primary purpose of many of the parenthetical asides in the narrative below. The competing family claims and perspectives of the 1970s also account for some of the contradictions and inconsistencies among the different retellings of the 1906 *puputan*, not only by Putri Kapandyan and Konta, but also the more conventional historical work of Mirsha.

<sup>32</sup> For example, the (somewhat controversial) inauguration of the ninth "ruler of Denpasar" (Raja Denpasar IX), Tjokorda Ngurah Samirana, on November 25, 2005. See "Menjadi Raja Tanpa Rakyat," *Sarad* 68 (December 2005); <http://www.saradbali.com/edisi68/orta.htm> (as viewed on September 4, 2006). The inauguration, carried out with great pomp and ceremony, claimed only to make the Tjokorda the head of the family (*semeton*), rather than necessarily reinvigorating claims to royal status. An analysis of 2006 events, however, is beyond the scope of this article and would perhaps, in any case, be premature. (The new Raja of Denpasar is the nephew of the author, Putri Kapandyan.)

<sup>33</sup> Wiener, "Making Local History," p. 58.

itself.<sup>34</sup> Jero Nyoman's recollections are wrapped around ordered events (even specific dates) and reported factually. But underneath the descriptions of the chaos of battle, the disjointed impressions and the recollections of the pregnant woman run strongly.



**A. A. Biang Anom (left) and the author, A. A. Sagung Putri Kapandyan, in the late 1970s. (Photo courtesy of A. A. S. Putri Kapandyan)**

The experiences of Jero Nyoman Nuraga, the young woman of this story, are those of a commoner wife who married into a royal house but whose relatively low status meant that she was left more or less to fend for herself as the war unfolded.<sup>35</sup> Jero Nyoman observed, reacted, and acted—and most important, survived to give birth to

<sup>34</sup> The narrator's depersonalized point of view is evident in the original Indonesian with the frequent reintroduction of characters whenever they reappear in the narrative and the use of the indefinite *seorang*, "a" (person). These features have been necessarily somewhat flattened in the current translation by the use of the English definite article and a number of explanatory editorial emendations.

<sup>35</sup> Commoner wives who married into the royal family were given the title "Jero." Succession passed to the eldest son by the ruler chief's same-caste wife (*padmi*). Children born to secondary wives were hierarchically ranked according to their mother's status. See Clifford Geertz and Hildred Geertz, *Kinship in Bali* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 131; and James Boon, *The Anthropological Romance of Bali 1597–1972: Dynastic Perspectives in Marriage and Caste, Politics and Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 44.

her daughter—but there was nothing especially heroic about Jero Nyoman Nuraga. Little sense of great events unfolding pervades her tale. Likewise, the military battles detailed by Westerners, such as Ceës and van Weede, or by male Balinese writers, such as Mirsha, Pedanda Ngurah, and Konta, recede in the face of the human dimension of behind-the-scene events that were important to Jero Nyoman Nuraga.

Putri Kapandyan's narrative stands out because its main protagonist is a woman and because of its focus on women's concerns. Certainly, women are present in the broader narrative of the *puputan*. Dutch commentators portrayed their participation in the *puputan* as one of the key tragedies surrounding the end of the Balinese kingdoms. Balinese literary and historical accounts refer briefly to the actions of one or two female, royal figures, but generally absorb women into an undifferentiated, non-gendered testament to the loyalty and heroism of the Balinese more generally in the face of colonial domination. Jero Nyoman's story, on the other hand, reveals a number of underlying cultural practices and attitudes toward women. Her matter-of-fact, in-passing recollections reveal important aspects of the lives of women in the royal household as they were caught up in the events of those final days.

Her narrative contains two recurring themes: (1) women's status and position within the Puri and, more generally, in Balinese elite society, and (2) the coercive force of prescribed behavior for royal women, particularly their willingness to take part in the last stand or take their own lives in a gesture of loyalty and love for their male relatives killed in battle. The three accounts of *sati*-deaths, and the failure of the rulers and their male followers to protect the women, are evocative symbols of the collapse of the social order. Yet not all women—including Jero Nyoman Nuraga—made the final sacrifice. Hence "The Story of a Pregnant Woman" can also be read as a tale of resistance.

Jero Nyoman's experiences, which are described in all their mundane detail, have a compelling immediacy as she initially flees the palace and later insists on returning to take part in the final battle and to witness its aftermath. We come to view the war through fragments of memory, snippets of conversation, and disjointed, incidental—almost trivial—details: the loneliness of being left behind, the robbery, the transgression of taboos and gender roles, the basket of menstrual cloths, the final supper, the march into battle, the *sati* she witnesses, the abandoned baby, the Dutch soldiers, and a clean sarong that materializes from an empty house.

To analyze further would risk spoiling the story. Although I draw occasional parallels with other accounts in the footnotes (e.g., van Weede, Pedanda Ngurah, and Konta), I make no attempt to "authenticate" the story systematically; it accords reasonably accurately with what is known from other sources.<sup>36</sup> I came across "The Story of a Pregnant Woman" in the context of another project connected with the *puputan* centenary commemorations. My decision to translate it reflects my personal response to the power of Jero Nyoman Nuraga's poignant narrative as related by Putri Kapandyan. Shocked into numbed silence by the horror of the events she witnessed—so evocatively expressed in the Indonesian phrase "mute in one thousand tongues" (*membisu seribu bahasa*)—Jero Nyoman's voice can be heard once again, this time in English.

<sup>36</sup> During interviews with Darma Putra, Putri Kapandyan remarked that she had recently read the 1989 historical study by Agung, *Bali Pada Abad XIX*, and was gratified to note how well her own 1977 account accorded with it and with other scholarly, historical work.

**About the Puputan: The Story of a Pregnant Woman**  
**— Anak Agung Sagung Putri Kapandyan —**

*Bali Post*

September 19–26, 1977

Foreword:<sup>37</sup>

Tomorrow, September 20, 1977, the people of Badung District will commemorate an historical event, namely the “Puputan Badung.” The event itself took place seventy-one years ago, that is, on September 20, 1906.

To enable the community to have as complete as possible a picture of and information about what is known of this time, beginning today we will publish the writings of Nyonya Anak Agung Sagung Putri Agung Kapandyan, that are based on accounts that she obtained from community elders who knew what it was like or were directly involved in this heroic event.

The version that is offered here by the author of this essay focuses on the story experienced by a woman who was pregnant at the time the war took place.

Stories about the “Puputan Badung” circulate widely amongst the people of Denpasar and its environs in different forms that are based on experiences of different moments and places.

The story we are publishing is one among many stories concerning the history of Puputan Badung.

We hope that readers will find it useful.

Editor

**Installment 1: September 19, 1977, pp. 1, 3**

In 1902 Ida Cokorda Ngurah Made Pamecutan became the ruler of Badung residing in Puri Denpasar. He succeeded his elder brother, Ida Cokorda Alit Ngurah Pamecutan, who died of ill-health in 1901, and whose son (the crown prince) at the time was still under age (nine years old).<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> By the time this story was originally published, in 1977, the notion of precolonial Balinese kingdoms had become synonymous with “foreign countries,” even for Balinese. Putri Kapandyan’s original text therefore includes a number of parenthetical explanatory notes. I have retained those in the translation; my own editorial emendations are indicated by brackets. The text has a strong Balinese character. I have provided glosses and explanatory footnotes where it seemed necessary, but some of the Balinese flavor has been unavoidably lost in translation. Of the bewildering array of Balinese titles, the one that occurs most commonly, “Anak Agung,” is the highest ranked royal title and is used by both men and women. “Sagung” and “Ayu” are the titles of royal women, and “Jero” is the usual title for a commoner wife. “Cokorda” designates a ruler or king.

<sup>38</sup> In this narrative, the Cokorda is said to have died in 1901. Other historical sources, however, suggest that Alit Ngurah Pamecutan II actually died in 1902. See I Gusti Ngurah Rai Mirsha, et al., *Cokorda Alit*

It was customary for the ruler, who lived in Puri Denpasar [Denpasar palace], to be known as *Ida Cokorda Denpasar*.<sup>39</sup> *Ida Cokorda Ngurah Made Pamecutan* was well acquainted with a Dutchman usually called *Lange*, who was well known in Badung for his involvement in trading enterprises.<sup>40</sup> *Lange* came often to the Puri and readily provided information about the situation outside the district, beyond Bali, including information about the state of affairs in areas already occupied by the Dutch. It was common practice for the ruler of Badung to station trusted officials in places that bordered on neighboring districts (kingdoms) to keep abreast of the situation or developments there. Perhaps because of the reports of these men he trusted, supplemented by stories from *Lange*, or perhaps through his own analysis of the facts about what was going on, the *Cokorda* came to the conclusion that the Dutch government, which was based in Buleleng [north Bali], harbored evil intentions toward the kingdom of Badung.

In 1904 a ship (schooner) named the *Sri Kumala*, owned by a Chinese from Banjarmasin, chanced to run aground at Sanur beach. The people of Sanur managed to save the lives of many of the crew. But oddly enough, the Dutch government in Buleleng accused the people of Sanur of plundering the ship's cargo and, moreover, claiming that Badung had contravened the laws of salvage, levied a fine of 3,000 *ringgit* (7,500 guilders) on the ruler of Puri Denpasar, Badung.

The ruler of Badung refused the demand for the fine because he had undertaken a detailed investigation among the people of Sanur [and concluded] that the people of Sanur had not plundered the cargo: several of them had even taken an oath at Pura Tambang Badung.<sup>41</sup>

For the Badung government, it was not the amount of the fine that was the obstacle and made them unwilling to pay but that the Dutch were clearly trampling on the freedom and rights of an honest and true people. If the Badung government had wanted to pay the fine demanded by the Dutch they would have had the means to do so.

The Dewa Agung of Klungkung was apprised of these matters.<sup>42</sup> And on September 12, 1906, at the seventh hour (about 4:30 PM), a Dutch envoy (F. A. Lieftrinck) delivered an ultimatum to the ruler of Badung at Puri Denpasar, the basic message being:

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*Ngurah: Dari Pembuangan di Lombok Sampai Revolusi Fisik di Bali (1907–1950)* ([Denpasar]: Pusat Dokumentasi Kebudayaan Bali, 1989), p. 41.

<sup>39</sup> The South Bali kingdom of Badung had a long history of rivalry among the three main branches of the founding royal family. At the beginning of the twentieth century, two separate royal centers remained: Puri Denpasar and Puri Pamecutan. Power was vested in Puri Denpasar because the ruler of Puri Pamecutan was elderly and in poor health. The third royal house, based at Puri Kesiman, which had held sway for most of the nineteenth century, had been reduced to a subordinate role.

<sup>40</sup> A striking anachronism. Although the roles ascribed to *Lange* here were indeed those in which he was involved, he was Danish rather than Dutch, and lived in Badung from 1839 until his death in 1856. See Henk Schulte Nordholt, "The Mads Lange Connection: A Danish Trader in Bali in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century: Broker and Buffer," *Indonesia* 32 (October 1981): 16–47.

<sup>41</sup> The main state temple in Badung was Pura Satria, located just to the north of Puri Denpasar. Pura Tambang(an) Badung, located just south of Puri Pamecutan, is referred to several times in this narrative and was of political and religious significance for the Badung royal family.

<sup>42</sup> The Dewa Agung (High King) of Klungkung was titular overlord of the independent Balinese kingdoms. Klungkung itself fell in a second *puputan*, which took place on April 28, 1908. See Wiener, *Visible and Invisible Realms*.

“If Badung is unwilling to pay the fine, just wait for the consequences.”

Although the ultimatum held such a threatening tone, the ruler of Badung resolutely continued to refuse to pay. The king understood the meaning of these challenging words. Immediately he deliberated the issues with the instruments of government, including the heads of all the houses connected to the palace—*puri*, *jero*, and *jeroan*,<sup>43</sup> as well as the *manca* [ministers] of Badung (who always came from Puri Kaleran Kawan, Puri Kaleran Kangin, Puri Tegal, and Puri Oka), the priests and *brahmanas*, the district heads [*perbekel*], the local leaders of the people, the leaders of the armed forces, and not forgetting the state treasurer, whose name was I Gede Godotan, and who was known usually by the title Saunggaling, and so on. They were all of one mind in supporting his refusal and were prepared to face whatever came, even though they might pay with their blood.

Without delay, the fact of this ultimatum was also conveyed to the government of Pamecutan based in Puri Pamecutan. In fact, Ida Cokorda Ngurah Made himself went straight to Puri Pamecutan to see his uncle, who was in rather poor health at the time. In short, the Pamecutan government fully supported the refusal [to pay] and were willing to join forces in facing whatever the Dutch might bring, even if it meant armed conflict at weapon point.

A relationship of contact between Denpasar and Pamecutan had been a long-standing tradition. To be precise, the relationship of close contact between the two Puri began when Ida Cokorda Ngurah Pamecutan moved his palace from Puri Kaleran Kawanan to Puri Denpasar, which he built in about 1788. Since then [a system of] shared government had been in place in Badung, that is, there were two government administrations that formed a kingdom led by a descendant of a single lineage.

One was located at Dauh Tukad, on the western side of the Badung River, centered on Puri Pamecutan (nowadays where offices and pawnshops stretch to the south). The other was in Dangin Tukad, on the east side of the Badung River, with the center of government at Puri Denpasar (nowadays the gubernatorial office complex). There was no clear territorial demarcation between them.

It had already become a fact that the people who lived in Badung were called the people of Badung—with terms such as *wang/wong* Badung, *panjak* Badung, *kaula* Badung, and *durwe* Badung, all of which mean the people [*rakyat*] of Badung. They comprised a number of groups/clans including the Bandesa, Senggu, Pande, Manik Saunggaling, Pasek, Arya, and Brahmana. All these groups adhered to a body of religious teaching that these days is called Hindu Dharma.

There were other Badung subjects who followed the Hindu Dharma religion who had special designations. They came from villages deep in the Badung countryside. They came to Puri Denpasar for a variety of reasons, including:

- those who came because they had no means of support,
- those who came because they were *putung* (had no descendants or heirs), and

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<sup>43</sup> In descending order of rank, these terms mark these houses as branches of the royal family, and as households inhabited by members of the aristocracy.

- those who came because they were *ubuh* (without parents, orphans), and for other reasons.

People like this came to the Puri longing for justice for themselves and in their lives, longing for true affection, and for other reasons. Because living as a human being, no matter what else, means that one is not free from feelings of mutual need, and mutual obligations to assist, the Cokorda of Denpasar adopted a policy of providing for them and helping them by giving some of them farming land as his *penandu*,<sup>44</sup> or by accepting others as his own dependent subjects.

They were settled in a special place, several kilometers from the Puri, called Taman Yang Batu. This kind of situation was able to be created because there were ties of solidarity between equals, and between landowners and their people; one side sought rapprochement and the other offered or provided this closeness.

Because of these interlinked feelings, those who lived in this village became known by a single name as “Pengerob Puri Denpasar,” although this name only applied to those who lived in the village at the time before Puri Denpasar was destroyed by the Dutch assault.

Apart from those who were Hindu, there were others in Badung who were Muslims. These were the Bugis who lived around Dukuh Kepaon/Kuta and around Serangan/Kesiman. The Bugis who lived around Dukuh Kepaon were ruled by the government of Pamecutan and were usually called Pamecutan subjects [*duwe*], while the Bugis who lived around Serangan were the subjects of Denpasar. It has been noted of the Bugis that they were always ready and available to participate fully in the Badung state where they had settled to live out their lives, even though Badung was threatened with danger.<sup>45</sup>

If we consider it carefully, an atmosphere as harmonious as this could only have existed if those who had taken up residence together in Badung were linked by feelings of mutual respect and the guarantee of freedom of existence, even though their ways of worshipping God were different. This situation reflects a single spirit that brings about an understanding that religious tolerance was already flourishing at the time of the kingdom of Badung.

### **Installment 2: September 20, 1977, pp. 1, 3**

Besides this there were people living in Badung for many years who sought their livelihood mostly through trade and who were called Chinese. As a supplement to the information [about the Bugis] above, there is the following story: Until September 1906 it was common knowledge in Denpasar that, for the conduct of specific affairs

<sup>44</sup> The author appears to distinguish the *penandu* from those who were “owned” (*milik*) by the king, although, in reality, the *penandu* were dependent on royal largesse as well, having no means of support. They worked for the king and were given a place to live and food to eat. They were, in other words, the *pangerob* (“those who eat from the same hearth or kitchen”) who are referred to a few lines below.

<sup>45</sup> Trade in nineteenth-century Badung was conducted on behalf of the rulers by Bugis and Chinese merchants who had been invited to establish premises there as early as c.1800 by the female ruler, Gusti Putu Agung. The rulers appointed officials, usually members of their extended families, such as Anak Agung Oka Nedeng, described below, to oversee Chinese and Bugis affairs. See Schulte Nordholt, “Mads Lange,” pp. 21–23.

concerned with the Bugis community, for example, if the Puri issued an announcement concerning the Bugis or when the Bugis wished to present themselves at the Puri, the center of government, these matters were handled by someone to whom the king had given this authority, and who also had the right to engage subordinates to levy state fees and taxes on the Bugis community.

The person given this task was Anak Agung Oka Nedeng. He was an adopted son,<sup>46</sup> that is the son of someone who came from outside the kingdom of Badung (Puri Serongga) and had different ancestors, but because of particular circumstances was made a member of the Denpasar clan in a religious ceremony called *peperasan* by the Cokorda of Denpasar [Cokorda Alit Ngurah Pamecutan I], (to whom we now refer as Betara Basmi), who was the father of Cokorda Alit Ngurah Pamecutan [II].<sup>47</sup> And this adopted son was settled in a place connected to the Denpasar clan in Puri Anom (which today is the grassed area on the western side of Puputan Badung square).

It is also recorded that in his time many people moved to Badung from outside the kingdom of Badung to become its citizens. They settled in many different places in the vicinity, including in Tanggun Titi, Kekeeran, Sebudi/Tanjung Bungkak, Panjer, Jimbaran, Bualu, Puseh/Sanur, Kaliungu, and so on. They always displayed tolerance or participated fully in the places where they had settled. If we consider it carefully, this situation provides a special understanding of the meaning of "Different but one." Certainly [this understanding] was in a more limited and narrow context. In the current era, which is known as the era of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, the slogan "different but one" is the basis or focal point for the lives and deaths of a united people who declare themselves to be one nation, to have one language, and to be a single country that stretches along the equator from Sabang to Merauke.

With the full support of the entire Badung populace, and with the support of Tabanan as well, the government stood equipped and ready for war.<sup>48</sup> Weapons, such

<sup>46</sup> Adopting male children was commonplace in traditional Bali, particularly if there was no natural son to inherit the family's ritual and other responsibilities, but also under other circumstances (such as those alluded to, but not detailed, here). Puri Serongga is in Gianyar. It was the natal home of Cokorda Alit Ngurah II's primary wife, Anak Agung Ayu Ketut Ngurah, and these links between the royal houses may have been a factor in the adoption of Anak Agung Oka Nedeng. The significance of his prominent position in the narrative soon becomes apparent. In addition to his direct link to the principal royal line through adoption, Anak Agung Oka Nedeng was also the apical ancestor of the main protagonists in this story, including the author, Putri Kapandyan. He was the father of Anak Agung Ngurah Gede Meregeg, of Puri Anom, who accompanied the crown prince into hiding during the *puputan*, and later married Jero Nyoman Nuraga's daughter, Anak Agung Biang Anom. These family ties and the definition of his official role validate the story as an authentic account of events of interest to all descendants of the wider family of Puri Denpasar/Puri Anom. See also Figure 1.

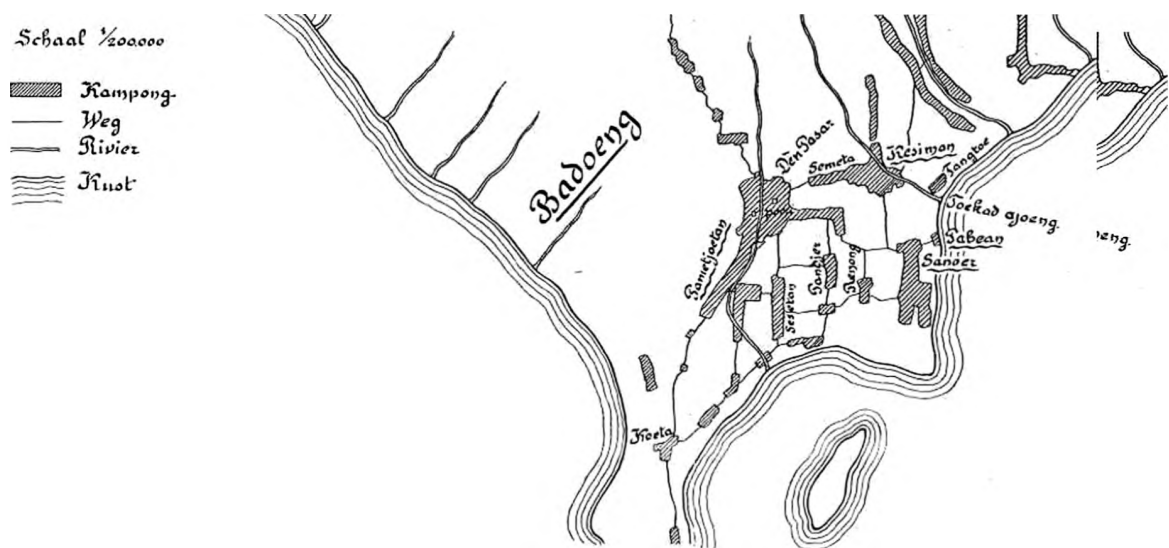
<sup>47</sup> Keeping track of Balinese dynastic links is notoriously difficult because of the widespread use of apanage and other royal titles between and across generations. Deceased rulers are commonly known posthumously by the circumstances or place of their death under the title Dewata/Betara, literally "god." Thus, Cokorda Alit Ngurah I (r.1861-1890) is known as Betara Basmi ("he who was deified/died in the fire"), and Cokorda Ngurah Made, who died in the *puputan*, is known as Cokorda Mantuk ring Rana ("he who died in the battle"). These epithets serve to distinguish between successive generations of similarly named members of the ruling families.

<sup>48</sup> The kingdom of Tabanan was Badung's major ally during this period. The ruler of Tabanan supported Badung during the blockade prior to the *puputan*. Following the defeat of the Badung rulers, on September 27, 1906, the Dutch marched on Tabanan, whose ruler surrendered without a major confrontation. When faced with the prospect of exile to Lombok, he and his son committed suicide in Dutch custody, on September 28.

as spears, *kris*, rifles, and artillery (cannons), were prepared for use at the appropriate time. Meanwhile, at Sanur beach, the Dutch government was also busy preparing to begin its assault.

The Dutch began their attack by firing weapons from their warships and then changed position to climb the many tall trees, which grew around the beach and the village. A priest, who had the opportunity to witness the situation there for himself, recalled that they even chopped down many of these trees to facilitate their movement.

The Balinese forces, with their sarongs knotted in readiness, talismanic sashes at their waists, and wearing head cloths, returned the fire. They had also slipped provisions in their waistbands.



**Map 1: Detail showing battle sites at Sanur, Renon(g), Panjer, Kesiman, Pamecutan, and Denpasar.**  
(Source: H. M. van Weede, *Indische Reisherinningen*, 1908, End Map)

A bitter battle then began at Renon and spread as far as Intaran. The Badung forces were forced to withdraw after many were wounded and killed, including their military commanders. On the Dutch side, too, many were slain, according to those who experienced what happened at the time. It is said that on September 16, 1906, preceded by a loud *nguing...nguing...dur*, something crashed into the roof of the pavilion (*balai wantilan*) in the main courtyard of Puri Denpasar. And... *byug...byug...*, the tower of Puri Agung collapsed, falling to the ground and breaking, struck down by the impact of a heavy object, which had come from the east.

Meanwhile, outside the Puri, the battle continued. In the midst of the crash of weapons, the Cokorda, who fulfilled the roles of both leader of his country and head of his family, quickly took control and ordered his sister-in-law to prepare herself to flee

immediately from the Puri with her nine-year-old son, the crown prince.<sup>49</sup> To stay in the Puri meant that no one's safety could be guaranteed, but the Cokorda remained there in the palace.<sup>50</sup> Other people coming to know about his instructions, as well as his relatives, adopted the same prudent strategy.

That day in the *dunungan* (a place [living quarters] within the Puri), the eldest nephew of the Cokorda, who was the eldest son of the late Ida Cokorda Alit Ngurah Pamecutan,<sup>51</sup> and was usually called Anak Agung Alit Badra, also urged two of his wives to return to their natal homes, each taking her baby. Another wife who was pregnant (named Jero Nyoman Nuraga) was also in the *dunungan* and heard this decision. Some time later two women (Jero Wayan Ungu and Jero Made Prijata) left the Puri accompanied by their families (who had earlier been summoned to the Puri), each cradling her baby; one was a boy [Anak Agung Raka Putra, aged about four months] and [the other a girl] (Anak Agung Ayu Made Kuntir, aged about one month).<sup>52</sup> The two women, who both happened to come from Pengiasan, returned to their homes, while their husband remained at the Puri to follow in the footsteps of the Cokorda in risking body and soul in answer to his country's call.

Meanwhile that day, in a building within the Puri, called the *gedong*, sitting cross-legged was the adopted son [Anak Agung Oka Nedeng], who suggested to his own son (Anak Agung Ngurah Gede Merereg)<sup>53</sup> that he should not follow in his [Nedeng's] footsteps (that is to stand beside the Cokorda in seeing through to its conclusion, his decision to refuse to surrender the country of which he was leader into the hands of a foreign enemy as long as he should live), but instead resolved with full awareness and consideration that his adult son, who already had a daughter of his own, should accompany the crown prince in his flight.

The following day, on September 17, just as dawn was breaking in the eastern sky, the women and children left Puri Denpasar by a back route, using a ladder to climb over the wall, then continuing past the neighboring *gria*<sup>54</sup> adjacent to the Puri in order to reach the main road.

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<sup>49</sup> This is Alit Ngurah Pamecutan III, the father of the author, Putri Kapandyan. He was born on December 31, 1896, and died in 1965. He is only specifically referred to by name as Cokorda Alit Ngurah Pamecutan in the penultimate paragraph of this story; elsewhere he is simply called the "crown prince" (*putra mahkota*). He was the son of Alit Ngurah Pamecutan II by Anak Agung Ayu Ketut Ngurah from Puri Serongga. He was exiled to Lombok after the war. He eventually became regent of Badung in 1929 and later *zelfbestuurder* (autonomous ruler) in 1938 under the Dutch colonial government. See Mirsha, et al., *Cokorda Alit Ngurah*.

<sup>50</sup> According to Mirsha, et al., *Cokorda Alit Ngurah*, p. 45, the refugee group fled without the Cokorda's knowledge. This discrepancy may reflect different memories or be indicative of wider inter-family rivalries and tensions.

<sup>51</sup> See Mirsha, et al., *Cokorda Alit Ngurah*, p. 39. See also Figure 1.

<sup>52</sup> There is some textual confusion at this point. The *Bali Post* omits the name of the first child altogether. The text published in Konta, *Puputan Badung*, provides the name but is missing the connecting information between the two names.

<sup>53</sup> This is the same Anak Agung Ngurah Gede Meregeg who eventually became the husband of the unborn child and, thus, Jero Nyoman Nuraga's son-in-law. See also Figure 1.

<sup>54</sup> A *gria* is the house compound of a *brahmana* (priestly caste) family.

The group continued westward accompanied by several *wong jero* (female attendants in a *puri*, *jero*, *jeroan*, or *gria*).<sup>55</sup> Only two adult males, namely Anak Agung Ngurah Gede Meregeg and I Binal, a *parekan* (male retainer in a *puri*, *jero*, *jeroan*, or *gria*) from Banjar Titih, accompanied the women and children. The group had gone some way when suddenly, from inside the *dunungan*, came the pregnant woman carrying on her head a small basket, which she had hurriedly picked up from a pavilion.

Who knows to whom it belonged? The pregnant woman left, passing by the fallen tower of the great gate, and in the courtyard of the Puri she came upon a group of men deliberating. The Cokorda, who first noticed the pregnant woman, immediately alerted his nephew, her husband [Anak Agung Alit Badra], who happened to be sitting next to him.

Straight away her husband addressed her:<sup>56</sup> "Where are you going so early in the morning?" But the pregnant woman (his wife) hurried on. Again her husband called to her rather more loudly. "Wait a minute. Where are you going carrying that basket on your head?"

His wife turned around and answered, "I want to flee. I'm all alone in the living quarters now." And the pregnant woman went quickly on her way, past the outer gateway of the Puri, following after those who had left earlier until she caught up with them. The party that set off on the road to the west numbered in the thirties, half the women who lived in the Puri. But among all the Cokorda's wives, who came from various families, not a single one left the Puri. Initially the group set off toward Krobokan. When they arrived there, someone unknown to them robbed them. A pipe with a curved stem, inlaid with gold, which belonged to an elderly woman usually called Anak Agung Istri Bangli, disappeared when a robber ran off with it. Because circumstances prevented them, they did not stay the night in the village as originally planned, but continued their journey to the south.

At dusk the group arrived at Legian/Kuta, where they immediately headed for a house belonging to [a member of] the Pamecutan family that was located in the village. As soon as they arrived, they were welcomed without hesitation and stayed a few days there. There, too, the pregnant woman opened the basket that she had been carrying on her head. Heaven forbid! It was filled with used menstrual cloths. In disgust, she hurled the basket away as tears poured from her eyes. She said that it brought her situation home to her: she had accidentally been left behind by her friends, she was exhausted from running after them, and, to top it all off, she had unintentionally carried on her head a basket, whose contents, according to the mores of the time, it was strictly taboo to place on one's head. Experiencing this entirely unexpected scenario, the other women were unable to restrain their laughter, even though they were in such a distressing situation. Cloths of this kind are a most urgent need for women on certain days. These days these things are called (excuse me) sanitary napkins.

<sup>55</sup> The term *wong jero* is explained here as a female attendant in any kind of priestly (*gria*) or royal (*puri*, *jero*, *jeroan*) household. The reference to *parekan*, or male attendants, in the following sentence carries the same distinction.

<sup>56</sup> The conversations here and elsewhere in the original text are given in Balinese with Indonesian in parentheses. I have generally conflated the two in the translation to avoid repetition.

Amongst the group was a princess (a relative of the Cokorda who was the only unmarried girl with them at the time). Also with them was Ni Sempok, the wife of I Binal.<sup>57</sup>

In the words of one member of this group, “Actually our stomachs were empty but we didn’t feel hungry. Our natural appetites stayed trapped inside the Puri as we thought about those left behind there, imagining the bitter battles still raging, while worrying whether the Badung forces who had hoisted their sarongs for battle<sup>58</sup> would have the ability to chase off the Dutch, who were intent on enveloping our land.” Their heads had been filled with a thousand and one questions that could not be answered at that moment. And every heart wavered between feelings of life and death.

The next day, on September 18, 1906, the group of refugees made a decision to choose Ni Sempok to go back and forth between their place of refuge and the Puri. For several days her only task was to be the bearer of news, so that contact between those fleeing and the Puri would not be severed. Meanwhile, elsewhere the battle continued to rage fiercely. Drs I Gusti Rai Mirsha, in his dissertation, states that the battle of Sanglah took place on this date.<sup>59</sup> At the battle there, the Cokorda of Denpasar cast himself onto the field of war and led the battle strategy. Finally in the late afternoon the battle came to an end with both sides equally worsted.

### Installment 3: September 21, 1977, pp. 1, 4

On that same day, quite unexpectedly, in the Kesiman area, a disturbance erupted when Anak Agung Ngurah Mayun of Puri Kesiman was stabbed with a *kris* by Ida Mergo, one of his own favorites.<sup>60</sup> But in the end Ida Mergo was killed by the people of Kesiman who, during the war, vigilantly guarded against every eventuality, and that evening Ida Cokorda Denpasar himself took the opportunity to visit the place where the [prince’s] body lay.

After this, matters became even more critical. The grave nature of the situation did not extinguish the Cokorda’s keen desire to continue to defend his country and keep it from the enemy’s grasp, supported by all his people. That day, September 19, the battle

<sup>57</sup> The titles I (for men) and Ni (for women) mark them as commoners (*sudra*).

<sup>58</sup> The Balinese expression used is *mabulet ginteng*. Literally, it means to tie a man’s sarong at the back like a loin cloth to enable ease of movement.

<sup>59</sup> The battle of Sanglah, which is also mentioned in the *Bhuwanawinasa* (7.24), refers to the offensive launched by the Dutch on September 16, which began at Sanur and marched, via Intaran and Renon, to Panjer, where the main action took place. Panjer is located on the southern outskirts of Denpasar near present-day Sanglah. See Map 1. For a Dutch description of this battle, see van Weede, *Indische Reisherinneringen*, pp. 439–44.

<sup>60</sup> Van Weede notes that the Assistant Resident, H. J. E. F. Schwartz, had reported this incident to the Dutch command, although the name of the perpetrator is not mentioned (van Weede, *Indische Reisherinneringen*, p. 456). Van Weede’s account states that the incident was triggered by the Kesiman prince’s determination to take part in the battle in spite of an earlier decision to avoid conflict. Schwartz reported that the murderer was killed on the spot by two “*penawing*,” that is, two of the prince’s co-wives. According to local Balinese tradition, for example, in the *Bhuwanawinasa* (7.12–14) and *Puputan Badung* (6.11–16), Mergo is said to have hidden in a well from which he was pulled and then killed by the prince’s irate supporters. In the second edition of *Puputan Badung* (but not in the first edition), Konta includes a photograph of the well at Puri Kesiman in which I Brego (a variant spelling of Mrego/Mergo) is believed to have taken refuge.

continued, raging ever more fiercely as it came nearer to the Puri. The Puri remained the target of relentless fire. The casualties of war piled higher and higher, but the troops, the people, and their king refused to surrender, not willing to fall under the Dutch yoke.



**The well at Puri Kesiman where I Mergo took refuge.**  
(Source: Anak Agung Alit Konta, *Puputan Badung*, second edition, 1977)

Ongoing, unbroken contact with the Pamecutan government indicated that together the two [royal houses] would defend the land whatever the final outcome. By this time the Puri was in great danger. No matter how resolutely the Badung forces maintained their defense that day, the king realized that there was only a faint hope that they could match the enemy's strength. On that very same day the Cokorda also issued a statement that, in the days to follow, his people were free to make their own choice about whether to fight or not to fight. Whatever happened, the Cokorda would never deliver the land he ruled into the hands of the enemy as long as he still drew breath. Although the Cokorda issued this statement, his family and his subjects remained as one in continuing to stand with their leader in defending the country, fearlessly sacrificing body and soul.

Although the atmosphere in the Puri was so hard pressed, it did not affect the strength of the contact between the Cokorda and the sanctuary of the women and children at Legian/Kuta. That day, the Cokorda also dispatched his oldest nephew as his envoy to go to the place of refuge to collect the Cokorda's younger sister, who was

an unmarried girl at that time, and persuade her to return to the Puri.<sup>61</sup> Nor did he forget to enjoin him to convey the situation at the Puri to the people in other places of safety. This girl was usually called Anak Agung Ratu Agung. His nephew (commonly called Anak Agung Alit Badra) set off for the refuge on horseback to carry the message. Although he carried out his task there, when he left to return to the palace, the one who climbed onto the back of the horse with him was [not the Cokorda's sister but] his own wife, the pregnant woman [Jero Nyoman Nuraga]. Just these two, husband and wife, returned to the Puri.

On learning of this matter, the Cokorda immediately sent another young man, Anak Agung Ngurah Made Grendeng, from Puri Titih, to collect the girl and to bring her to the Puri, while conveying to his sister why the Cokorda, as her elder brother, was concerned for her safety.

"If a girl from the Puri is in a situation such as that pertaining outside the Puri at present, let us hope that she does not become the spoils of war (Dutch booty)." These words amongst other things were what the Cokorda wished him to convey to her.<sup>62</sup>

#### **Installment 4: September 22, 1977, pp. 2, 5**

Mounting his horse and armed with a *kris* at his waist, the young man carried his message to the safe haven, with the result that the girl returned to the palace with him to continue in the fight to the death against the Dutch alongside the Cokorda, while the other women, who had fled to safety and who, from the outset, had devoted themselves to the crown prince, stayed behind, harboring feelings of resentment that cannot be described. And, at the final moment, those two [the Cokorda's sister and her escort] slept forever in the lap of Mother Earth in fulfilling their task of defending their country.

Because the Cokorda had decided to fight against the Dutch until his life was spent, that evening he decided to cremate the remains of his elder brother (Ida Cokorda Alit Ngurah Pamecutan),<sup>63</sup> which had been wrapped in a shroud since 1901 in Narmada (an

<sup>61</sup> The girl in question appears to have been a half-sister of the Cokorda, although her exact identity is not certain. The kinship category of "sister" includes any close female relative of the same generation, and Anak Agung Ratu Agung may be another, more distant female relative. Cokorda Alit Ngurah I had eleven children, four of them girls, according to Balinese genealogical traditions compiled by Hans Hägerdal, "Silsilah Bali" (unpublished monograph), p. 38. I am grateful to Dr. Hägerdal for providing me with a copy of this material. Others believe that the party of refugees comprised the crown prince's mother, Anak Agung Ayu Ketut Ngurah, and two female "relatives" (*saudara*) of the king—Anak Agung Istri Bangli and Anak Agung Ratu Agung, both of whom are named in Putri Kapandyan's story (see Mirsha, et al., *Cokorda Alit Ngurah*, p. 45).

<sup>62</sup> This is the first of the three references to concerns for the safety of prized female relatives. References to the protection of royal wives are more than concerns about the inevitable rape of women in war. In traditional Bali, a ruler's status was in part determined by the number and quality of the women he "owned." In warfare, the women (the wives, daughters, unmarried sisters, retainers, and servants) of the defeated ruler became the property of the victor. Some women preferred to take their own lives by performing *sati*. Here, as elsewhere in this text, there appears to be a presumption—or fear—that the Dutch will behave in a Balinese way.

<sup>63</sup> There can be no clearer symbol of the Cokorda's expectation that he would not survive the forthcoming confrontation with the Dutch and, in a more heroic interpretation, that it would be fight to the death. Cremation of relatives is the responsibility of surviving family members, particularly the eldest male relative. According to Balinese belief, the soul can only be liberated from the body and its elements

inner part of the Puri), rather than in the *Semanggen* (a special place to store a corpse) as was customary at the time.

The cremation was carried out in the Puri with a very simple ritual, without a sarcophagus or a cremation tower or other grand ceremonies to accompany it. A gamelan ensemble with its gold removed and other valuable possessions, such as a collection of *gambuh* crowns<sup>64</sup> of gold, were thrown into the cremation fire. There was no desire to save any things like these. People say that on that night the cold air pierced their bones. Not far from the cremation place a group of women dressed in white sat in a circle around the fire as if the pyre, whose fuel had been taken from bundles of roof-thatch fibers available in the Puri at the time, would provide light as well as keep them warm. Ida Ayu Supat, who came from Gria Taman Sanur and had lived in the Puri since she was little, and the pregnant woman were among those squatting there among the other women who were seeking warmth. At that time the fire was not particularly big, yet quite unexpectedly Ida Ayu Supat rose from her squatting position and with the words: "Wait, my Lord King, I will come too," she [threw herself in the fire and began] convulsing.

The women around the fire panicked and scattered, while a man, dressed in white, who was present there at the Cokorda's cremation, cried out: Help!... Help....! The people around the fire then added more fuel so that it flared up.<sup>65</sup> The reason was to help Ida Ayu Supat hasten the separation of her soul from her body. Ida Ayu Supat's action is also termed *masatya*.<sup>66</sup> After the cremation the ashes were buried in the Pamerajan [family shrine] in Puri Denpasar. Cokorda Ngurah Made took a pinch of the ashes and placed them in the fold of his red head cloth.

On that evening, the extended family and other people from the Puri, including the loyal male and female retainers who wanted to be with the Cokorda, were dressed in white and wearing head cloths. Almost all the women who took part had head cloths made of green French cloth. The men had red, but many wore white.

Women who usually wound their *kains* around the length of their bodies at this time changed their style so that they were knee-length, like those of men. The style of

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returned to the macro cosmos through cremation. Cremation rituals are elaborate and expensive, and in some cases many years may elapse between death and cremation. In the interim bodies are buried. For a former ruler, burial is not appropriate, and the body is preserved and lies in state in a special pavilion, itself an extremely costly exercise as it must be guarded day and night, and provided with offerings, food, and entertainment. See Fred B. Eiseman, Jr., *Bali: Sekala and Niskala*, Volume 1, *Essays on Religion, Ritual and Art* (Berkeley, CA: Periplus Editions, 1989), pp. 115–117.

<sup>64</sup> *Gambuh* is a form of classical Balinese dance-drama. See Maria Cristina Formaggia, et al., *Gambuh: Drama Tari Bali*, two volumes (Jakarta: Yayasan Lontar, 2000).

<sup>65</sup> Van Weede reports that the cremation fire could be seen from the Dutch bivouac at Sanur. See van Weede, *Indische Reisherinnen*, p. 462.

<sup>66</sup> This is the first instance of *sati* reported in this account. Each of these deaths reflects a cultural practice which, in theory, had been abolished by treaty in 1905 following the Dutch reaction to the *sati* deaths in Tabanan at the ruler's cremation in 1903, but which, in practice, remained embedded in elite Balinese understandings of loyalty and proper conduct. This *sati* death and the placing of the ashes in the Cokorda's head cloth as a symbol of the deceased ruler's blessing on the forthcoming confrontation are also recorded in Agung, "Lintasan Babad Badung," p. 169 and cited in I Ketut Ardhana, "Balinese Puri in Historical Perspective: The Role of Puri Satria and Puri Pamacutan in Social and Political Change in Badung, South Bali, 1906–1950," (Master's thesis, Australian National University, 1993), p. 26. In Agung's text, the woman is named Ida Ayu Supi rather than Ida Ayu Supat.

their hair-knots, too, was adapted to that of men. As we know, in this period men wore their hair long. At the time [of the *puputan*], both men and women adopted a male style.<sup>67</sup>

That night, after the ashes of the corpse had been buried, the Cokorda's followers, assembled there in the courtyard of the Puri, lifted up the palms of their hands as a priest sprinkled them with holy water (*tirta pengentas*). In religious ceremonies *tirta pengentas* is usually only sprinkled on those who have died. Its use meant that the Cokorda and his followers had truly determined to fight to the death to defend their country. And *tirta*, which means holy water, is a means to purify the soul (in the teachings of the Hindu religion). After receiving the *tirta pengentas* the people together with the Cokorda went to Pura Satrya temple to pray to Ida Sang Hyang Widhi [God] and to the ancestors believed to be present there. After praying there, they went to another temple called Pura Tambangan Badung.

When they arrived at the temple, the pregnant woman felt an unbearable hunger. Her legs trembled. Seeing this, her husband ordered a retainer, who was also wearing white, to request a little rice from one of the people who lived on the western side of the temple. Not long afterward, a resident brought rice in an open bowl. [The pregnant woman] ate it and her husband joined her while the others continued to talk as if debating something. Who knows what they talked about, but that's what people say happened. The couple perhaps had no inkling that these moments would become a precious but bitter memory for the pregnant woman. Because in fact one of them subsequently "finished" [*puput*], ending his life on the field of battle, and the other did not finish [*tidak puput*], although she had "finished" (meaning she had received *tirta pengentas*).<sup>68</sup>

After their discussions, those assembled worshipped and prayed each in her or his own way. After that, each person then received an equal piece of rice cake [*ketupat*], including the pregnant woman, who had only just finished eating the boiled rice. After this ceremony, the group hurried toward the village of Tanjung Bungkak to observe the enemy. Not a single Dutchman passed by that evening. And as it grew later and later, the group decided to return to the Puri. Waiting for day to break, they did not close their eyes once all night long.

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<sup>67</sup> The wearing of male attire by women is a mark of enormous upheaval in social norms. Here, it presumably embodies both a symbolic and a practical function. For warfare, as they assumed a quintessentially male role, the women apparently needed to dress as men, since the restrictive nature of traditional Balinese female dress would have impeded free movement. Van Weede also pays attention to the clothes worn by the Balinese who, he says, had donned their finest clothes of red and black, carried bejewelled *kris*, and had their hair neatly tied back (*Indische Reisherinneringen*, pp. 464, 470). The women wore white and, in contrast to Putri Kapandyan's account here, most had their hair loose. Unbound hair is traditionally a sign of great emotion, reserved for moments of grief, and is prominent in literary descriptions of *sati* and death.

<sup>68</sup> The play on the word *puput*, which begins here and recurs frequently throughout the rest of this account, is awkward to convey in English. The literal meaning of *puput* is "to end, finish." In the context of the *puputan*, it indicates the ritual fight to the death. In the cremation ritual, the sprinkling with holy water marks the end of earthly existence, and indicates that life is "finished" (*puput*). The ritual sprinkling of holy water in extraordinary circumstances, such as prior to battle, symbolizes that all those who took part were ritually "finished." Their funeral rites had, in one sense, preceded their deaths. The author then describes all those who took part in this ceremony and had been sprinkled with *tirta pengentas*, as *puput*—"finished," regardless of whether they lived or died.

Early the next morning, on September 20, 1906, the God of the Sun, in the eastern horizon, seemed to smile as it beamed its rays on the people sound asleep on earth, while the crowing cocks kept on calling to each other in the usual way, with no comprehension of what the situation that had befallen their region might mean. Even the fighting cocks, the roosters inside the Puri, just kept on crowing although they would never be cared for again. [Because those who usually attended them, such as I Degung, I Sumuh, and I Gania, followed the Cokorda into battle].<sup>69</sup> At the final moment, these three also slept in the lap of Mother Earth forever, following in the footsteps of the Cokorda in defending the realm until their last breath.

That morning, as dawn rose in the east, the sound of the *bedug* drum boomed out over Badung, reminding those still there of the hour. The *bedug* hung in the long pavilion outside Puri Mataram (today it is the grassy field in the center of the city, on the eastern side of Puputan Badung Square).

The *bedug* is equipped with a large basin filled to the top with water. In it is a small basin [*cengkilik*] of copper pierced with needle-holes. The *cengkilik* is placed on the surface of the water in the big basin and approximately every 90 minutes it sinks to the bottom and simultaneously the striking of the big drum echoes: *DUG*. The sound “*dug*” indicates the hour. The sound “*dug*” (heard once) means it is the first hour. The sound “*dug dug*” (heard twice) indicates the second hour and so on. From sunrise to sunset the “*dug*” sounds out eight times. The interval between the first hour and the next one is approximately one and a half hours.

In Dauh Tukad (in Puri Pamecutan) at the same moment, the sound “*dug*” still resounded in the air to remind the people that it was now the first hour [6:00 AM]. That morning the fighting forces that had already “finished” (meaning that their souls had already been purified, that is, the individuals had been sprinkled with holy water or had undertaken the rituals), had put on white clothes and were ready to accept a *kris* or a spear.

#### **Installment 5: September 23, 1977, pp. 2, 4**

The Saunggaling, I Gede Gogotan, distributed a *kris* to every person, while the Cokorda himself directly surrendered his heirloom *kris* into the hands of his nephews, Anak Agung Alit Badra and Anak Agung Made Ngurah Karta. Both had “finished” (meaning they had undergone the ceremony of *metirta penentas*). But in the final instance, one “finished” (meaning his life ended) and the other also “finished” (but meaning he did not finish/die).<sup>70</sup> The Cokorda had expressly forbidden the Saunggaling to fight in the battle that would determine life or death.

Meanwhile, the pregnant woman, who was standing in a row with the other women who had each received a *kris*, clearly saw the Saunggaling descend from the *balai loteng* [tiered pavilion] carrying a purse. In it were gold coins, or *suku-suku*, which are usually called *dinar*, which were then shared among those lined up there. One

<sup>69</sup> The *Bali Post* version omits this sentence with the three names, leading to a logical difficulty in the text which is resolved in Konta’s edition.

<sup>70</sup> Anak Agung Alit Badra was killed, but Anak Agung Made Ngurah Karta accompanied his half-brother, the crown prince, into exile in Lombok.

person got a whole handful, but not everyone had an equal share in contrast to [the distribution of] the *kris*. It is said that they ran out. The gold coins were later to be used for *mesengkarura*, that is, they were to be thrown at the "White Eyes" (Dutch) after first being made potent<sup>71</sup> by prayers uttered by the Cokorda, whom the pregnant woman clearly heard say: "May whoever approaches [these women] as spoils of war never find peace."

After that the assembled warriors marched out of the Puri in formation, carrying their weapons; there were rows of three and rows of four; there were those who linked arms, with their *kris* held firmly in their hands, as if in an *adat* procession; many mothers carried their children and babies. They all advanced in a northerly direction toward a courtyard where many coconut palms grew. And in the center of the yard stood a sacred building, a place to worship Sang Hyang Widhi and all the ancestors, especially the ancestors of those who were descendants of Batara Sri Arya Damar.<sup>72</sup>

This sacred building was called Pura Satrya. In front of the group walked a *pemangku* priest, a Brahmana woman named Ida Ayu Gede, who was carrying a censer filled with burning coals.

If we leaf through the *Bhagavadgita* (one of the sacred books that contains the teachings of the Hindu Dharma religion), it says of fire: "Fire is needed at the time of ritual worship as a means of uniting the worshiper and Brahman," and in the allegorical sense, "Fire is also used as a means of illuminating the souls of humans so that they can see Brahman."<sup>73</sup>

The Cokorda followed behind the *pemangku*, and then came the others. By the Cokorda's side were two of his wives, Anak Agung Ayu Raka Riris, from Jero Delod Dalang, and Jero Mekel. Two priests then flanked the Cokorda, namely Pedanda Gede Beji and Ida Pedanda Gede Telaga, both from Gria Tegal. The two priests willingly stripped off their crowns and exchanged them for head cloths in order to be among those who followed in the Cokorda's footsteps, steadfastly defending the land until the last breath.

At first the Cokorda's eldest nephew [Anak Agung Alit Badra] was next to his wife [Jero Nyoman Nuraga], who was together with the other women. When the Cokorda turned his head, his nephew came forward until he stood directly before him, while his wife linked arms with an elderly lady [Anak Agung Biyang Dighedong] and, on the other side, with a fat woman who was called Jero Padma from Puri Tegal. And the others were behind them.

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<sup>71</sup> Literally "spiced up" (Ind. *dibumbu*). One interpretation may be that the power (*sakti*) of the Cokorda could be transferred to the coins and serve to keep his women safe. The Cokorda here is endeavoring to protect his women from being taken as booty through his personal charisma and the power of his office. He dares the enemy to seek control over his women. Van Weede offers a different interpretation, describing the moments in the battle when the women advanced directly in front of the Dutch fire, flinging these gold coins as payment for their death. He notes that those who were not shot killed themselves (*Indische Reisherminngen*, p. 466).

<sup>72</sup> Arya Damar is the apical ancestor of the royal families of both Badung and Tabanan. He was the son of Brawijaya, king of Majapahit, and was one of the nobles (*arya*) who came to Bali at the time of the Majapahit conquest in the fourteenth century.

<sup>73</sup> *Brahman* is the all-pervading, unseen, and unknowable life force of the universe from which all existing things emanate and to which they return after death.

The *pemangku* carrying the incense burner moved with her hips swaying as if she were dancing *memendet*<sup>74</sup> in the temple. Suddenly *der...der...der...* From the north came the sound of weapons being fired. The *pemangku*, with the censer as her weapon, fell first. Then others behind her followed. Their corpses lay sprawled face up, but the thundering cries of the people continued to reverberate. Their arms raised high, they waved their *kris* while shouting “*puak...puak...puak*”<sup>75</sup> as a sign that they would not surrender a single step.

Maintaining their raging passion, men and women advanced fearlessly to make a stand for truth in order to protect their homeland, willing to lay down their lives in the ultimate defense as they pitted themselves against the unequal might of the Dutch weapons. Modern weaponry met weapons of yore, the ancient heirloom *kris*, the heritage of their ancestors.<sup>76</sup> The sound *der...der...* still continued to volley. The battle became fiercer. People fell one on top of the other.

More and more blood flowed. The elderly grandmother, Anak Agung Biyang Digatedong, fell, shot dead, and at that moment the pregnant woman, in a reflex action, thrust her *kris* forward. And this pregnant woman also fell, dragged down when a bullet struck the chest of the fat woman [I Padma] who had been holding her arm.

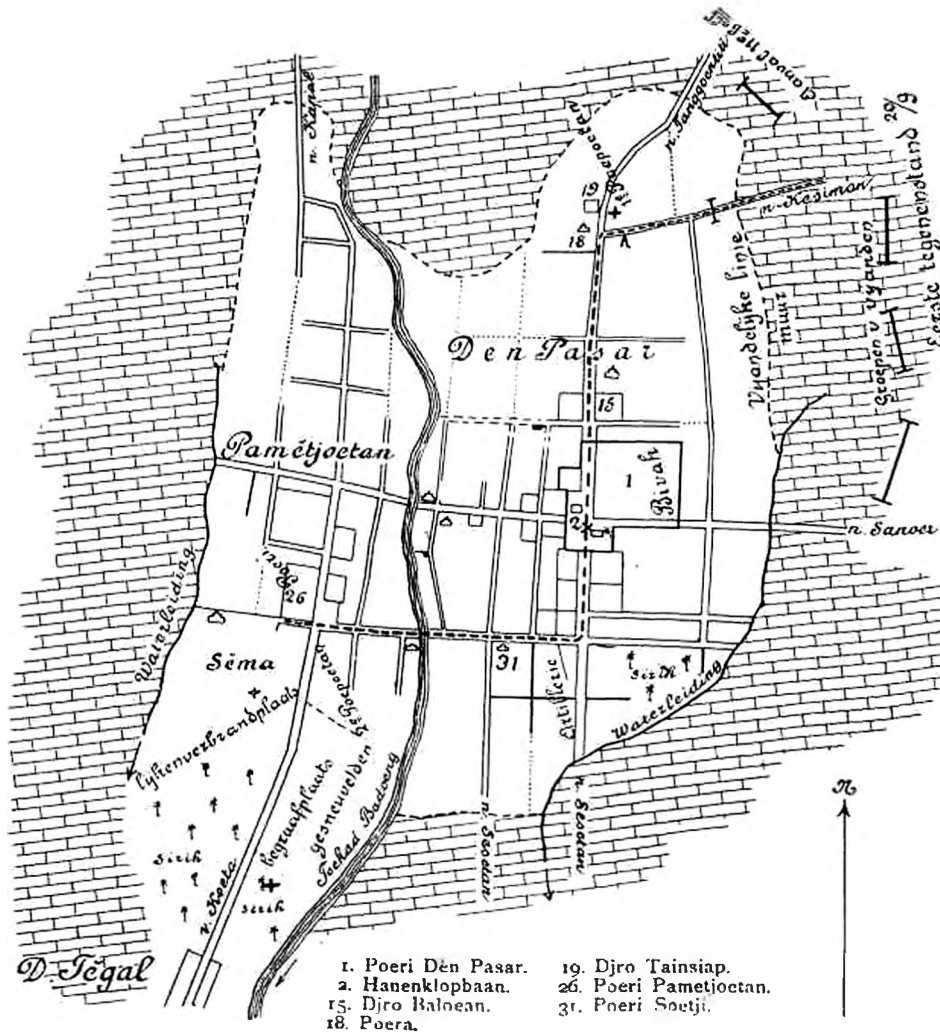
Blood spurted and bodies piled higher. No matter how fierce the pounding of bullets, the shouts of the people fighting did not diminish at all. After fighting fiercely, the Cokorda, armed with the heirloom *kris* “Singapraga,”<sup>77</sup> finally also slept soundly in the lap of Mother Earth, felled by a cannon ball in the neck.

<sup>74</sup> *Memendet* is an offering-dance performed during temple festivals. See Beryl De Zoete and Walter Spies, *Dance and Drama in Bali* (London: Faber and Faber, 1938), pp. 46–50.

<sup>75</sup> The onomatopoeic word *puak* refers to the noise of a *kris* being swung through the air.

<sup>76</sup> Van Weede draws attention to what he considers the inadequate response of the Balinese rulers to the obvious threat of war. He draws parallels to the more spirited and better-equipped response of the Lombok rulers in 1894 (although they, too, were defeated). He remarks on the antiquated and insufficient stores of military weapons in Badung, including seventeenth-century VOC-era muskets and a cannon cast in the Hague in 1813 (*Indische Reisherinnungen*, pp. 453, 460–61).

<sup>77</sup> There is just a passing reference to the *kris* Singapraga in this narrative, but in other accounts it has great significance. In Pedanda Ngurah’s *Bhuwanawinasa* (7.59) and in Konta’s *Puputan Badung* (9.22), the sacred power of the *kris* is referenced specifically when the Cokorda is said to throw it away when it proves ineffective as a means of defense. Its sacred origins and power (*kesaktian*) are described in considerable detail by Pierre Dubois, the first Dutch agent in Bali, who lived at Kuta between 1828 and 1831. In his third letter (ARA MvK no 3087 III), Dubois notes that the ruler of Blambangan, in East Java, sent a lump of rusty iron to Gusti Ngurah Jambe from Puri (Satria) Denpasar in exchange for a ravishing virgin the king had presented to him. In a fit of pique, Jambe gave the iron to his brother (and soon-to-be-rival) Gusti Gede Kesiman. Because of his greater spirituality, Kesiman learned from the gods that whoever possessed the iron would never be defeated by his enemies. He then attempted to have it forged into a *kris*, but so powerful was the lump of iron that the task could never be completed because the smiths all died. The rough-hewn *kris* called Singapraga(t), which according to Dubois meant “imperfect” (a somewhat dubious interpretation), and the rest of the iron were religiously preserved in the treasury of the royal palace of Denpasar. When war broke out in Gianyar, few would fight because they were afraid to be in the proximity of the power of the *kris* Singapraga(t). In the subsequent battle, which in an ironic historical twist took place at Taensiat, the site of the 1906 *puputan*, the unsuspecting Gusti Jambe was killed by his brother with a *kris*-thrust to the heart (presumably the *kris* Singapraga, although there is some ambiguity in the narrative). In an aside, Dubois notes that the ruler of Badung at the time he was there, Gusti Kesiman, asked him if he could procure more Singapraga(t) iron from Java. (See also Wiener, *Visible and Invisible Realms*, p. 311, who discusses the centrality of the sacred power of the Klungkung royal regalia as an embodiment of the ruler’s personal power in the context of the Klungkung *puputan* that took place two years later, on April 28, 1908.) In the second edition of *Puputan Badung*, Konta includes a detailed



**Map 2: Denpasar, 1906, showing the location of the puputan at Puri Denpasar and Puri Pamecutan (Pametjoetan).**  
 (Source: H. M. van Weede, *Indische Reishereningen*, 1908, p. 462)

His body lay where it fell on the left-hand side of the road at Taensiat. The bodies of the two priests were also sprawled in the roadway. The Cokorda had fallen in battle, and the number of corpses scattered here and there were too many to count, yet the thundering shouts, interspersed with curses filled with hate of the Dutch, persistently

description of Singap(a)raga and its history, which bears little resemblance to Dubois's account, in an appendix based on a Dutch description compiled in 1938, when the colonial government planned to return the sacred regalia to the Balinese rajas at their investiture as *zelfbestuurder*. In the event, the regalia were never returned. See Wiener, *Visible and Invisible Realms*, p. 347, note 15, p. 415. As part of the *puputan* centenary commemorations on September 20, 2006, a *kris* recently identified as Singapraga was brought to Denpasar from the National Museum in Jakarta and carried in a ritual procession through the city, together with an ancient mask of the Javanese Majapahit hero Gajah Mada from Blahbatuh, and two sacred *kakawin* texts from the Majapahit period, the *Sutasoma* and *Nagarakertagama*, brought from Bodakeling and Klungkung, respectively.

clamored even as the battle became ever more ferocious. The victims piled higher. After a long time the roar of cannons steadily decreased until they fell silent, so too the cries of the Badung forces could no longer be heard. The battlefield was deathly quiet except for the rasp of dying breaths. From among the corpses could be heard cries for help from those who were wounded and who had almost lost all strength, begging to be killed quickly.

“White eyes...white...eyes...Come here, quickly,” they called, meaning “Dutchman, please come here and kill me quickly.”

The Dutch merely turned their heads in the direction of the voices. Who knows if they understood the meaning of these challenging cries. What is clear is that, at that moment, the Dutch soldiers were reluctant to aim their rifles any longer, and gathered around examining the bodies. And what the Dutch were scrutinizing were the eyes of those lying sprawled face up. These were the sounds and atmosphere of the battlefield that the pregnant woman, still lying there among the lifeless bodies, heard and saw clearly. Bullets had whizzed past on both sides of her and the fat woman, Jro Padma, had just dragged her along. Although friend and foe stepped over her several times, she did not have the strength to get up. When the Dutch soldiers looked into her blinking eyes, in which there was no hint of hesitation, one of them pulled her up and supported her as they walked toward a house located at the bend in the road in Taensiat that, at the time, belonged to I Gusti Made Gredeg.

At the house there was a well whose water was said to be very pure. It seemed the purity of this water created an unquenchable thirst in the Dutchmen. The pregnant woman was then ordered to draw water again and again and the Dutch soldiers washed their faces and drank until they were satiated. After drinking to repletion, the Dutch soldiers, together with the pregnant woman, left the house. Once in the yard, they immediately propped the pregnant woman against the outer perimeter wall. In front of her eyes were so many bodies stretched out and already grown stiff that she could not count them. Amongst those lifeless bodies, she clearly saw a baby boy greedily suckling at the breast of his mother whose body was bathed in blood and already stiff. The Dutch soldiers, who had drunk their fill, also saw all of this.

#### **Installment 6: September 24, 1977, pp. 2, 4**

One of the Dutch soldiers stepped forward and dislodged the baby, then laid it down beside the recumbent pregnant woman. At the same time, the Dutch soldier placed a packet of lump sugar in the pregnant woman's lap and signaled to her to give it to the baby. But the woman just remained mute and bewildered. Certainly, random thoughts must have been going round in her head. When he saw that the pregnant woman's white sarong was red, spattered with the blood of ally and enemy and moistened by the water she had drawn from the well earlier, the Dutch soldier went back into the house. And soon after he came out carrying a piece of woven cloth still neatly folded. Who knows where he got it or to whom it belonged. The pregnant woman had no idea because earlier the house had been completely empty, that was what she related.

He placed the sarong in the pregnant woman's lap with gestures that she should change her clothes. But the pregnant woman remained fixed in place, sitting propped up there. Meanwhile, the other Dutch soldiers continued to wander around inspecting the stiff corpses. Ceaselessly, they sought out and inspected the corpses—this was the pregnant woman's testimony. When they found what they were seeking, the Dutch soldiers quickly carried it away on their shoulders to the south and stopped under a banyan tree in the outer courtyard of Puri Denpasar. The pregnant woman saw clearly that what the Dutch soldiers were carrying was the body of the Cokorda. Since then Ida Cokorda Ngurah Made Pamecutan has been more popularly known as Ida Cokorda di Rana and the present generation in our circles refer to him by the title of "He who Died in Battle."<sup>78</sup>

The battlefield became even quieter. The putrid smell of blood reached the pregnant woman's nose. In the silence, suddenly from the south, appeared her own mother-in-law, still wearing white stained with red, and holding a *kris*, looking everywhere for something on the battlefield. When she found it, without a blink or a tremor, she immediately picked up another *kris* lying there on the ground and plunged it into her breast, prostrating herself over the corpse of her only son, Anak Agung Alit Badra. And the woman who committed *sati* was named Jero Siulan from Banjar Lelangon.<sup>79</sup> Even seeing this, the pregnant woman remained motionless, leaning there.



**Body of Cokorda Made Pamecutan guarded by his followers, September 20, 1906.  
(Source: KITLV Collection, Leiden. Photo 10107)**

<sup>78</sup> In present-day Bali, Cokorda di Rana is also known for his literary prowess.

<sup>79</sup> This description of the *sati* death of Jero Nuraga's mother-in-law on the battlefield brings to mind similar descriptions in *kakawin* literature. See Helen Creese, *Women of the Kakawin World: Marriage and Sexuality in the Indic Courts of Java and Bali* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2004), especially chapter 6, "Nothing is More Virtuous: Death and Loyalty," pp. 210–44.

Not long after this event, a female retainer suddenly came out of the house. She was wearing white cloth sprinkled with blood, and her hair, face, and entire body were smeared with ash from the kitchen fire. She came rushing out, but when she saw the pregnant woman leaning there, [the retainer] was so taken aback that she hurled these words at her: "Jero Nyoman, why are you sitting there? Come on, quickly, you must get up. You might be taken captive."

Without stopping to think, [the retainer] quickly ran back inside the house and came out carrying ashes, which she rubbed onto the face and hair, and over the entire body of the pregnant woman just as she had done for herself. According to [Jero Nyoman's] account, the reason the attendant rubbed ash all over her body was so that she would be so filthy that the Dutch soldiers would be disgusted if they saw her, in the hope that they would not seize her as a captive. She came to this personal view of the Dutch soldiers by herself, but it was the same as the estimation of the Cokorda concerning his own underage sister, lest there were Dutch soldiers bent on plunder.<sup>80</sup>



**A mountain of corpses: the aftermath of the Puputan Badung.  
(Source: KITLV Collection, Leiden. Photo 10084)**

The pregnant woman just leaned there, letting it all happen. She spoke not a word. In a flash, the attendant grabbed her arm. The pregnant woman simply followed, and the two women set off, continuing eastward toward the home of the attendant, who was named Ni Buntek. While she took the woven cloth and the lump sugar with her, the baby boy beside her was left lying there on the ground. The boy had been born in Puri Tegal.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Once again the dangers faced by unprotected royal women are emphasized, this time through the voice of a female attendant.

<sup>81</sup> According to Putri Kapandyan (interview with Darma Putra, July 9, 2006), the baby, a boy, survived. Little is known of him except that he was from Puri Tegal, which was located on the site of what is now the Kodam Military Headquarters (on the western side of Puputan Badung Square). He was named Anak

After the Dutch soldiers had carried the Cokorda's corpse off to the south, an oppressive silence enveloped the battlefield. Now all that was left were the lifeless bodies of the people of Badung. In the silence, the surviving people of Badung spontaneously came to the battlefield to try to identify the bodies lying scattered there and to carry them quickly to the graveyard.

The bodies were buried with the status of "*kwala ilid*," meaning "interred without the usual ceremonies," because they were already regarded as having "finished" (in the sense of having already been blessed with the holy water of death) while they were still alive or, that is, before they were "finished" [*puput*] or dead, as had been done in Puri Denpasar. Some of the bodies were buried in the cemeteries of Bungkeneng or Sumerta, in accordance with the wishes of those living there concerning which graveyard was more or less safe for this purpose. Many were also cremated that night with the status of "*kwala puun*," which means the same as "*kwala ilid*."<sup>82</sup>

Earlier when the Dutch soldiers, who had attacked and fired on the Cokorda and his entourage at Taensiat, had advanced from the north and passed the entrance of the Puri, suddenly a young man dressed in white (the youngest brother of the Cokorda who was still a boy, and who was usually called by the names Anak Agung Rai Widnya and Anak Agung Rai Sakti) came out, running amok with his *kris*. He stabbed several Dutch soldiers, and in retribution the young man [was slain] in front of the doorway, becoming an object without a soul, his body a repository for Dutch bullets.

The death in battle of the Cokorda meant that the kingdom of Badung in Dangin Tukad had fallen into the hands of the Dutch who obtained it with the supreme sacrifice, blood. Even though they were defeated, not a word of surrender to the Dutch was ever heard from the people of Badung. On the afternoon of the same day, the sound of trumpets blared and the roar of cannons again joined the attack on the last defense of the kingdom of Badung, at Dauh Tukad. Puri Pamecutan became the target. There Ida Cokorda Pamecutan and hundreds of members of the Pamecutan family, *brahmana* priests, and hundreds of subjects, both men and women, dressed in white, all fought a fierce battle against the Dutch soldiers. In short, there were many casualties who fell on both sides. Many weapons lay scattered there.

### Installment 7: September 26 1977, p. 2

According to the story, Ida Cokorda Ngurah Pamecutan had an only daughter who was the beloved of Ida Cokorda Ngurah Made Pamecutan (of Puri Denpasar); accompanied by hundreds of women she had earlier (before the battle at Puri Pamecutan) committed *sati* in the Puri in front of her father.<sup>83</sup>

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Agung Gede Badra and grew up to become a talented *baris* dancer. The identity of his parents was never discovered. In the *Gaguritan Puputan Badung* (12.8–12), Korta relates a story of an abandoned baby who survived the *puputan* and was later restored to his family.

<sup>82</sup> Both terms signal death rites performed without the usual ceremonies; *kwala puun* refers to the cremation ceremony and *kwala ilid* refers to burial rites.

<sup>83</sup> This is the third act of *sati* described in the text. According to the *Bhuwanawinasa* 7.63–69, the Pamecutan princess is killed by a certain Ngurah Made with a *pusaka* weapon, so that she will not be seen in public outside the Puri. Nineteenth-century European reports of *sati* describe how women were sometimes stabbed by their relatives before plunging (or being thrown) into the flames. See Alfons van der Kraan,



**Sati: A female relative of Ida Cokorda Denpasar.  
(Source: KITLV Collection, Leiden. Photo 10083)**

In short this is the story: after fighting to the finish, at that moment, the Cokorda [of Pamecutan] also fell in battle. His body was borne away by Dutch soldiers who continued on their way toward Denpasar. The Puri too was burnt. That evening, on the orders of the Dutch government to the Saunggaling, the two bodies (of Ida Cokorda Denpasar and Ida Cokorda Pamecutan) were cremated with very simple ceremonies. With the fall of Pamecutan the whole kingdom of Badung was thus effectively in Dutch hands at the cost of thousands of lives.

The news of the fall of Badung spread to every corner of every village and was soon heard also outside the kingdom. The following day, on September 21, 1906, four people, who came from a far-distant village that was nevertheless under Badung hegemony, came specifically to the center of the kingdom of Badung to ascertain whether their relatives were alive or dead. Two of them were I Lamun and I Karta, members of the Cameng family. When they arrived in Denpasar, they saw that Puri Denpasar, which they had frequently visited in the past, had been destroyed and was

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"Human Sacrifice in Bali: Sources, Notes, and Commentary," *Indonesia* 40 (October 1985): 89–121. One of Cokorda Ngurah Made's sisters appears to have died under similar circumstances (unless the two events, one at Puri Denpasar and one at Puri Pamecutan, have been conflated). Van Weede describes how the Dutch troops came upon the lifeless body of the king's sister in the women's quarters (*kanyamata*) of Puri Denpasar lying on a couch on velvet cushions, although there was no sign of the weapon (*Indische Reisherinnungen*, pp. 471–72). He observes that she had clearly embraced death, for—like all the women they had seen that day—she had put on her finest attire underneath a white cloak and a gold-bordered sarong with a gold sash, and her hair was unbound. In the face of the deaths of hundreds of women, children, and men, Weede does not recognize this death as a *sati*-death, but in Balinese terms it can only be interpreted as an act of *sati*.

occupied by the Dutch. Moreover, the immediate neighbors of the Puri, comprising a *gria* and the houses belonging to I Perit, I Purna Kajeng, I Dayuh, and I Kepig (among others), were also deserted. In addition, the puris in the complex around it, which has now become Puputan Badung square, were deserted and had all been destroyed.

Some of the residents had specifically been ordered to flee, some had been buried in the cemetery, some, moaning in pain from the wounds they endured, were in other people's houses. The late afternoon market, the Pasar Nyorenang, which took place in the square [*bancingah*] outside Puri Denpasar, was no longer operating, nor did the traders in the Pasar Badung show themselves. So too the Chinese traders, I Babah Buleleng and I Babah Surabaya, shut their shops (today these places have become the Traffic Police Office in Jalan Gajahmada), as did those around Sengguan/Titih who sold things other than textiles. The *bedug* no longer resounded in the air of the kingdom of Badung to remind the people of the time. Its story too was "finished" [*puput*].

This was the desolate atmosphere that gripped the breasts of these villagers, and they turned their steps to Lelangon, toward the house of the family of Jero Siulan. Starting at her house, the villagers went in and out of the houses seeking confirmation about [the fate of] their family member [Jero Nyoman Nuraga]. Everyone they asked shook their heads saying they did not know.

No matter how difficult their search was, these village men did not despair. They continued searching and, on the fourth day, they came finally to Taensiat, to the house of the brothers I Wayan Dayuh and I Made Patek, who had been retainers in the Puri there. Both had marched to the field of battle bearing lances that had only just been hewn on the final day. Both had "finished" (meaning undergone *metirta pangentas*) but, thanks to the mercy of Sang Hyang Widhi/the All-Powerful, they had not "finished" (meaning ended their lives at that time). They were able to confirm that the woman the villagers were seeking was still alive and, together with a female retainer, she had traveled on toward the east after the battle at Taensiat had come to an end. Hearing this explanation, the men set off in pursuit eastward and finally found the one they had been seeking at Dajan Teluk, in Kesiman, in the house of Ni Buntuk. While in this house the pregnant woman, whose name was Jero Nyoman Nuraga, the wife of Anak Agung Alit Badra, still refused to utter a word.<sup>84</sup> Her family then supported her as she walked, taking her back to her natal home in the village of Penarungan in Mengwi.<sup>85</sup>

Apart from the experiences of the pregnant woman, there were many more heart-rending experiences that survivors of the *puputan* had to bear. Because God is the final arbiter of all things, people such as these continued to draw breath on earth but had to bear the burden of feelings that tore them apart. Wives had lost their husbands, babies had lost their mothers and fathers, and many had lost the homes that once had sheltered them by day and night. Those who fled were seized by restlessness; uncountable were the numbers of men and women who had been wounded.

Among those whose lives ended when the battle raged were: Jero Selaga, from Sebudi Tanjung Bungkak, the wife of Cokorda Di Rana [Cokarda Ngurah Made

<sup>84</sup> It is here that the Indonesian expression referred to in the introduction, *masih tetap membisu seribu bahasa* (mute in one thousand tongues), occurs.

<sup>85</sup> The return of women to their natal home is unusual in Balinese tradition, except following divorce. Here it may symbolize the total collapse of the social order.

Pamecutan], who was crippled when all ten fingers were severed by a Dutch bullet; and another called Anak Agung Ayu Raka Riris, who was said to be the most beautiful of the Cokorda's wives, and who suffered so many horrendous bodily injuries that she followed her husband [in death] soon after. Apart from these two, many men and women moaned with pain as they bore serious wounds—wounds and deformities of which they continued to be mindful as long as they lived. Those who had been directly hit certainly remembered it for all time. Those who had not “finished” [*puput*] could never escape the memory of the actions [they had witnessed] that unsettled their minds, and, sometimes, they felt an enormous hatred toward the Dutch colonizers whose inhumane conduct violated their sense of justice.

Although the war in Badung was over, the Dutch still sought to exert their authority. Now, their target was the crown prince of the kingdom of Badung who was just nine years old. The boy became a political prisoner and in December 1906 was transported to Lombok/Sasak with his mother in a warship. As well as his mother, those who were also taken included:

1. Anak Agung M. Ngurah Karta, [the crown prince's] elder brother, who had not “finished” (fallen in battle when the war was in progress)
2. A younger sister, about six years old
3. Jero Wayan Nerida
4. Dayu Made Tombong
5. I Binal and his wife Ni Sempok
6. I Made Goblog
7. I Gejer
8. Pan Tuges

When their view became indistinct, those who escorted them, including Anak Agung Ngurah Gede Meregeg and other relatives, just moved ever closer to the shoreline for as long as they could glimpse the ship in the eastern sea. After the crown prince was taken to Lombok, no matter how tenaciously the Dutch imposed their politics on the people of Badung, there were some whose hearts remained loyal and who were moved to follow the crown prince even across the ocean.

In about March 1907, another forty souls from Badung, both men and women, followed across the seas in a Dutch warship, so said one of the group who went with them named Jero Kayen, who is still alive today. In the end, they only returned to their own land [Badung] after many years living in exile. The crown prince was also called Ida Cokorda Alit Ngurah Pamecutan.

No matter how crushed were the hearts of the people of Badung, on the shore of the beach coconut palms, in all their luxuriant growth, continued to sway, heedless of the changes wrought by the passage of time: from the era of indigenous kingdoms led by their own people, to the period of colonial dominance ruled by a foreign power, and then, finally, to the time when the proclamation of Bung Karno and Hatta reverberated with the voice of an independent Indonesian state, whose dominion stretched from Sabang to Merauke. These events, which are today known as the Puputan Badung, are

also commonly called by a special name, that is “Uug Badung,” which means the fall of the kingdom of Badung into the hands of Dutch colonialism.<sup>86</sup>

### Afterword

After the *puputan*, Jero Nyoman Nuraga returned to Panarungan, in Mengwi, where her daughter, Anak Agung Biang Anom, was born in April 1907. For some time she had no contact with the royal family. During preparations for her daughter’s three-month ceremony, however, news of their survival reached the surviving members of the royal family, and they were invited by the childless Anak Agung Istri Bangli to come and live at Puri Belaluan. With the help of family members from Panarungan, Jero Nyoman Nuraga established a small business adjacent to the Puri selling coffee and cakes. Her business was successful enough for her eventually to buy land on which she built Puri Anom Kajanan.<sup>87</sup> She died in 1962.

<sup>86</sup> The term *uug* (or *rereg*) is a common element in the titles of a number of nineteenth-century tales in *gaguritan* (poetic) forms regarding the destruction of Balinese kingdoms in war, not just colonial wars.

<sup>87</sup> The original Puri Anom was destroyed in the *puputan*. Later four Puri Anom were rebuilt: Puri Anom Pamecutan, Puri Anom Kawan (west), Puri Anom Kangin (east), and Puri Anom Kajanan (north). Jero Nyoman Nuraga built Puri Anom Kajanan, where Putri Kapandyan now lives.