

Balingkang Kintamani Festival, Chinese Tourists, and the Collective Memory of the Balinese

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Article history

Received : 2021-09-01
Accepted : 2022-04-09
Published : 2022-04-10

Keywords

Balingkang Kintamani Festival,
Jayapangus,
Tourism Industry,
Collective Memory.

Abstract: Balingkang Kintamani Festival is a cultural parade held in Bali during 2019 Chinese New Year holiday. The main purpose of this festival was to increase the number of tourist visits from China, which had sharply declined due to the lawsuit against super cheap package tour to Bali, followed by the closure of illegal and semi-legal shops owned by citizens of China in Bali in 2018. Balingkang is a temple of worship in Bangli Regency, estimated to be as old as the kingdom of King Jayapangus (1177-1182 AD), who is said to have had a princess of China as his wife. This narrative, however, is not supported by adequate historical evidence. King Jayapangus had never established cultural, political, and trade relations with China, and thus he cannot have had a wife of a Chinese princess. Consequently, the narrative of the past in the festival seems to have been falsely narrated. This article wishes to demonstrate how the interests of the present has dictated the narrative of the past, and how this has affected the collective memory of the Balinese people regarding the Chinese community in Bali.

Abstrak: Balingkang Kintamani Festival adalah sebuah parade budaya yang diselenggarakan di Bali pada liburan Imlek 2019. Tujuan utama Festival ini untuk membidik kunjungan wisatawan asal Tiongkok, yang sempat menurun tajam sejak munculnya gugatan terhadap kasus paket wisata super murah di Tiongkok untuk tujuan Bali, disusul penutupan toko-toko ilegal dan semi legal milik warga Tiongkok di Bali pada 2018. Balingkang adalah sebuah kuil pemujaan di Kabupaten Bangli, diperkirakan sezaman dengan masa pemerintahan Raja Jayapangus (1177-1182), yang dikisahkan memiliki istri seorang putri Tiongkok. Akan tetapi narasi ini tidak didukung bukti-bukti sejarah yang memadai. Raja Jayapangus tidak pernah menjalin hubungan dagang, politik, dan budaya dengan Tiongkok, dan karena itu tidak mungkin beristrikan putri Tiongkok. Jadi, narasi masa lalu dalam festival itu tampak sangat dipaksakan. Artikel ini ingin menunjukkan bagaimana kepentingan masa kini mendikte narasi masa lalu, serta bagaimana implikasinya atas memori kolektif masyarakat Bali terhadap komunitas Tionghoa di Bali.

Cite this article: Wijaya, I N. (2022). Balingkang Kintamani Festival, Chinese Tourists, and the Collective Memory of the Balinese. *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal*, 32(1), 67-77. <http://dx.doi.org/10.15294/paramita.v32i1.31857>

INTRODUCTION

To welcome the Chinese New Year holiday on 6 February 2019 Bali Provincial Government organized Balingkang Kintamani Festival (BKF). This kind of festival was the first to hold in Bali. Its main purpose was to attract tourists from China to visit Bali again. The number of tourist visits from China declined sharply due to the lawsuit against super cheap package tour to Bali from China, followed by the closure of illegal and semi-legal shops owned by citizens of China in Bali (Mercury, 2019).

To achieve the target, BKF committee provided some Mandarin-speaking tourist guides. The festival was promoted in both Chinese mass media and social media such as *WeChat* and *Weibo* and a number of influencers were also used.



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Through this festival, it is expected that Batur, Kintamani, will be known as the most romantic tourist destination in the world. (Mardiastuti, 2019)

The BKF theme was “Acculturation of Balinese and Chinese cultures in the era of Balingkang Kingdom (the twelfth century)” with the background of Pura Batur, Kintamani. This theme was intended to show that the relations between Bali and China had been established for centuries, as indicated in the triangle love story involving King Jayapangus, Princess Kang Cing Wie and Dewi Danu. This romance was expressed in the form of a cultural parade, involving five hundred artists, with the purpose of attracting tourists from China. (Mardiastuti, 2019)

Despite its short duration, this two-hour cultural parade received huge applause from the audience. Since morning thousands of local spectators, Chinese tourists, and other guests had crowded the area of the festival. The cultural parade started with an opening dance, followed with addresses from the committee, Chinese General Consulate in Bali, Mr. Gao Haoding, and Bali Governor, who officially opened the festival. A symbol of acculturation in the form of bamboo poles with *lampion*, Chinese traditional lanterns, was part of the decoration in the festival area. (Mercury, 2019)

The BKF theme is based on folklores. There are four versions of folklore about the origin of Balingkang. The first version goes as follows. A ship of a merchant from China was stranded on a beach in Bali. The merchant was with his daughter named Kang Cing Wie. King Jayapangus was attracted to Kang Cing Wie and wanted to marry her. However, due to the differences in religion and ethnicity, the king advisor did not agree with the king's idea of marrying her. If the king imposed his will, something bad would happen to the kingdom. This folklore is easily found on the internet sites, but it has not been acknowledged by archeologists (Ardika, 2019)

The second version, King Sri Jaya Sakti had a wife, but he fell in love with Kang Cing Wie, a daughter of a trader with the family name Kang. After getting married, Kang Cing Wie was known as Sri Mahardatta. The kingdom was named Bali Kang. The king advisor did not agree. The king was furious and he arrested his advisor and sent him into exile. Natural disasters took place. The king advisor cast his curse that the king's power would end and would be forgotten by his descendants. This folklore cannot be epigraphically verified, as revealed in the work of archeologists from Bali,

Ardika (2019); Semadi Astra (I 1997), and Tara Wiguna (2008).

The third version, Balingkang originates from the combination of words Bali, Ing, and Kang. Its existence is associated to the marriage of King Jayapangus. He had two wives, Paduka Bhatari Sri Parameswari Indujaketana and Paduka Sri Mahadewi Cacangkaja Cihna (Cihna-Cina). The folklore mentions that the name of his Chinese-blooded wife was Kang Cing Wie, a daughter of a Chinese merchant, serving in the position of Subandar. Therefore, the words Bali, Ing, and Kang were combined into one word Balingkang. In the temple there is Queen Ayu Subandar altar, used to worship Kang Cing Wie, which is believed by the Chinese to bring blessings. In a number of inscriptions found by archeologists, a king named Jayapangus was indeed recognized. The narrative, however, is not as romantic as expressed in the folklore. Archeologists only mention that King Jayapangus had two wives, namely Paduka Bhatari Sri Parameswari and Paduka Sri Mahadewi. There is no reference about his wife, Kang Ching Wie, a Chinese princess (Ardika, 2019: 3).

The fourth version, King Jayapangus was considered to have violated the customary tradition because he intended to marry a Chinese girl named Kang Cing Wie. The royal high priest opposed the idea by sending incessant rain. Flood occurred throughout the area. The king decided to move the center of the kingdom to a place now called Balingkang. Since the king had no children, he asked Dewa Gunung Batur to give him children. On his journey he met Dewi Danu, and both fell in love and they had a child named Mayadenawa. The archeologists could not find evidence to support the version of this folklore, as revealed in the works of Warda, Renik, and Tara Wiguna (1990).

Even though it is a folk tale, people having the power to speak on behalf of Balingkang today are attempting to seek the truth hidden in it in various ways. One of them is by organizing Balingkang BKF as mentioned above. The opening ceremony was marked by the appointment of lanterns by the Governor of Bali and the invitees, enlivened by an art parade full of acculturation of Balinese and Chinese cultures. Acculturation has existed for generations and it is inseparable from people's lives on the island of Bali. Acculturation began when King Jayapangus married a Chinese princess named Kang Chi Wie and the influence of Chinese culture is still clearly visible in several holy places in Bali such as the Dalem Balingkang Temple in Pinggan Village, Kintamani, Bangli. In rituals, the acculturation is

also seen in the procession of Barong Landung (which is associated with Raja Jayapagus and Kang Cing Wie) and the use of Kepeng coins as accessories in the ritual ceremonies up to now. (Cerita, 2019).

Researches on Balingkang are relatively limited, several of which can be used to support this research. First, the work of Budiana and Mudana (2014), the purpose of which is to identify the background of the establishment of Pura Dalem Balingkang; the influence of Chinese culture in the era of King Jayapangus at Pura Dalem Balingkang, and to understand Chinese culture at Pura Dalem Balingkang as a source of learning local history in high school. This research uses a qualitative and quantitative approach. The second research is written by Wicaksana (2021), which resembles a travel guide article, describing the ornaments and interiors of Balingkang Temple. The marriage of Raja Jaya Pangus and the daughter of a Chinese merchant, Kang Ching We, became a significant momentum for the acculturation of two cultures, Bali and China

The third research is the work of Devi, Ardini, Wiyati, and Irawan (2021). This research aims to study the minimalist music with the Western, Balinese, and Chinese elements which reminds us of Balinese folklore about the legendary love story of King Jayapangus with Kang Cing Wie at Balingkang Temple. The method of this research is to create music through the stages of exploration, experimentation (improvisation), and formation. The fourth research is the work of Cerita (2017). The focus of this research is the major collaboration in 2001, between Chinese culture and Balinese culture in the form of an artistic dance and drama performance entitled "Balingkang." The idea of this collaboration is to make the most of the legend of the marriage of King Bali Jayapangus and Kang Ching Wie, the only daughter of a Chinese merchant Kang. This legend is believed to contain intellectual and spiritual meaning as a source of knowledge and spirituality that can be used as a guide in everyday life.

Beyond the level of knowledge of the previous researchers' studies, the novelty of this article can be seen in the purpose of the research, which is to identify how the current interests dictate the narratives of the past, so that a legend can be promoted as if it were a real and specific event. Therefore, it deserves to be used as the theme of the festival suitable for consumption of tourists from China. The implications of the collective memory of the Balinese people towards the Chinese

community in Bali are also taken into account. The novelty of this article is also in the use of Foucault's theory as a basis for thinking so that it is easier to capture the power-discourse-knowledge relations hidden in the Balingkang Kintamani Festival 2019.

Based on the background of the problem, this study is going to analyze the following important issues: (1) Balingkang as a kingdom; (2) claim that the relations between the Chinese empire and Bali have been established since the era of King Jayapangus; and (iii) acculturation of Chinese and Balinese cultures has taken place as indicated by the love affair of King Jayapangus and Kang Cing Wie. These issues will be analyzed with Foucault's genealogy method, which will be elaborated below.

METHOD

Foucault's Genealogy method starts with the mapping of knowledge. Someone's knowledge about a place very much depends on the episteme, structure of meaning, their interpretation about the world, realm of philosophy, and experience (especially from whom they study and what books they read) and their reasoning (ability to absorb and process information they receive (Adian, 2002).

Apart from what has been previously mentioned, a person's knowledge or Bali community's knowledge about Balingkang is also based on the meta historical knowledge. This knowledge is constructed from traditional sources such as *Purana Dalem Balingkang* (2009, pp. 33-34), which is considered as a historical source containing the truth. It is narrated that one of the royal senapati named Mpu Kang had a court lady named Kang Cing Wie. Her father's name was Subandar and her mother was a Balinese woman named Jangir. Attracted by her beauty, Raja Jayapangus living in a palace in Panerojan wanted to marry Kang Cing Wie. The king advisor, Mpu Siwa Gandhu, opposed to the idea and expressed this concern in the meeting hall. He said that the king's idea of marrying Kang Cing Wie was inappropriate due to the difference in religion. The king was a Hinduist, while Kang Cing Wie was a Buddhist. The king ignored this advice.

In the chronicle *Kayu Selemmit* is mentioned that Jayapangus with his honorary title Detya Karnapati lived in Balingkang. Lontar *Usana Bali*, however, mentions that Jayapangus and Detya are two different kings. This information is supported by *Gaguritan Mayadenawa*. The opinion of these chronicle writers is different from the data found in Sukawana bronze inscription (1300) saying that Balingkang river was the farthest eastern border of

Sikawana (Sukawana). Lontar *Pangeling-eling* mentions that in the middle of nineteenth century Balingkang had been a Suraknya temple (Wardha, Renik, Tara Wiguna, 1990, p/ 50). These differences are quite understandable since the oldest chronicles were mostly written in sixteenth to seventeenth century.

The intersection between the general knowledge and the metahistorical knowledge indicates that the love story of Jayapangus and Kang Cing Wie is merely a folklore. Nonetheless, the people having power to speak in the name of Balingkang are attempting to construct the truth based on the folklore, among others, through conducting BKF event. Similar cases often happen in Bali as seen in the story of Jayaprana and Layonsari in North Bali, for example. Once upon a time, in order to possess Layonsari, the king had to kill Jayaprana. (Putu Shanty, 1962).

To deal with such manuscripts which are of different eras, C.C. Berg suggests that they not be treated as historical documents. Instead, they should be treated as sacred documents which should be understood in the context of political religious myths that their writers focused on. Those manuscripts were not meant to record historical events of the past, but to determine the events of the future by the supernatural means (Ricklefs, 2005, pp. 54-55).

A person's knowledge about Balingkang is also based on the archeologists' researches. Archeologists say that the site like Pura Batur is good for residential area. Temple Batur cannot be separated from three other temples surrounding it: Pura Pande, Bhujangga, and Pasek Gelgel, and there is a cemetery in the area called *tunonorpebasmian* (Wardha, Renik, Tara Wiguna, 1990, pp. 1-3).

They could not find a bronze inscription related to the history of Balingkang. They only managed to present non-biological archeological data, referring to AMS Serie 7721 map published in 1943 and updated in 1977. The map indicates that Balingkang was not a temple, but a big river whose end was at Lake Batur and its estuary was at Mount Penulisan. Furthermore, referring to the research of Ch. E. Stehn (1928), using oral history method, it is mentioned that Balingkang was not a temple, but a big river. The temples in the area include Pura Catu, Kanginan, Kauhan, Bunder, Tamansari, and Suraknya (Wardha, Renik, Tara Wiguna, 1990: 1-3).

The three archeologists draw three conclusions, all of which are still possibilities. In a very long span of time (since tenth century) there have

been a lot of changes in this area. The places which used to function as *pasanggrahan* was also called *satra* (lodge) and *pasimpangan* (sacred building to worship god whose original temple is located far away), several centuries later the function changed into temple in order to sustain. One of them is *Satra Air Mih*, mentioned in the Kintamani inscription in 987AD. It is stated in the inscription that Sang Ratu Sang Siddha Dewata Sang Lumah di Air Madatu (King Ugrasena was around two centuries earlier than Jayapangus) gave *Satra Air Mih*, which was then extended by his successor Sri Haji Tabanendra Warmadewa. The worshipers were the residents of Minggan, Lokan, and Pulu, which according to the local community were alternate names of Pinggan, Penelokan and Pludu.

It is quite possible that *Satra Air Mih* changed its name into *Satra Darmarupa* which since 987AD has been under the responsibility of Pinggan community, and then it functioned as a temple by the name Balingkang in accordance with the name of the river (which is now called Sungai Melilit). Thus *Satra Dharmarupa* is a name or a substitute name for Air Mih or Air Madatu, the place where King Ugrasena passed away. The location of Pura Balingkang during the administration era of Sri Haji Tabanendra Warmadewa was different from that of the present. Pura Balingkang used to be located in Batan Tingkih, and it was called Pura Gede Makulen. In this place a third-grade inscription was discovered, but it has gone missing. Traces of the temple is no longer in sight, except a pile of crushed rocks.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND BALI

The research results of Ardika (2019) indicate that trade relations between China and Bali estimate happened in the first century, in the seventh century up to the tenth century, and during the colonial period. It is not clear, nonetheless, whether what is meant by China is China as an empire or Chinese traders as individuals. An inscription from the eleventh century recorded that Chinese traders had visited the port in Northern Bali. Nevertheless, Ardika does not mention that in the twelfth century Chinese traders had contacts with Balingkang and King Jayapangus.

China and Bali relations in the Ancient Bali

The absence of relations between Chinese traders and Balingkang can be seen from the inscriptions issued by King Jayapangus. Shastri states that King Jayapangus only issued thirty-three inscriptions,

made on the same date, only with different names of ministers. Most of the inscriptions issued by the king contain about traditional customs in villages. They also often contain about rules and regulation regarding deaths or deaths due to *salah pati* (unnatural deaths), the stipulations of which are still obeyed by the present Hindu Bali community. The beliefs of the people living in the villages in the mountain area, which are different from those of the Brahmana and the Kings in the mainland, are also elaborated (Shastri, 1963, p. 73; Tara Wiguna, 2008).

The inscriptions left by the king were discovered in Buwahan, Penida Kaja, Batur, Sembiran, Kediri, Sukawana, Daya, Pengotan, Batunya, Landih (Nongan), Cempaga, Bulian, Teba Kauh, Sarin Buana, Serdi, Tonja (Pemecutan), Dalung, Mantring, Dausa, Malat Gde. Apart from these, there are still some other inscriptions discovered in different locations such as Prasi, Selat, Sukawati, Peguyangan, Jagaraga, Sarin Buana, and Batur. In Sawah Gunung in a temple called Pangukur-Ukuran, "*Mpukwing Dharma Hanar*" and "*Ratnakunyarapada*" are mentioned, both of which are Dharma Anyar and Ashram Ratnakunyarapada hermitages, which had already existed in the era of Anak Wungsu (Shastri, 1963, p. 73).

Thus, it is obvious that King Jayapangus had no relations with China as an empire. What about the narrative that he had a Chinese princess as a wife? The presence of a mental fact that there was a Chinese princess in the history of Jayapangus cannot be separated from the profile of a statue depicting a man and a woman in Mount Penulisan. The man-statue looks like a mountain man in general, while the woman-statue looks like a Chinese woman. An archeologist, Ardana, (1980) argues (without using evidence from the inscription) that the man-statue is King Balingkang (without mentioning the identity), while the Chinese living around Kintamani state that the woman might have been (based on their guess) Queen Chung Kang, princess of Chung dynasty.

Oral data obtained by archeologist Ardhana are not accurate, because the ruler in China in 960-1279, before being invaded by Mongol, was Song dynasty (Song Chao). This dynasty is the first government in the world which printed paper money and also the first to build a navy. They were also the first to use gun powder. The periods of Song dynasty is divided into two: the Northern Song (960-1127) and the Southern Song (1127-1279). The era of King Jayapangus was of the same as that of the Song Dynasty.

The social life in the era of Song dynasty was so vibrant. The elite of the kingdom often gathered to trade valuable works of arts. The society also often held festivals. There were a lot of lively amusement centers in the cities. Driven by the invention of woodblock printing technique starting to exist in the eleventh century, science and literature developed significantly. Also in this era, technology, science, philosophy, mathematics, pre-modern engineering were flourishing. Civil service examination was more dominant than that carried out in the preceding dynasty, so that there was a shift from aristocratic elite to bureaucratic elite.

The result of the team of researchers from Hindu Dharma Institute (1980) connects King of Balingkang with Jaya Sri Bedha Sirsa Masula Masuli, a great king in Bali kingdom which was supposed to reign from 1178-1256 AD (Wardha, Renik, Tara Wiguna, 1990, pp. 1-3), implying that it was the same era as the Southern Song Dynasty. How do archeologists and history researchers explain the reign of King Jayapangus in connection with the era of Southern Song dynasty? Nobody could answer these questions. One thing that we can learn from the results of the archeological researches is that in the government bureaucracy in the twelfth century there was no official position dealing with foreign affairs. They only had officers dealing with internal affairs such as *assamgat asba* (stable master), *samgat-wadwa* (population affairs), and *samgat manuratan ajna* (kingdom secretary) (Semadi Astra, 1997). This findings serve as evidence that there was neither diplomatic relations nor trade relations with the Chinese empire during the reign of Jayapangus.

Furthermore, in the 1181 inscription Ratna Kunyarapada hermitage was mentioned. The name is similar to that of Anta Kunyara discovered in Lutungan inscription in 1071. As it was already previously mentioned (Shastri, 1963, p. 73), Anta Kunyara has the same meaning as Ratna Kunyarapada. This dormitory is for the memory of Kunyara Kuya Maharesi Agastya dormitory located in Mysore in southern India (Shastri, 1963, pp. 57-58). Therefore, this king revived the religious triumph of Çiwa-Buddha as what happened in the era of Marakata and Anak Wungsu. If so, how could it be like that? Was Jayapangus a conqueror?

The answers to those questions can be searched by looking at the political development in Java, where stronger and more powerful rulers than kings of Bali lived. Jayapangus ruled from 1177-1181 more or less the same period of Sri Gandara of Kediri Kingdom (East Java) who was in power up to 1182 (Kartodirdjo, *et al.*, 1975, p. 150-154). Did this

king of East Java conquer Bali? Such a tendency seems to be hard to deny, especially if we look at the language used in the inscription in 1181. This inscription shows that Bali had been influenced by Java (Hindu-Java). This is indicated by the use of the Ancient Javanese language in the writing:

*Ing çaka 1103 srawanamasa, tithi nawami
suklapaksa ma, pa, buwara wayang-wayang,
irika diwasa ajña paduka Çri Maharaja
Hajijayapangus.*

which translates:

In the year çaka 1103 month I (July/August),
wuku Wayang, His Excellency then was *ma-
haraja Çri Jayapangus*.

Panji Tisna thinks that the use of ancient Javanese language in the manuscript can be used as the evidence of the influence of the power of Javanese kings in Bali. This can be seen from the use of title *Jaya*, which indicates that Bali kingdom in that period was under the power of kings of Kediri who also had a similar title. If Bali had been an independent kingdom, the inscriptions issued by the kings of Bali would have been used ancient Balinese language (Pandji Tisna, 1936, p. 145).

The tendency to think that Bali was the colony of Java is implied in expressions of the name and attributes of the king described in the king's inscription. The king's name is referred as "Paduka Çri Aji Jayapangus Arkaja Lancana Saha Raja Patni Dwaya Paduka Batari Çri Parameswari Indujaketa-na Paduka Çri Mahadewi Çaçangkayacihna." *Arka-*ja means Surya Wangsa. One of the leading figures of this is Çri Rama. *Cihnalancana*, *ketana* means 'characteristic', 'sign', 'name'; *bhatari* means pass away used to refer to the first wife of the king or the queen; *induja* means 'descendant of the moon'; *ça-çangkaja* means child of the moon or the birth of candra wangsor soma wangsato refer the second wife of the king (Shastri, 1963: 72).

Therefore, the phrase *Cihnalancana* mentioned in the inscription can be used to argue against the version of the folklores attributing Bal-ingkang to the wife of Raja Jayapangus, that is *Padu-ka Sri Mahadewi Cacangkaja Cihna*, which means a princess with Chinese blood (*Cihna-Cina*). Lexically, as mentioned by Zoetmulder, 2000, pp. 174; 573), *Cihna* (Skt) means sign, spot, feature, typical characteristic, phenomenon, evidence example and *Lancana* (Skt) mean sign, gesture, evidence, typical characteristic, name, label, title (text).

While the attributes of the king are expressed as "*jiwa wardhana ring Balidwipa Negara, jagat ta*

prabhu cakrawarti rajadiraja sikha rajyaraja laksmi." *Cakrawarti* means emperor or the king of kings. On the whole that expression means that in the era the king ruled in Bali, there were seven kingdoms and Jayapangus was the king of kings. The other kings were the vassals, so that they had no rights to issue inscriptions. The only person who could issue inscriptions was king Jayapangus, as a *Cakrawarti* (Shastri, 1963, p. 72).

That is the position of King Jayapangus if it is seen from political perspective. How is it if it is seen from religious perspective? The team of Indonesian National History writers has the opinion that under the rule of King Jayapangus there was a book of literature containing guidelines and rules for the priests called "Manawā Kamandaka." There were "Niti, Sasana, and Palakrta" which were categorized as religious books (Kartodirdjo, 1975, pp. 150-154). While Shastri argues that King Jayapangus was a master *indharma sastra* (knowledge of virtues) and in Hindu-related knowledge (Shastri, 1963, p. 73). Did his successor show a similar tendency to Çiwa-Buddha? Who succeeded Jayapangus?

In 1200, an inscription was issued in the name of Çri Mahârâja Eka Jaya and his mother named Çri Mahârâja Arjaya Dengjaya (Goris, 1948, p. 11). This inscription was discovered in Kintamanivillage (Gora Sirikan, 1956, p. 114). Shastri states that the successor of Raja Jayapangus was Çri Mahârâja Ekajayalancana, while his mother was Çri Mahârâja Arjaya Dengjaya Katana (Shastri, 1963 : 75). Who was this king? Citing Goris, Gora Sirikan (1956) argues that Çri Mahârâja Arjaya Dengjaya Katana was the widow of Jayapangus. Consequently, Çri Mahârâja Ekajayalancana was the son of Jayapangus. The use of the word "Jaya" inserted in his name supports this consideration, but this analysis is not supported by the word "Lancana," because in East Java in the same period Çri Sarweçwara Çri Inggula Lancana, who became king in 1194-1200 succeeding Çri Kameçwara II (1185-1194) was in power.

Both kings were the descendants of Airlangga, ruling in Kediri kingdom, a split of Airlangga's kingdom. The king of Kediri who was in power at that time used the title *Lancana*, so we can guess that the king of Bali Çri Mahârâja Ekajayalancana had familial relationship with the kings of Kediri kingdom. Gora Sirikan (1956, p. 115) presumes that the mother of this king, Çri Mahârâja Arjaya Dengjaya Katana, was from Kediri kingdom, so her son was also given a title *Lancana*. Nonetheless, he could not confirm who was the husband of this princess of Kediri kingdom. Was it King

Jayapangus as mentioned earlier?

Thus, there was no archeological evidence supporting the claim that King Jayapangus had a Chinese wife. Consequently, the discourse of “Balingkang (in) the Historical Perspective of China-Bali Relations” used as a basis for the Balingkang Kintamani Festival is not constructed based on valid archeological knowledge. Instead, it is the result of a compromise with those people having power to speak in the name of Balingkang with their present interests, it is a blend of general knowledge and meta-historical knowledge.

Based on that argument, there is no point in talking about the history of Balingkang as a truth before excavation around the temple is performed. The result of the excavation will determine the next steps of the research, whether or not a number of scientific tools such as iconography is needed. Iconography can be used to understand the hidden meaning in a statue so that the situation of the religion at that time can be understood. This, however, cannot be carelessly used. It should comply with rules and regulation agreed by the experts (Maulana, 2004, p. 2 in Andrietta, 2011, p. 4).

China and Bali relations from the Middle Age Era to Independence Era

If archeologists cannot provide data about the relations between China and Bali and also the history of Balingkang, there is nothing more that historians can discuss this topic. Critical history research method always demands tested primary sources. As one of the ways out, understanding of the history of the Chinese community outside Bali is needed. This approach allows us to understand their relations with Bali. In other words, an indirectly round way to arrive at the knowledge of the history of the Chinese community in Bali is required.

Chinese Community Outside Bali

Tome Pires, a Portuguese explorer in the early sixteenth century, made a journey to see the world of trade from Red Sea to East Asia (read: China and Japan). He began to write after visiting Malacca in 1512 (a territory under the rule of Portuguese since 1511) and stopped writing in India in 1515. He recorded everything that he saw. In Java he saw the Chinese along with the Arabs, Persians, Gujarats, Bengals, and people of other nationalities living on the northern coasts, working as traders, and professing Islam as their religion. Then they became rulers, holding very important positions in society, so respected and feeling more important than the

Javanese aristocrats, and they became muslim (Tome Pires, 2016, passim). Some of them were Muslim Chinese (H.J. de Graff, 1998).

Pires did not say anything about the trade between China and Bali. He even placed Bali as a place which was not very important to report to his king. The information he provided, however, can be used as entrance to understand that in that year (1512) the Chinese, involved in slave trading, had been there in Bali. Although the Chinese had been there, we cannot say that the relations between China and Bali had been established.

The trade contact at that time has left some durable goods made in China such as bowls, plates, and earthen ware jugs. Besides, many of them held important positions in Bali kingdom, especially in the official positions dealing with trading.

Position of the Chinese in Bali in pre-Colonial, Colonial, and post-Colonial Eras

Schäubin (2014, p. 89), referring to a number of researches by Liefrinck (1915), Lombard and Salmon (1994), van Eck (1880), Bloemen Waanders (1859), Nieuwenkamp (1922), Geertz (1980, pp. 38-39), Eiseman (1980: 38-39), Nordholt (1996, pp. 281-283) and Van Eck (1880, p. 5), says that during the kingdom era and early colonial era, the Chinese played important roles in world of trade in Bali, Lombok, and other surrounding islands. They lived in all ports in Northern Bali. This fact is supported by Chinkak from Siam, who visited ports in Northern Bali in 1884. He recorded that the village heads had special access to the king's palace. The king trusted the Chinese as tenants with the control over the ports, including imports and exports of goods and taxation. As reported by Medhurst that in the early 1829 (before the foundation of the warehouse of *Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij in Kuta*), subandar (port master) paid annual tax, a fixed percentage of duties on all imports and exports of goods, and bore the king's travel expenses. Moreover, according to Somers Heidhues (2010), subandar also delivered all goods and gifts such as imported silk and Chinese princesses.

Sutjiati Beratha, Ardika and Dhana (2011) states that the Chinese community in Bali, the members of which on average are in the fourth generation, now can be seen in Carangsari, Baturiti, Kintamani, and Karangasem. If the transition of one generation takes more or less thirty years, and a child has replaced the position of the father as the head of the family to *ngayahin banjar* (perform obligations as banjar member), this means

the agreement took place a hundred and twenty years ago. In addition, the average of the informants are thirty, so it means that the Chinese community in those areas started a hundred and fifty years ago or around 1869.

At that time there was political instability in Bali. The kings were at war with one another leading to the fall of Mengwi kingdom (1891), the disappearance of vassal state Negara (1891), and the emergence of Gianyar as a protectorate territory (1900), the conquer of Badung and Tabanan by the Dutch (1906), and followed by the conquer of Klungkung (1908) (Gde Agung, 1989). These major events disturbed the Chinese, most of whom lived in the centers of power as seen in Mengwi kingdom.

The Chinese in Mengwi kingdom were controlled by a chairperson (*kelian*), called Chinese *Kelian*, held by Tjokorde Ketut Rai. Before the fall of Mengwi in 1891, Tjokorde Ketut Rai had good relationship with the head of Ubud Tjokorde Gde Soekawati, the warlord of Gianyar kingdom. Tjokorde Ketut Rai (founder of Puri Kauhan Ubud) supplied firearms needed by the troop of Tjokorde Gde Soekawati in every battle. Those firearms were imported by Tjokorde Ketut Rai from Singapore through the Chinese traders. Chinese traders always found their way to smuggle goods from abroad. Moreover, they got a lot of benefits from Mengwi which had a number of important ports in Bali (Wijaya, 2018).

Despite the fact that the ports in Mengwi were controlled by the kings of Buleleng and the ports in Blambangan were controlled by the Dutch in 1880s, there were still some important ports in the southern region. This helped Mengwi to have contact with foreign traders, which allowed them to buy firearms and to import new military techniques, which in turn made their implementation of power more effective. Therefore, through Tjokorde Ketut Rai the Chinese played an important role to achieve and maintain Tjokorde Gde Soekawati's victory in the battles he went through, especially in the provision of firearms, something which was hard to do.

When Mengwi fell (1891), many of the kingdom elite were held in captivity in Badung. Upon the request of Tjokorde Gde Soekawati they were then moved to Ubud. Many of those who managed to escape ran away to Carangsari, the palace of *punggawa agung* (great courtier) of Mengwi. The Courtier of Carangsari sought protection of the Courtier of Ubud, Tjokorde Gde Soekawati, so that Badung and Tabanan troops did not dare to chase

them. Carangsari became a safe territory to live in for the escapees of Mengwi.

There were also a lot of Chinese people from Mengwi who chose to move to Gianyar (Wijaya, 2018). In 1911, on the way from Denpasar to Ubud to see Tjokorde Gde Soekawati, along the way in the border of Gianyar, a lot of Chinese settlement could be found. Because the Chinese married local women, they were easily embraced by the Balinese. One thing that made Van Kol wonder was how the Balinese in this area could survive from the tricks and tactics of the Chinese.

Similarly, Baturiti (capital of the sub-district) and Pancasari (not far from Baturiti) became a safe place for the Chinese to live in, because this region was under the Courtier of Ubud. Before that this area was under the authority of Mengwi. However, after the end of Badung – Mengwi warfare (1891), this region along with other regions became part of the political territory of Ubud, who was one of the officials *Punggawa* Gianyar. Then after Gianyar became a protectorate territory, it was taken over by the Dutch colonial government.

One of the Chinese descendants in Baturiti is Merta Ada. His Chinese name is Tee En Lai, the fourth generation of Tee Ho Pin, a Chinese migrant. Tee Ho Pin along with his sibling set off to Netherlands Indie. They landed and got separated in Madura. Up to now (2012) the family *cho, kompiang* (great grandfather) of Merta Ada are still unknown. According to a story, the brother went to Java and his *cho* stayed in Penebel, Bali. He had three children, one of whom is his grandfather, Tee Lap Sing, who then had children. One of his children is Tee Siong Cin, Merta Ada's father (Wijaya, 2012).

Unlike Baturiti, Kintamani is part of Bangli kingdom which is safe for the Chinese to live, because the King of Bangli was skillful in tactics, techniques, and maneuvers in the war situation in Southern Bali. In coalition with Klungkung, Bangli took part in overthrowing Gianyar power. It began with the arrest and the exile of the King of Gianyar in Puri Kesatria, Klungkung. Nonetheless, the resistance led by the Courtiers of Ubud, Peliatan, and Tegallalang, managed to recover the territory of Gianyar. When Dutch power and force started to enter Southern Bali, Bangli chose to compromise. This maneuver prevented Bangli from fighting head to head with the Dutch as what happened in Badung and Klungkung (Wijaya, 2018).

To talk about the origin of the Chinese community in Kintamani, there is no need to trace back too far to the era of King Jayapangus. The same thing happened in Karangasem. The Chinese felt

safe to stay in this area because when the Southern Bali war (1884-1891) was going on, Karangsem had already been a Dutch protectorate territory, long before Gianyar. With its status, Klungkung which happened to be the enemy of Karangasem did not dare to attack again. While Karangasem, which had consisted of twenty districts, in 1913 was reduced into sixteen. In 1914 the number of districts was reduced into twelve (Wijaya, 2018).

If that is the case, why was the narrative of the history of the Chinese in Bali in Balingkang Kintamani Festival 2019 made in such a way that the existence of the Chinese has been integrated to the Balinese for almost one thousand years? Is this merely a way to attract tourists from China to visit Bali again? Or is there something bigger than that interest?

BALINGKANG KINTAMANI FESTIVAL

Balingkang Kintamani Festival 2019 has tried to refine the narrative of the past for the interests of the present by inviting people to remember the far away past – which is historically untrue – while forgetting all the political violence inflicted on the Chinese in the second half of 1960s. A number of previous researches explain the political violence experienced by the Chinese in Bali, for example researches conducted by Robert Cribb (2016, p. 365) and John K. Naveront (1994: 49-50). The physical evidence can now be seen among others in the existence of the communities of the Chinese from Bali in China. (Sutianto, 2017)

Citing a number of previous researches, Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin (2014; 90-91) states that under the New Order regime (1967– 1998) Chinese people in Indonesia, including those living in Bali, were forced to change their names into the names which sound Indonesian. They had to give up their religious practices inherited from their ancestors (Coppel 2001; Heryanto, Tan 1991). Based on the presidential decree and instruction, all Chinese schools had to be terminated and all publications using Chinese characters were prohibited (*Keputusan Presiden Kabinet* (Cabinet Presidential Decree) No. 127/U/KEP/12/1966 and *Instruksi Presiden* (President Instruction) No. 14/ 1967). Barongsai (Lion Dance) performance was also prohibited (Coppel 2001; Abalihin 2005). The culmination of the violence took place in May 1998, which was dubbed the worst anti-Chinese pogrom that has ever happened in Indonesia by Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin (2014, p. 92).

By trying to forget the political violence experienced by the Chinese in the second half of 1960s,

it is expected that the image of the Balinese who are tolerant with the Chinese will appear. It means that what has to be remembered and what has to be forgotten by the Balinese in particular and the Indonesians in general about the Chinese now is constructed by those having the power to speak. This construction at the same time also in turn determines how they have to define their collective consciousness in “cultural, economic, and political relations with the Chinese” (Duija, 2019).

Through BKF 2019 each party is invited not to remember the physical violence, no matter how small it, is inflicted on the Chinese by some of the Balinese at the end of 1950s (read: the impact of PP No. 10 1959 regarding no dual nationalities for the Chinese in Indonesia) and in the middle of 1960s. When the physical violence happened, all the good deeds that the Chinese might have done tend to have been forgotten, because of the critical situation and condition at that time, namely the issuance of Peraturan Pemerintah (Government Regulation) No. 10 1959 (Soyomukti, 2012, pp. 201-210). That regulation was the legal basis for prohibiting foreign people to do retail business outside the capital-of swatantra (autonomous region) level I and II and also karesidenan (residency) (Coppel, 1994, pp. 90-92). Then in 1965-1966 the Chinese were accused of being communist. However, for the sake of building the interest of the present (amidst the growing fundamentalist movement) Bali is invited to make “harmonization movement so that both parties (the Balinese and the Chinese) do not have sentiments of political identity” (Duija, 2019). So, through BKF 2019 the Chinese were asked to forget the physical violence that their previous generation has experienced.

Therefore, in BKF 2019 memories about the Chinese have changed places. What used to be remembered by the Chinese that their ancestors experienced physical violence in the past must be forgotten. On the other hand, the role of the ancestors of the Chinese in history, culture, economy, and politics in the past, which had been forgotten by the Balinese in 1950s and in the middle of 1960, should be remembered again through the narrative “developing diplomatic relationship between Bali and the Chinese (sic, China) in the fields of history, culture, and religion, because this second party has a long history in Bali” (Duija, 2019).

Changing places of the memory about the Chinese was initiated by B.J. Habibie by eradicating discrimination toward the Chinese and the dichotomy between the indigeneous and non-indigeneous

people through *Instruksi Presiden Republik Indonesia* (Instruction of President of the Republic of Indonesia) Number 26 1998. In 2001, this was followed by President Abdurrahman Wahid who stated that Imlek day to celebrate the Chinese New Year is a national holiday. He also revoked the prohibition to use Chinese characters and Chinese names, including imported publications in Chinese characters. After that President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono continued this policy by issuing a new Law of Citizenship in 2006 to revoke all discriminations based on origin, race, or religion (Schäubin, 2014, p. 92; Chang-Yau Hoon, 2012, p. 258).

A year later, in 2007, barongsai (Lion Dance) performance began to be shown in Pura Batur (Kintamani). This phenomenon, however, indirectly erased the memory of the massacre of the people associated with the PKI or made connected with the PKI in 1965-1966. At that time not only that many Chinese people were killed, but the *pelinggih* (worshipping altar) I Ratu Gede Subandar was taken out of the *jeroan* (the main section of the yard) Pura Batur and brought *tojaba tengah* (the middle section of the temple). After that a lot of disasters happened. The disasters were associated with the moving of the *pelinggih*, and because of that, the *pelinggih* was finally returned to its original position (Schäubin, 2014, p. 86; p. 92).

Back to BKF 2019, if the festival is held to attract Chinese tourists to visit Bali, there is no available survey showing the correlation between the two. It is a fact that Chinese tourists then visited Bali, but this happened after the case of super cheap package tour to Bali and illegal or semi-legal shops owned by Chinese citizens in Bali was solved. The content of BKF 2019 is intended more to Balinese Chinese in particular and Indonesians in general. Therefore, the goal and the content or the substance of BKF 2019 as a matter of fact are not in alignment.

CONCLUSION

The result of the research above shows that Balingkang cannot be viewed from historical perspective yet, especially in connection with China and Bali relations. This is due to the fact that the level of knowledge about Balingkang still relies on general knowledge and metahistorical knowledge. While the archeological knowledge only arrives at the speculative conclusions.

Further archeological researches are needed to improve the level of knowledge about Balingkang which so far has only depended on general knowledge and metahistorical knowledge. The pre-

sent research has only arrived at the stage of epigraphy, and should be followed by excavating in Balingkang area, as proposed by previous researchers (Wardha, Renik, Wiguna, 1994). From the perspective of history, deeper research needs to be conducted, because the samples used to draw conclusion about the existence of the Chinese in a number of places are very limited. Researches which blend oral history and memory based on historical experience (*historical memory*) are also needed.

With all these methods, imposing narratives of the past for the sake of short-term interest of the present, as what happened in Balingkang Kintamani Festival 2019, can be avoided. Indeed, the construction of past narratives cannot be separated from the present interest, but it does not necessarily mean that the past should be subjected to the present. If the latter happens, the past will never be a source of wisdom.

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