

Historical Review of Blambangan In 1309 - 1763

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Abstract (English)

Due to its geographical location at the eastern tip of Java Island, Blambangan was often contested by other kingdoms, considered strategic as it formed the border between Java and Bali. This study aims to examine the establishment and existence of Blambangan kingdom from a historical perspective. This study is based on two questions about whether Blambangan was an independent kingdom or part of another. The other kingdom referred to was either the Kingdom of Bali in the east or the Majapahit Empire in the west. The research method used was historical method, preceded by heuristic process, criticism, interpretation and historiography. Based on the research findings, Blambangan was founded in 1309 as part of the Majapahit Empire, given by Raden Jayanegara to Arya Wiraraja as a reward for his loyalty. This study discusses important events in history including the succession of kings over time, the separation of Blambangan into western and eastern regions, the transfer of the kingdom's capital, the expansion of the territory as part of the peak of the glory of the Blambangan Kingdom, and the death of King Danuningrat, which marked the end of Tawang Alun dynasty, from a historical perspective

Keywords: Historical, Blambangan, Tawang Alun

Abstrak

Blambangan secara geografis berada di ujung timur pulau Jawa, hal ini membuat Blambangan menjadi wilayah yang sering diperebutkan oleh kerajaan lain, karena dianggap strategis sekaligus sebagai perbatasan antara pulau Jawa dan pulau Bali. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji berdirinya dan eksistensi kerajaan Blambangan dengan perspektif historis. Penelitian ini berangkat dari dua pertanyaan, apakah Blambangan sebagai kerajaan yang merdeka? Atau Blambangan sebagai bagian dari kerajaan lain? Kerajaan lain yang dimaksud adalah Kerajaan Bali di sisi timur, atau Kerajaan Majapahit di sisi barat. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode sejarah, diawali dengan proses heuristik, kritik, interpretasi dan historiografi. Berdasarkan hasil penelitian, Blambangan berdiri pada tahun 1309, bagian dari Kerajaan Majapahit yang diberikan oleh Raden Jayanegara kepada Arya Wiraraja sebagai hadiah atas kesetiaannya. Kisah mengenai peristiwa-peristiwa penting dalam sejarah, pergantian raja dari masa ke masa, terpecahnya Blambangan barat dan timur, perpindahan ibukota kerajaan, perluasan wilayah sebagai bagian dari puncak kejayaan

Kerajaan Blambangan, hingga kematian raja Danuningrat sebagai akhir dinasti Tawang Alun berkuasa dijelaskan dalam penelitian ini dengan perspektif historis.

Kata kunci : Historis, Blambangan, Tawang Alun

INTRODUCTION

The development of historiography regarding small kingdoms in Indonesia is often ignored and only refers to large kingdoms. As a result, the history of small kingdoms located on the border is still rarely found. This could happen for two reasons. First, small kingdoms are considered not to have a central role in the development of national history. Second, the incompleteness of sources makes historians not too interested and challenged to study them.¹ One of the small kingdoms that has not received attention from researchers is Blambangan Kingdom. Studying this kingdom is very important to do. In addition to describing more completely the study of small kingdoms in Indonesia before they became modern cities today, it is also to show the role of this small kingdom on the national historical stage because according to Sartono Kartodirdjo (2014), historical events at the local level are a dimension of national history.²

The history of Blambangan has not been comprehensively researched. Margana stated that only a few people have researched the history of Blambangan in the 17th and 18th centuries.³ However, this does not mean that there has been no previous research on Blambangan. Some research presented in written form and some in the form of books on Blambangan includes the work of De Jonge. He was the first person that pay attention to Java. He deliberately collected and selected VOC archives and then published it in a book entitled *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Nederlandsch-Indie, volumes I-XIII*. The issue of Blambangan is discussed in volume XI. De Jonge wrote about Blambangan from a colonial perspective. Meanwhile, the first person that specifically study Blambangan was C. Lekkerkerker. He was a Dutch national, so his work only covered the VOC's efforts to conquer Blambangan, how the expedition was carried out, and the difficulties of VOC faced

¹ Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah*. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana. 2003, hlm. 5

² Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Pemikiran dan Perkembangan Historiografi Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2014, pp: 12.

³ Margana, *Ujung Timur Jawa 1763-1813: Perebutan Hegemoni Blambangan*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Ifada. 2012, pp: 10.

during the conquest. His work, a lengthy article entitled "Balambangan," was published in the magazine *Indische Gids* II in 1923.

Besides De Jonge and C. Lekkerkerker, another international writer who has focused on Blambangan is Pigeaud. Pigeaud was a linguist assigned by the Director of Archaeology, Education, and Culture to research the language and culture of Blambangan. His work falls under the category of philology, thus avoiding causality and chronological considerations, unlike most historical studies. His study focuses solely on the *Babad Tawangalun*, written from the perspective of the ruler of Probolinggo. Another author with similar interests to Pigeaud is Winarsih Arifin. She is a philologist from the University of Indonesia and the first indigenous person to study Blambangan. While Pigeaud's study focused solely on the *Babad Tawangalun*, Winarsih Arifin examined all parts of the *Babad Blambangan*. Then she divided her research into several groups: the *Babad Sembar*, the *Babad Tawang Alun*, the *Babad Mas Sepuh*, the *Babad Bayu*, and the *Babad Notodiningrat*.

The first Indonesian historian to write about Blambangan was I Made Sujana, in his work entitled *Nagari Tawon Madu: Sejarah Politik Blambangan Abad XVIII* (*Nagari Tawon Madu: Sejarah Politik Blambangan Abad XVIII*). Sujana was Balinese, so his research was also influenced by Balinese elements. As part of his research, he also visited the Netherlands to explore colonial sources. Sujana viewed Blambangan as a strategic region, as its location on the border of Java and Bali made it vulnerable to political conflict. Another work on Blambangan was written by Sri Margana in a book entitled *Ujung Timur Jawa, 1763-1813: Peretangan Hegemony Blambangan*. Margana used VOC archives and local sources in his work. Related to the political conflict that occurred in Blambangan during the period 1763-1813, Margana explains that there were three important elements that became the basis for the eruption of the conflict. First, rejection of the VOC's presence in Blambangan; Second, the existence of sentiments against the Javanization and Islamization of Blambangan; Third, objections to the policy of forced labor implemented by the VOC against the people of Blambangan.

Of the many studies on Blambangan, several have used a colonial-centric perspective; therefore, this article utilizes an Indonesia-centric perspective. Furthermore, no other studies have explored the history of Blambangan from its founding to its territorial expansion. This

article will examine Blambangan from a historical perspective, specifically the founding of the Blambangan kingdom as part of the Majapahit Empire and its development over time.

Blambangan is an area located at the eastern tip of Java Island. Blambangan was founded and developed simultaneously with the largest Hindu Kingdom in Java, Majapahit, which was founded by Raden Wijaya, assisted by Arya Wiraraja in 1293. Arya Wiraraja was a *senopati*⁴ Madura based in Sumenep. For his services and loyalty to Majapahit, in 1309, Raden Jayanegara, who was the son of Raden Wijaya, gave Arya Wiraraja a gift of the eastern part of the Majapahit Kingdom. In his study entitled *Beknopte Geschiedenish van Indonesie tot aan dekomst der Hollanders*, Ennen said that, “*De Koning bedacht zijn getrouwe helpers van vroeger goed. Wiraradja werd aangesteld als bestuurder van Loemadjang, het latere Rijk van Blambangan*” (The King thought that loyal followers should be treated well. Wiraraja was appointed as the leader of Lumajang, then the Kingdom of Blambangan)⁵. This statement strengthens the existence of gratitude from Raden Wijaya to Wiraraja for his loyalty. It was in that region that Blambangan Kingdom was founded and flourished until the 18th century.⁶ In that region, important events in history also occurred, the change of kings from time to time, the expansion of the territory as part of the peak of the glory of the Blambangan Kingdom, until the death of the king as the end of the ruling dynasty.⁷

This article examines the story of Blambangan from its founding to the fall of the Tawang Alun II dynasty. With two main issues: first, did Blambangan stand as an independent kingdom or was Blambangan part of another kingdom? Second, how was the story of the transition of kings from time to time until the fall of the Tawang Alun dynasty? Historical events regarding the Blambangan Kingdom will be obtained from traditional written sources, colonial sources, and several historiographies written by modern historians. The geographical scope is Blambangan, which is currently in Banyuwangi Regency. Meanwhile, the year 1309 was the year when the Blambangan Kingdom was founded, which

⁴ Senopati is commander in the history of kingdoms in Java.

⁵ Ennen, H. *Beknopte Geschiedenish van Indonesie tot aan dekomst der Hollanders*. Den Hag: N. v. G.B. van Goor zonen's u. m.1930. pp: 64.

⁶ Lekkerkerker, *Blambangan, de Indische Gids II*. Amsterdam: De Bussy. 1923. pp: 1032-1033; Nugroho, *Majapahit Peradaban Maritim*. Jakarta: Suluh Nuswantara Bakti. 2011. pp: 139; Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press. 2011. pp: 26; Margana, *Ujung Timur Jawa 1763-1813: Perebutan Hegemoni Blambangan*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Ifada. 2012. pp: 25; Rush, *Jawa Tempo Doeloe: 600 Tahun Bertemu Dunia Barat 1330-1985*. Depok: Komunitas Bambu. 2013. pp: 2.

⁷ Arifin, *Babad Blambangan*. Yogyakarta: Yayasan Bentang Budaya. 1995. pp: 4.

was marked by the handover of the eastern region of Majapahit to Arya Wiraraja, and ended in 1763 when Danuningrat died as the last descendant of Tawang Alun.

METHODOLOGY

The steps taken by the author to explain historical facts are by using the historical method. This method is to test and critically analyze past heritage records. Presenting points according to the form of learning atmosphere and time. The four steps of the historical method are:

First, heuristics. Heuristics comes from the Greek word *heuristiken* which means finding or collecting sources of information⁸. Of course, when talking about history, what is meant is historical sources that are spread in the form of notes, testimonies and other facts that can provide an overview of events that affect human life which are historical sources that are categorized as sources of information. Materials as historical sources are used as tools not as targets. In other words, to create historical works, data is needed first. Investigating sources is a unique science called heuristics. One of the principles of heuristics is that historians must look for primary sources. The main source of his research is a source presented by eyewitnesses. This is in the form of documents such as archives, books and newspapers. In searching for sources used in this study, the author searched the ISI Surakarta library, the Surakarta regional library and the tempo doeloe library. The author then searched using the Google Scholar website to access scientific journals online.

The primary sources used are a collection of old archive manuscripts compiled and published by De Jonge, entitled *De Opkomst Van Het Nederladsch Gezag Over Java*. The archives are in the form of letters coming in and out of the Blambangan Kingdom, reports from Blambangan residents to the Governor General in Batavia, memories of the changing of duties of Blambangan residents. The secondary sources used in writing are a collection of writings by C. Lekkerkerker entitled *Balambangan*. In addition, local sources are also used, in the form of *babad*⁹. *Babad* that have been found are *Babad Blambangan* and *Babad Wilis*. *Babad Blambangan* discusses six topics, namely Wilis, Sembar, Tawang Alun, Bayu, Mas Sepuh, and Notodiningrat. *Babad* is used to build a local perspective.

⁸ Garraghan, *A Guide To Historical Method*. Fordham University Press : New York. 1957. pp: 34.

⁹ *Babad* is a literary work that presents stories about the lives of Javanese people related to historical values.

Second, source criticism, sources collected in the form of written sources, photo sources and verbal sources are verified or checked through a series of criticisms, namely internal and external. Internal criticism is carried out to assess the adequacy or credibility of the source. Source credibility usually refers to the source's ability to reveal the truth about an event or history. Source skills include the ability, proximity or presence of the source in historical events. In addition, the importance and subjectivity of the source and the availability of the source to reveal the truth. External criticism is carried out to determine the validity and authenticity of the source. Criticism of the credibility of the source, for example, checks the date of publication of the document or whether the material in the form of paper or ink is suitable for the period used. Confirmation of the source whether it is original or a copy. Criticism of the authenticity of historical sources can be directed, among others, at the period and nature of the culture that developed in writing and other events that occurred in the Blambangan kingdom.

Third, interpretation. The ability to interpret consists of describing historical facts and explaining current issues. There is no past in the context of true history, because there is only historical interpretation and no definitive interpretation. Thus, each generation has a reason to explain its own interpretation. All data is interpreted according to the topic or title of the research after going through the heuristic and critical stages.

Fourth, historiography. History is a form of writing, presenting or reporting the results of historical research conducted. In addition to the definition above, historiography can be the final stage of the historical research method, in terms of the type of writing that reports the results of research that considers the aspect of historical chronology. Based on history, it is possible to assess the work done by historians and researchers according to the procedure after interpreting the data, the researcher writes a research report in the form of a scientific paper.

DISCUSSION

The Establishment of Blambangan Kingdom

Blambangan Kingdom has been established since the Majapahit era. However, its peak was experienced during the reign of Prince Tawang Alun II, namely in 1665-1691. Based on chronicle and colonial sources, the Tawang Alun dynasty's power began in the 17th century, marked by the presence of a new capital city of Blambangan located in Kedawung (Puger, Jember Regency now). The reigning king was Tampa Una and had the title Prince Tawang

Alun I.¹⁰ *Babad Tawang Alun* mentions that he had five children; two sons, namely Mas Kembar (Tawang Alun II) and Mas Wila, and three daughters, namely Mas Ayu Tunjungsari, Mas Ayu Melok and Mas Ayu Gringsing. His first son, Mas Kembar, will replace him as king when he dies, while his second son, Mas Wila, will accompany his brother during his reign as *patih*.¹¹

Babad Tawang Alun source and various historical studies state that in 1665, Prince Tawang Alun II ascended the throne, replacing his father, and Wila was appointed as *patih*. Prince Tawang Alun II ruled Blambangan for 4 years, then the throne was handed over to Wila. According to *Babad Blambangan*, the handover of the throne to his younger brother was done because Prince Tawang Alun II heard unpleasant rumors about a rebellion that would be carried out to overthrow his position. The only effort to avoid bloodshed, he handed over the throne to his younger brother. However, Wikkerman mentions that there had been a rebellion carried out by Wila. These two sources do not have significant differences and contradict each other, both stating that there was a dispute between Wila and Prince Tawang Alun II. The facts regarding the dispute, whether it is still a rumor or a rebellion has occurred, there are no sources that explain it, but the information that can be accepted is that Prince Tawang Alun II decided to abdicate his throne.¹²

Not long after his abdication, Tawang Alun II went to exile himself in the jungle of Bayu. In this place Tawang Alun II opened a new settlement. Gradually the settlement became crowded, because residents from Blambangan flocked to Bayu. For six years the population of Bayu grew. This situation made Wila jealous, and angry because most of the residents chose to move to Bayu. Finally, Wila decided to attack and besiege Bayu. However, Wila was defeated, and was killed.¹³

Blambangan During Tawang Alun II 1655-1691

Wila's death made Tawang Alun II the sole ruler of Blambangan and succeeded in making Blambangan a sovereign kingdom.¹⁴ Several historical studies say that the golden age of the Blambangan Kingdom was during the reign of Prince Tawang Alun II. From the

¹⁰ Arifin, *Op.cit*, pp:105; Lekkerkerker, *Op.cit*, pp:1045.

¹¹ *Ibid*.

¹² Wikkerman in Lekkerkerker, *Op.cit*, pp: 1041; Pigeaud, *Stukken Betreffende Onderzoek in Blambangan*. TBG. LXIX 1929. pp:100; Arifin, *Op.cit*, pp: 105; Sujana, Nagari Tawon Madu: Sejarah Politik Blambangan Abad XVIII. *Tesis*. Jakarta: Fakultas Ilmu Budaya Universitas Indonesia. 2001, pp:28; Margana, *Op.cit*. pp: 35.

¹³ Brandes, in Margana, *Op.cit*. pp: 35.

¹⁴ Lekkerkerker, *Op.cit*. pp: 1045-1046.

collection of VOC manuscripts re-arranged by De Jonge, Brandes' fairly clear writing on the Blambangan chronicle, Wikkerman's study written based on information from local residents, Krom's writing on ancient relics from the Blambangan Kingdom, and historical studies conducted by Indonesian historians, for example I Made Sujana, Sri Margana, Edi Burhan Arifin, Moch Hadi Sundoro and philological studies conducted by Danusaprapta, Winarsih Arifin, it can be seen that during the time of Prince Tawang Alun II, the areas under the influence of Blambangan's power were very extensive.

The areas of influence of Blambangan's power, covered almost the entire East End of Java, namely from Malang, Probolinggo to Banyuwangi. The remains of buildings that were still found in 1809, include the remains of city walls that also functioned as fortresses or defenses, made of bricks measuring 6 meters thick x 12 meters high, 4 ½ km in circumference and equipped with defense corridors. There is no doubt that Blambangan under the rule of Tawang Alung was very developed.¹⁵ The following is a map of the territory of Tawang Alun's power:



Map 1 The Territory of the Blambangan Kingdom During the Tawangalun II Period

Source: Babad Blambangan, p. 263.

Based on the map illustration above, during the golden age, there were 7 regional states under the rule of Blambangan. The regional states that were part of the Blambangan Kingdom, namely :

1. Malang

¹⁵ Aminudin Kasdi, *Indonesia Dalam Arus Sejarah - IV*. Jakarta: PT Ichtiar Baru van Hoeve 2012. pp: 358-359.

2. Lumajang
3. Probolinggo
4. Jember
5. Bondowoso
6. Situbondo
7. Banyuwangi

The vast area of influence of Blambangan's power in the Eastern Tip of Java, is strengthened by Vlekke's statement in his writing entitled *Nusantara Sejarah Indonesia*, which was written in 2008. In the book, Vlekke wrote: "Blambangan at the eastern tip of Java was still free from Mataram's domination. Mataram's attacks on Blambangan failed many times because of the conflict between Mataram and the VOC".¹⁶ From Vlekke's statement, it can be seen that until approximately the end of the 17th century, Blambangan still controlled almost the entire Eastern Tip of Java.

Around 1676, Tawang Alun II decided to free himself from Mataram by stopping the giving of tribute and annual visits to Mataram. Then he used the title *Susuhunan Blambangan*. In 1691 Tawang Alun II died of illness. *Babad Tawang Alun* mentions that his body was cremated and finally experienced moksa at the Keraton Macan Putih.¹⁷

Blambangan Suropati Period 1681-1704

After the death of Prince Tawangalun II, the Blambangan Kingdom began to show signs of gloom. *Babad Blambangan* explains that, after the death of Tawang Alun II, Sasranagara, one of Tawang Alun II's sons, crowned himself king without consulting his family. Another son of Tawang Alun II, Macanapura, did not accept the unilateral decision taken by Sasranagara. Macanapura rebelled and succeeded in occupying the throne. After ruling for six years, another power struggle occurred. A fierce war broke out between Prince Macanapura and Mas Purba. This war caused the greatness and glory of Blambangan, which had reached its golden peak in the mid-17th century, to gradually begin to decline. Its territory

¹⁶ Vlekke, *Nusantara: Sejarah Indonesia*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia. 2008. pp: 145-146.

¹⁷ Arifin, *Op.cit.* pp: 280.

was reduced, becoming western Blambangan and eastern Blambangan, because in addition to the war within the kingdom, there was also a rebellion carried out by Suropati.¹⁸ The conflict between the princely families in fighting for power and inheritance rights to the throne lasted for a long time, causing wars to arise among the palace. As a result, the Blambangan Kingdom became fragile from within, finally a new power emerged gathered by Suropati in the western part of Blambangan.

Based on Babad Tanah Jawi, Suropati obtained the rights to Pasuruan from the King of Mataram. In addition to getting some land from Mataram, Suropati was given the task of controlling the Eastern Tip of Java because he had broken away from Mataram's power. Finally, at the end of the 17th century, Suropati succeeded in controlling part of the Blambangan region (Malang, Probolinggo and Lumajang). The following is a map of Suropati's territory:



Map 2. Suropati's Territory of Power 1681-1704

Source: Robert Cribb

The map above is Suropati's area of power from 1681-1704. In the map, Suropati succeeded in controlling the western part of Blambangan in 1686. Blambangan even asked for VOC assistance to fight Suropati's power and recapture Lumajang and Probolinggo. However, before the cooperation between Blambangan and VOC was successful, Tawang Alun II died,

¹⁸ Suropati was a slave from Bali, then adopted by a Dutchman named Edelheer Moor. After Edelheer Moor's death, Surapati surrendered to the VOC and swore an oath of loyalty to the VOC. However, the oath of loyalty was violated because Suropati had a personal problem with a Dutch envoy named Kuffeler. Thus Suropati became an enemy of the VOC. Then he surrendered to Mataram and was given land in the northern coastal area of Mataram (Amminudin Kasdi in IDAS volume iv, pp: 313-315). (Brandes, in Pigeaud, 1929: pp: 219; Arifin, 1995, pp: 277-283).

and after that the VOC focused more on establishing its relationship with Mataram, so that Suropati succeeded in controlling the western part of Blambangan until he died in 1707. After his death, his descendants continued to control the western part of Blambangan until 1705. Even Suropati's descendants also became enemies of the VOC.¹⁹

The power of Suropati's descendants included Malang, Antang and Porong (Bangil). In maintaining their power, Suropati's descendants had to face the onslaught of the VOC in an all-out manner. Even the history of the struggle of the descendants of Suropati lasted for 70 years (1685-1755), longer than the trail of Suropati's resistance against the VOC. Behind the map above is a story in 1743, namely the fierce battle between Mataram represented by the VOC against the descendants of Suropati. In this battle, the VOC succeeded in pushing the descendants of Suropati in the Pasuruan area, then succeeded in controlling Lumajang and Probolinggo. Based on this victory, Mataram gave the easternmost area of Pasuruan (the western part of Blambangan in the past) to the VOC. However, the VOC did not manage the area until 1767.

The eastern Blambangan area that had not been controlled by the descendants of Suropati was still controlled by the descendants of Tawang Alun II. There are not many sources that explain the war that took place between Prince Macanapura and Mas Purba. But Mas Purba was the next king. Mas Purba was the son of Sasranagara, he was around 13 years old, but dared to rebel against Mancanapura because of the support of his mother who asked for help from the Balinese kingdom. Mas Purba managed to win, so that absolute power became his and he was crowned as the King of Blambangan with the nickname Pangeran Adipati Danureja.²⁰ In 1736 Pangeran Adipati Danureja died. Regarding his body is also still mysterious, VOC sources said that Danureja's body was burned with his nine wives according to Blambangan customs, and was nicknamed Dewa Nyurga by the Balinese (Leckerkerker, 1923: 1040). However, Babad Tawang Alun said that Danureja's body was buried in Tuban.²¹

¹⁹ Amminudin Kasdi, *Op.cit.* pp: 320.

²⁰ Arifin, *Op.cit.* pp: 281-282.

²¹ *Ibid*

Blambangan During Danuningrat 1736-1763

Danuningrat was the first son of Prince Danureja from his queen named Padmi. Danuningrat ruled Blambangan from 1736 – 1763, because he replaced his father who passed away. Based on colonial sources, Danuningrat was known as Mas Nuweng, Prince of Pati or Prince Mangkuningrat. Based on Babad Wilis, written by Purwasastra [Purwasastra was a Muslim poet, living in Prabalingga (now Probolinggo). Writing Babad Wilis began in 1773 on the orders of the regent Jayanegara.] and conceptualized from an Islamic perspective, the name Danuningrat was known as Prince Jingga or Prince Pati, a male figure who deserves to be admired, because he was willing to give his throne to Wilis, his half-brother.²² Babad Wilis tells the last moments of Prince Pati's existence in Blambangan after the dismissal of Wilis as the great bekel of Blambangan until his tragic death in Bali.

Meanwhile, in Babad Mas Sepuh, which was written by a Balinese person, and contains a Balinese perspective, Danuningrat is known as Mas Sepuh. Babad Mas Sepuh tells the story of Mas Sepuh's life when he lived in Bali. Mas Sepuh is known by the Balinese as a mysterious figure who has supernatural powers, for example being able to burn corn with his sarong. As mentioned in Babad Mas Sepuh Pupuh X as follows:

*“Muwah nguni kala duk ring Pra Hyang Api,
irika sira pangeran Mas Spuh,
nginanga jagung dening saringira,
katon kawisesanira dening wadwanira,
bipraya ngruwek ring desa Kaba-Kaba,
dadi tinanguhan denira pangeran Mas Spuh,
lingnira,
ta haywa mangkana,
umur Sang Hyang Dharma ring awakta yan mangkana,
mangkana lingira pangeran dadi purnna cittane wadwanira sadaya,
matangnyan hana pura Pari Purnna ngaranya”*

One day, while still in Pura Hyang Api, Prince Mas Sepuh burned corn in its sheath and thus demonstrated his supernatural powers. His followers were very impressed, then wanted to attack Kaba-Kaba Village. However, Prince Mas Sepuh held them back

²² Arifin, *Op.cit.* pp: 33.

because such an act could endanger them. Prince Mas Sepuh's words calmed them down. And until now there is still a temple called Pari Purna in Kaba-Kaba.²³

The story was most likely used as a legitimacy to show the figure of Mas Sepuh, and was one of his efforts to keep his followers loyal. The accepted reality is that the king of Mengwi was worried and felt that Mas Sepuh's existence could endanger the existence of his kingdom, so he always thought of ways to kill him. The issue circulating among the Balinese people, that Mas Sepuh was a person who brought the plague and had to be exiled was one form of Mengwi's initiative to kill Mas Sepuh without violence.²⁴

The death of his father in 1736, made Mas Sepuh ascend the throne as a prince. However, one source states that he was still too young (13 years old) to lead a kingdom. Because he was still too young to hold the throne, Ranggasatata, a Balinese from Klungkung, was appointed to manage the administration of the kingdom.²⁵ Based on his study of Babad Tawangalun, Pigeaud also said that Ranggasatata was sent to Blambangan from Klungkung to maintain order and take over Danuningrat's obligations temporarily.²⁶ In 1745, Danuningrat began to control his own power.

I Made Sujana's study states that the Blambangan Kingdom experienced a period of *kertayuga* or tranquility, free from physical conflict under Danuningrat's rule.²⁷ This is confirmed by Lekkerkerker by stating that "Now there is tranquility in areas that were often threatened by the danger of war".²⁸ The following is a description of Prince Danuningrat's territory during his reign.

²³ See Babad Mas Sepuh Pupuh X in Arifin, *Op.cit.* pp: 128-129.

²⁴ Arifin, *Op.cit.* pp: 127.

²⁵ Lekkerkerker, *Op.cit.* pp: 1050.

²⁶ Pigeaud, *Op.cit.* pp: 341.

²⁷ Sujana, *Op.cit.* pp: 35.

²⁸ Lekkerkerker, *Op.cit.* pp: 1051.



Map 3.1 Blambangan Region 1736-1763
Source: Adapted from Babad Wilis, Babad Tawangalun

The map above is an illustration of Blambangan's power during Danuningrat's reign, which includes:

- | | |
|----------------|---------------|
| a. Nusa Barung | i. Ulupampang |
| b. Puger | j. Rogojampi |
| c. Tomogoro | k. Genteng |
| d. Bayu | l. Banyuwangi |
| e. Songggon | m. Gambiran |
| f. Macan Putih | n. Pakis |
| g. Panarukan | o. Ketapang |
| h. Grajakan | |

In addition to being able to maintain the vast territory of power that did not experience changes. The estimated population in 1750 written by Pieter further strengthened the situation of Blambangan during the reign of Danuningrat. Pieter stated that there were around 20,000 Blambangan residents.²⁹ However, the components of men, women, adults and children were not explained. In his book entitled *The History of Java*, Raffles also estimated the population of Blambangan in 1750 to be around 80,000 people. The two views have a large difference in

²⁹ Pieter, *Beschijvinge van de Oost-Indische Compagnie III*. 's Gravenhage. 1939. pp: 40.

number, but considering the relatively large area of Blambangan, Raffles' view seems more acceptable.

In addition to the population, of course there was a safe environment that allowed Blambangan to run its economic system. Sujana noted that Blambangan's economic activities during the reign of Danuningrat relied on agriculture and trade. Its agricultural products include rice and fruits, such as bananas. By placing competent and trusted people in his government system, Danuningrat obtained rice both from the palace environment and outside the palace routinely every year. However, sources and historical studies stating the amount of agricultural produce that must be submitted to the prince have not been found.

In his study, Sujana noted that there were two boats owned by Danuningrat which were used to transport rice and other goods, then marketed on the north coast of Java.³⁰ Trade was also carried out by residents living in the interior, for example they brought fruits to sell themselves to coastal areas. The use of rivers, in addition to being used for irrigation systems to support rice farming, the large rivers in Blambangan turned out to be shipping and trade routes used by residents living in the interior to go to the coastal areas. So it is often found that the Mandar and Chinese diaspora live in areas along the river for the sake of smooth trade with the local population.

The End of Danuningrat's Reign

Discussions regarding the end of Danuningrat's reign can be found in several chronicles, for example Babad Wilis and Babad Mas Sepuh, as local sources, very clearly explain the collapse of Danuningrat's reign due to an internal conflict between Danuningrat and Wong Agung Wilis. The conflict began with slander masterminded by Tepasana³¹. The slander culminated in Danuningrat's decision to dismiss Wilis from his position as patih, and appoint Sutajiwa as his replacement. Due to this incident, Gusti Agung Mengwi sent his troops led by Wilis to capture Tepasana and Sutajiwa in Blambangan. A battle ensued, but Danuningrat retreated and managed to escape with Sutajiwa.³²

³⁰ Sujana, *Op.cit.* pp: 48.

³¹ Tepasana was an aristocrat from Lumajang, who appeared around the 1760s, and became Danuningrat's in-law.

³² Arifin, *Op.cit.* pp:33.

Other information regarding Mengwi's attack on Blambangan can be found in the Babad Tawang Alum, in addition to the internal conflict between Danuningrat and Wilis, there was an external conflict that occurred in the Blambangan Kingdom, namely Danuningrat's ambition to make his kingdom independent. His decision to kill Ranggalasata, the envoy of the Mengwi-Bali Kingdom, without any logical reason, proves that he wanted to realize his ambition. Due to this incident, the Mengwi Kingdom invited Danuningrat to meet Mengwi twice, but the invitation was ignored, then Mengwi decided to attack Blambangan.³³

Based on the babad and colonial sources that have been studied by Margana, he stated that while leaving the Blambangan palace, Danuningrat asked for help from the VOC to retake the Blambangan Kingdom from Mengwi by making a statement letter with the following contents:

"Danuningrat promised to send 600 koyan of rice, ten pikul of wax and four pikul of bird's nests. In times of peace, the amount would be increased. He also asked the Company to establish a military fort in Blambangan to prevent future invasions of Bali. He even promised to provide the necessary materials and workers to build the fort".³⁴

Margana also emphasized that the agreement letter was written directly by Danuningrat. Then Hendrik Breton, Gezaghebber from Surabaya immediately sent a proposal offering cooperation to the VOC. The offer of cooperation made by Danuningrat was also confirmed by De Jonge in his work entitled *De Opkomst*, saying that, "Prince Patti preferred to hand over his area to the Company, rather than his area remaining under the control of the Balinese, who always pretended to be good and always helped the people of Blambangan".³⁵

However, the response from Batavia and Semarang did not match the expectations of Danuningrat and Hendrik Breton. The governor in Batavia openly rejected the offer of cooperation submitted by Danuningrat. Based on De Jonge's notes, the reasons for the governor's rejection of cooperation were as follows:

³³ Arifin, *Op.cit.* pp: 14-21.

³⁴ NA, Koleksi Engelhard 19a, Proposal tentang Blambangan oleh Hendrik Breton, Surabaya 30 Oktober 1763, pp: 152 dalam Margana, 2012, pp: 45.

³⁵ De Jonge, *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Nederlandsch-Indie, volumes I-XIII*. 1923: pp: 3.

“De Oosthoek was haar wel afgestaan, maar zij die dien afstand deden hadden er geen gesag nitgeoefend, en zij die er het gezag in hadden hadden weigerden zich te onderwerpen”.

The southern part of the eastern corner of Java was indeed handed over to the company, but those who handed it over never had real power over the area, and those who temporarily held power in the area refused to submit and obey.³⁶

From the above statement, the governor considered that the Eastern Tip of Java, including Blambangan, had become the territory of the VOC. So the VOC did not need to make any agreements or agreements with Danuningrat. However, although the VOC felt that it owned Blambangan since the issuance of the Giyanti Agreement by Mataram, until 1764 it had not paid much attention to the area. The eastern region that the VOC paid attention to only went beyond Pasuruan.

Due to this rejection, Danuningrat felt disappointed and then asked for help from Kartanegara, the Regent of Lumajang. Based on the Babad Wilis, Gusti Agung Mengwi heard news of Danuningrat's presence in Lumajang, so several ambassadors from Blambangan and Bali were immediately sent to persuade Danuningrat to return to Blambangan. Danuningrat was willing to return to Blambangan, then together with Wilis, he met with Gusti Agung Mengwi.

Regarding the end of Danuningrat's life, it can be found in several babads. Babad Mas Sepuh and Babad Wilis tell of Danuningrat's last days while in Bali. Babad Mas Sepuh states that, upon his arrival in Bali, Danuningrat did not meet with Gusti Agung Mengwi. Gusti Agung Mengwi ordered him to live in a remote village that had not been inhabited for a long time. Possibly, this order was a punishment given by Gusti Agung Mengwi to Danuningrat, which Danuningrat was not aware of and even willingly built the village and built the Tanah Ayu palace, for worship. Knowing this, Gusti Agung Mengwi became very angry and ordered his people not to carry out any activities in the village where Danuningrat and his family lived.³⁷ This was done so that Danuningrat would have difficulty obtaining food and die slowly.

³⁶ De Jonge, *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Nederlandsch-Indie, volumes I-XIII*. 1923. pp: 1

³⁷ Arifin, *Op.cit.* pp:128.

Babad Mas Sepuh also provides information that there was a Balinese nobleman, named Gusti Agung Kamasan Dhimandhe who secretly gave food to Danuningrat and his family. Knowing this, Gusti Agung Mengwi decided to expel Danuningrat from the village and move to Seseh Village. From this second command, Danuningrat realized the true intention of Gusti Agung Mengwi, that he wanted his death. After arriving in the village of Seseh, Danuningrat was attacked by the residents and soldiers sent by Gusti Agung Mengwi. Danuningrat and his followers were defeated, all of them died on Seseh beach.

The explanation from Babad Wilis, says that, upon arriving in Bali, Danuningrat who was dressed all in white, met with Gusti Agung Mengwi and had time to make several confessions. Danuningrat's confession regarding the incident of Wilis' dismissal and the murder of Ranggalasata as well as the decision to leave the kingdom, shocked Gusti Agung Mengwi and he could not hold back his anger. Gusti Agung Mengwi then decided to detain Danuningrat and told him to stay in Seseh. Hearing this news, Nawangsari, Danuningrat's wife and children followed to Seseh. After arriving in Seseh, Danuningrat was killed by Mengwi troops. Meanwhile, Danuningrat's wife and children returned to Blambangan.³⁸

Although the sources that tell the story of Danuningrat's death are classified as literature, it is not impossible that these sources still contain historical events from the past. Lekkerkerker's work also reviews a little about the story of Danuningrat's death by the Balinese.³⁹ Thus, it can be said that the death of Danuningrat in 1763, marked the end of the existence of the Tawang Alun Dynasty which had ruled for more than a hundred years in the Blambangan Kingdom.

CONCLUSION

The Blambangan Kingdom is a small kingdom located at the eastern tip of Java Island and has its own uniqueness. Its strategic position is closely related to the economic aspect that can grow rapidly. The arrival of the diaspora in the coastal areas made Blambangan a small kingdom with a dense population. It is not surprising that political problems often occur in it. A kingdom that was originally established because of gifts and part of the Majapahit kingdom. Then changed to become part of the Mataram kingdom. Unfortunately, there are not many sources that explain this transition. However, its heyday began during the reign of

³⁸ Arifin, *Op.cit.* pp: 37.

³⁹ Lekkerkerker, *Op.cit.* pp: 1041.

Tawang Alun II and was able to stand as a sovereign kingdom marked by the absence of sending tribute to Mataram. Although the glory of Blambangan did not last long, because there was an attack by Suropati and internal conflict within the kingdom, it eventually split into two parts, namely West Blambangan which was controlled by Suropati and East Blambangan which was still controlled by the descendants of Tawang Alun II.

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