

The Rise of Mataram: its organization and conflict with the V.O.C.

Have already seen the arrival of the Dutch in this part of the world and their victory over the Portuguese. Like the latter, the Dutch too tried to est. a monopoly in the spice trade and this brought them into conflict w. those states of the Indonesian world wh. had an interest in trade - Banten and Demak, for instance. Have also seen the estment. of Dutch Batavia in 1618. Sit. in the Banten sphere, but perhaps paradoxically the chief threat to the new settle-ment came from a state whose basis was not chiefly trade - the then rising power of Mataram.

The traditional account of the rise of Mataram is given in the BTJ and attributes its foundation to a certain Kjai Gedé Pamanahan, who was succeeded by his son Sénapati and one more ruler before the renowned S. Agung. According to Berg, however, Agung was in fact an usurper who had fabricated a list of royal ancestors in order to legitimise his own position. Will not go into this gn. here - for the historian Agung is in any case a more important figure than his hypo- thetical predecessors. Reigned 1613 - 1645 and in a series of overwhelming camp- aigns put an end to the independence of the north-coast principalities. Took a fair time - Madura indep. until 1624, Surabaja until 1625. Like other strong rulers of central Java, he laid claim to some sort of suzerainty over places out- side the island, in his case S. Sumatra and S. Borneo. (Aceh now pre-eminent in the n'n half of Sumatra, Siam influential on Malay penin.)

The incorporation of the north-coast states into Mataram had some important consequences for Jav. civilisation. Have seen that it was in these states that Islam first gained an official status; and the culture pattern of these city states was similar to that of other coastal Muslim sultantates in other parts of the archipelago (Smatra, Malaya, Clebes, Borneo, etc.). This type of culture is often called the " pasisir " culture, from the Jav. word for coast or strand. The pasisir culture flourished in societies with a strong interest in sea-borne trade rather than in intensive agriculture. Now, under Agung, elements of pasisir Islam

became more firmly established in the area of the Javanese heartland. Led to the devt. of new strands or strata within the general framework of Jav. civ., and also to the growth of certain tensions between those whose way of life included more Islamic elements ~~xxxxxxxx~~ and their neighbours. Geertz makes division santri - abangan - prijaji - probably too sharp, and hard to sustain if you want to link religious belief with occupation / social status. In practice = an infinite no. of gradations, and people who go against Geertz' general trends (e.g there are santri prijaji!) Nevertheless, can still be tension between those who might be placed at opposite ends of the spectrum, and this factor has been and is still quite important in the way things go on Java.

Agung himself was either a devout Muslim, or a man whose pol. strategy lay in convincing other Muslims that he was. He obtained the title of Sultan from Mecca, consulted regularly w. the ulama (interpreters of the Muslim law) and used flags and banners brought from Mecca in battle. He also introduced the Jav. calendar, another example of the famous Jav. syncretism. Era still begins as the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Hindu-Jav. era (saka - 78 A.D.) but = now lunar instead of solar years (shorter, and not related to the seasons). In addition, a specially Jav. feature is the use of a 5-day week in conjunction with the 7-day one.

The govt. and admin. of Mataram.

Theories of kingship - see tutorial. In thinking (and writing) about their state, the Javanese divided it into certain areas. At the centre was the ruler's capital, the negara or kraton. This was laid out according to a fixed pattern, around a central square (alun-alun). The ruler's residence would be on one side of the square, the main mosque on another, houses of princes and officials on another, and so on. The kraton might be shifted if the kingdom had suffered some misfortune or defeat - the old situation was then considered to have lost the essential harmony with the cosmos. In the case of Mataram it was moved three times before the partition of the realm in 1755, being located in the area of present-day Jogja until the 1670s and afterwards in the region of modern Surakarta (Solo).

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The area ^{/ directly} around the negara or kraton was known as the negara (a)gung .

An area of villages, not an urban area.

The next section is the mantja negara (" different regions "). Subdivided into mantjanegara wétan, mantjanegara pasisir, etc.

The last section was the tanah sabrang - lands over the seas, e.g. tributary places in S. Sumatra and S. Borneo.

Looking at how this realm was administered : firstly the " central admin. " - that is, the admin. of the kraton and the negara gung. There was a fairly elaborate administrative hierarchy, with numerous officials ea. w. his own title. The most important official was the Patih, and around him the four chief wedanas formed a pattern of symbolic significance. There were also times when rulers did not appoint a new Patih after the death of a particularly influential one, preferring to disperse power more. There might be more wedanas than the 4 chief ones, and they might be subdivided into various groups: e.g. there might be an equal no. of ws. djero and djaba. However, the admin. was only rigid on paper - in practice a man might inherit a ^{/ official} title from his predecessor but might have quite diff. functions while he held the office - depended very much on the ability and influence of the official concerned.

Regional admin. (i.e. of the mantja negara). Here lay greater problems. Rulers had various ways open to them to bind the regions to the centre. Could place them under other members of the royal family : not generally favoured, rulers preferred to keep their bros. etc. at court so that they could keep an eye on them. Could make marriage alliances with the local lord of the region concerned : this was an expedient favoured by Agung. Thirdly, could send out officials from the kraton to govern the various regions - this was the policy of Agung's successor, Mangk. I. These officials had various titles: e.g. tumenggung (a military title, since an important part of their duties was raising and leading armed forces, esp. when the state was engaged in ~~in~~ large-scale military operations.) As a class, however, these regional governors came to be known as Bupati (Regents). Their positions

tended to become hereditary, and by intermarriage and common interests they became part of the local aristocracy, with the result that the ruler was once again faced with the problem of the regions breaking away from the centre. He had v. little effective sanction against his officials becoming local lords - couldn't stop their salaries because they weren't paid any (lived by taking a percentage of the yield of their area) and if they did not obey a summons to ~~xx~~ appear at court it was hard to send military expeditions against them - home side had an advantage against visitors because of unfamiliar terrain, provisioning, etc.

Later, the Dutch were to use the Bupati in their system of indirect rule. They too had the problem of deciding whether to recognise their positions as hereditary or not. Policy varied from time to time. Led to abuses: Dutch tended to favour those Bupati who got more export produce out of their area, irrespective of peasant suffering, and whereas formerly oppressive Regents tended to get thrown out in the end, Dutch power was sth. of a different order to any local opposition.

Economic Resources of the Ruler.

V. little cash in circulation: what there was = mostly the réjal, some Chinese money, the rupiah. Mostly the " tax " taken by the ruler = in the form of rice (to feed the urban pop., and to export), other agric. produce, and very important, labour. Labour used to build the " palaces " - see however Hooykaas' remark about Jav. kratons not being good enough for a garage for some of the Indian rulers.

The ruler's family had appanages in the negara gung from which they could draw produce and labour for their needs. The size of appanages was reckoned in tjatjah (households), another indication of the importance of manpower.

Officials and local lords in the mantja negara collected their own taxes, brought a certain proportion to the kraton at the Garebeg Mulud*, when they were all required to appear at court.

The tanah sabrang: totally independent economies, didn't even send tribute v. often.

* 12th day of 3rd lunar month, commemorating his birth and death

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In general, economic arrangements were simple and based on peasant production. There were a number of local economies rather than a " national " one.

Forces tending towards the break-up of the realm are fairly clear from the above. The factors wh. held it together, more or less, were cultural and moral rather than political and economic - a common language, and among the governing class a common ethic, the " prijaji " ethic, wh. had a greater strength and cogency than we might think possible. The fact that the Dutch recruited their armies ^{for their operations on Java} overwhelmingly from groups ~~wh.~~ such as the Makassarese, Balinese, Madurese etc. who did not share this culture and ethic is significant.

Conflict of Mataram with the Dutch.

Offensive taken by S. Agung. Had demanded tribute of Batavia, and had got it, but had also asked for Dutch help in his Surabaya campaign and had not got it, therefore decided to attack. The years 1627-29 were a pretty rocky period for the Dutch settlement, at this time under the famous Jan Pieterszoon Coen. On Christmas Eve 1627 a force from Banten actually got inside the Dutch citadel, but was driven out. Then in 1628 and again in 1629 the forces of Agung laid siege to the city. Their military organisation was far from contemptible: they brought artillery through marshes and jungles wh. the Dutch had thought impassable, and in the siege itself they appeared well-disciplined, skilled in manoeuvres and siege works etc. Although Coen died of cholera during the siege, the Dutch were eventually able to beat off the Javanese force. ~~xx~~ The superiority of Dutch shipping meant that they were able to cut off the Javs food supplies. In addition, they profited from Banten's fear of Mataram - when Mataram attacked Batavia the 2nd time the ruler of Banten made peace w. the Dutch, feeling he was undoubtedly the last name on Agung's list.

This was the first and last direct confrontation between the Dutch and Mataram. However, over the next 120 years the Dutch slowly but surely displaced Mataram as paramount power on Java. This was done not through direct attack but by Dutch participation in the internal strife of the Javanese state. The pattern is as follows: Dutch would help one claimant to the throne, and this would

give him the edge over the other. The price of his victory would be concessions of territory and of the right to trade in certain commodities. There was also a tendency for the claimant who was getting the worst of it to be the one to ask for Dutch help - therefore the less capable man would get the throne due to outside help, and the state would ~~break up further~~ ^{further go to pieces} under an incompetent ruler. Then there would be another revolt, and the pattern would repeat itself. Example of "spiralling" effect of an initial technological disparity ^{perhaps only slight} between two powers: one goes into an ascending spiral, the other into a descending one, if not careful.

When Agung died in 1645 he was succeeded by his son (A) Mangkurat I (1645 - 1677). He reversed many of his father's policies, seeming to favour Javanese traditions rather than ^{Dropped} the newer Islamic elements. Does not take title of Sultan. His actions have been rather badly received by historians. Distinguish, however, between moral judgment (Hall: "a monster of cruelty whose atrocities were on so extravagant a scale as to be scarcely credible") and political / historical significance: H. VIII was also not a nice man but he did much to strengthen the position of the English monarchy and ~~by this centralisation of power~~ ^{by this centralisation of} power ultimately made the English nation stronger (even if he didn't really do it for the common people as far as his own motives are concerned). Looking at the context of Mangkurat's atrocities, we see that whereas Agung had forced the local lords of the conquered regions to come to court and had tried to secure their loyalty through marriage alliances, Mangkurat deliberately destroyed the whole group and used officials, whom he constantly replaced, for provincial administration. Attempt to create a sort of centralised bureaucracy. He also made an effort to introduce taxation in money, and made foreign trade a state monopoly. However, his attempt to form a nation-state out of a society based on a goods economy and with an undeveloped communications system was not successful. Nevertheless, it does show another aspect of the man (cruel, but not irrationally so).

Policy towards Islam: abolished the Islamic courts; and actually massacred several thousand ulama, presumably seeing them as an alternative focus of power to the monarch. N.B. see de Graaf's article in Cambridge History of Islam vol. 2 on 'Theocracies' of Kudus and Givi

When a prince of Madura by the name of Trunadjaja who claimed descent from the royal family of Majapait) rose in revolt, Mangkurat's unpopularity left him in an extremely perilous position. He asked for and received Dutch help. Nevertheless, Trunajaya was able to take and sack the capital, while Mangkurat had to flee. The ensuing war was a long and hard one, and Mangkurat actually died before it could be brought to a conclusion. In 1677 Mangkurat I's son, who became Mangk. II, signed a treaty w. the Dutch in wh. he agreed to pay ~~the~~ ^{their} costs in the war, wh. they calculated at 20,000 rijksdaalders per month. As a guarantee for the payment of this money they were given the port of Semarang and its revenues. This was the beginning of the state debt of Mataram : although ~~it was said~~ the Dutch said that it could be paid in instalments, even so the ruler had no hope of raising so much cash, and while he failed to pay it interest was added to it, so that the situation became steadily worse. Another provision of the 1677 treaty gave the Dutch a monopoly in trade in cloth and opium - the latter commodity was to produce tensions similar to those in China, though on a smaller scale. According to de Graaf, the misuse of opium increased ~~greatly~~ perceptibly after the 1670s.

1682: Dutch finally captured Trunajaya, who was killed by Mangkurat LII. As a result of this war, ~~the old capital was abandoned~~ the old capital was abandoned and a new one built ~~at~~ near Wanakarta. It was called Kartasura.

At about the same time the Dutch brought about the downfall of the state of Banten. Similar factors operated : family quarrels bringing about Dutch intervention. Sultan Abulfatah of Banten (otherwise known as Ageng or even Agung but not to be confused w. the ~~the~~ Mataram Sultan) had built up a strong fleet - had English and Danish help to do this. He engaged in the pepper trade, extending Banten's control over the pepper plantations and ports of South Sumatra. Many Chinese bought pepper in Banten, and as mentioned earlier the English had a factory there, Abulfatah was a strong Muslim, and ordered that his subjects should wear the type of clothing worn in Mecca instead of the Javanese dress. Practices contrary to Muslim law - such as the smoking of opium - were very severely punished. Abulfatah's relations with Batavia were bad: he refused to extradite fugitives from the Dutch settlement (a lot of them slaves escaped into his territory) and

apparently forced them to embrace Islam. Like Aceh at the same period, Banten was a centre of Muslim learning, and the Dutch records continually refer to the coming and going of " Moorish popes ! " In 1669 the Sultan himself sent one of his own ships, the Salamat, to Mocha, carrying his son who was making the pilgrimage. This son, Sultan Adji, made a second pilgrimage to Mecca in 1674-6. This 2nd pilgrimage seems to have been for political reasons: it seems that his father had previously ~~xxxxx~~ handed over the reins of government to him, but the nobles of the state had grown tired of the " exorbitant sway " and " mad temper " of this " giddyhead " , who was in addition " indiscreet in his expenses " (words of John Fryer, A New Account of India and Persia) - met x Sultan Adji's party in India on their way to the holy land). They therefore requested S. Abulfatah to resume authority. In 1680, back once more, S. Adji rebelled, and despite their status as infidels, sought Dutch help. They had to rescue him from imprisonment in his own palace - example of the less capable contended seeking Dutch help. Dutch military superiority forced Abulfatah to flee the capital, in company w. his son Purbaja, who remained loyal, and a certain eminent Muslim divine.

Thus by the first half of the 1680s the Dutch had already put an end to Banten's independence and seriously weakened Mataram. However, there was an anti-Dutch party at the Mataram court, led by the patih. This anti-Dutch party found support in a man called Surapati and his g followers. Origins: unknown, but not royal. Most likely an escaped Balinese slave: at this time many such in Dutch Batavia, often prisoners of war from fighting between petty principalities on Bali; ~~xxxxxxx~~ many women: Dutch preferred them to Javanese women as concubines. Many of these Balinese slaves escaped into the high country above Batavia where they lived by pillage.

Surapati had already been involved in the Banten campaigns and now joined the anti-Dutch party at Kartasura. An expedition was sent against him - leader killed in an engagement w. x S. and his followers. Mangkurat II, who had initially supported him, now became afraid of Dutch reprisals, so that S. withdrew to E. Java, where he set up a semi-independent principality.

* S. Adji became ruler of Banten under strong Dutch control.

In 1703 Mangkurat II died, being succeeded by his son Mangkurat III. Shortly afterwards his uncle rebelled (had in fact already once tried to claim the throne, in the wake of Trunajaya's rebellion). The Dutch chose to support this uncle rather than Mangkurat. In the ensuing war, known as the First Javanese War of Succession, Mangkurat got help from Surapati. However, once again the side supported by the Dutch won, and his uncle became Pakubuwana I. Once again the Dutch had ~~taxpny~~ their price: in 1705 a treaty was signed whereby the whole of Preanger, ~~Ma~~^Cirebon, and the eastern half of Madura were brought under the VOC. The Sunan's debts were written off, but had to supply the Company w. 800 kojan of rice every year for 25 years. A Dutch garrison of 200 men (the so-called " Sunan's bodyguard ") was installed at the capital to keep an eye on things. Moreover, Pakubuwana had to give the Dutch full control of all trade in his kingdom.

1706 : exped. v. Pasuruan, Surapati killed in battle. A second Dutch exped. in the following year took Pasuruan. Mangkurat III was captured and exiled to Ceylon (happened to many Jav. princely rebels - so much so that acc. to de Graaf, Geschiedenis, p. 241, to be ~~Exilened~~ " Ceyloned " became the Jav. word for being exiled).