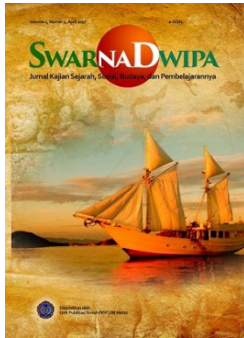


Sultan Hamengkubawana II and The Dutch In The Political Vortex of the Kasultanan Yogyakarta (1808-1811)

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Abstract

The reign of Sultan Hamengkubawana II in 1808-1811 was full of political turmoil from within and outside the palace. The feud with Daendels was a cold war between the Sultan who was stubborn and unwilling to submit to the Company. The Dutch wanted to create a new order for their colony with the changes they made. Yogyakarta, with Sultan Hamengkubawana II refusing, certainly received some pressure which resulted in unprecedented turmoil. This research will focus on the conflict that occurred between the Sultan and the Dutch. In addition, this research also reviews the internal conflicts that occurred in the palace. The internal conflicts that occurred in the palace also had the role of the Dutch. This research chooses the background time between 1808 and 1811. During this period, the Kasultanan Yogyakarta was in turmoil. In no less than three years, there was a colonial leadership that occupied Java and caused changes that had never happened before. Namely by the French-Dutch envoy, Herman Willem Daendels as Governor General of the Dutch East Indies. The analysis of this period is quite important considering that Yogyakarta would experience a new era of governmental order in a relatively short period of time.

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INTRODUCTION

Sultan Hamengkubawana II was the king who occupied the throne in the Kasultanan Yogyakarta. He had the small name Raden Mas Sundoro or Raden Mas Timur (Ricklefs, 2002: 139). Hamengkubawana II became sultan from 1792 to 1828, but the time span is divided into three periods. The first period was 1792-1810, then 1811-1812, and finally 1826-1828. During the leadership of Hamengkubawana II, many political upheavals occurred (Marihandono, 2008: 27). Political conditions in Java tended to be unstable especially when Marshal Daendel, the Governor General (served 1808-1811) came in 1808. Many changes occurred with a significant impact, causing tremendous political instability. This condition fuelled tensions between the colonial government and the royal rulers in Java.

The reign of Hamengkubawana II after his father Hamengkubawana I (1755-1792) had many differences. In terms of personality, Hamengkubawana II was known as a controversial figure (Marihandono, 2008: 28). In particular, some colonial records tend to portray Hamengkubawana II negatively. This can be understood because of Hamengkubawana II's strong character and unwillingness to compromise with the

colonials, both the Dutch and the British, so that from his strong nature, Hamengkubawana II's leadership period is known as one of the most turbulent periods of the Yogyakarta Sultanate's reign.

This article focuses on the period between 1808 and 1811. During this period, the Kasultanan Yogyakarta experienced tremendous turmoil. For no less than three years, there was a colonial leadership that occupied Java and brought about changes that had never happened before. Namely by the French-Dutch envoy, Herman Willem Daendels as Governor General of the Dutch East Indies. The examination of this period is quite important considering that Yogyakarta would experience a new era of government order in an arguably short period of time (for less than 4 years, 1808-1811).

The discussion in this article contains the attitude of Hamengkubawana II in dealing with the upheaval with the Dutch. then what were the political conditions during the reign of Hamengkubawana II in the period 1808-1811. It should be remembered that Hamengkubawana II also experienced a period of dismissal by Daendels in 1810-1811 (Ricklefs, 2002: 139). Finally, whether these political developments would benefit the Kasultanan Yogyakarta under Sultan Hamengkubawana II. The last discussion will review the impact of Hamengkubawana II's political stance in his reign and the colonial response and its impact on the political stability and state of the Kasultanan Yogyakarta in 1808 to 1811.

RESEARCH METHODS

A method is a procedural way of doing things in an organised and planned system. So, there are some strict requirements for conducting a research called a systematic procedure. Method is a way of how one can gain knowledge (how to know). The method that will be used to compile this research is the historical method. Method terminologically comes from the word 'methodos' from the Greek language which means path or way. This research is a scientific study that has a method as a way of working in understanding the object that is the target of the science concerned (Koentjaraningrat, 1977: 35).

This research uses the historical or historical method, this is because this research examines past events in a certain period of time. The historical method is a method of research and historical writing that uses methods, procedures, and techniques that are systematically arranged in accordance with the principles and regulations of the applicable historical disciplines, which are practical in nature, namely by providing instructions on methods, procedures and implementation techniques systematically (Daliman, 2012: 27).

Methods in historical studies are a set of systematic rules and principles for collecting historical sources systematically, assessing them critically, and proposing a synthesis in written form (Meulen, 1987: 33). In this regard, Gottschalk (2008: 39) explains the historical method as the process of examining and critically analysing records and relics in the past that are authentic and reliable, as well as making an interpretation and synthesis of the data found and making it a reliable historical story.

The historical research method has several stages or steps which include: 1) Topic selection, 2) Heuristics, which is the activity of collecting or gathering sources and traces in the past, 3) Criticism, which includes historical criticism or validity of sources, 4) Interpretation, which is in the form of analysis and synthesis, 5) Historiography or

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presentation, which is conveying the synthesis that has been obtained in the form of writing (Kuntowijoyo, 2003: 69).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Political Situation

The early period of HB II's reign saw new problems that shook the stability of his reign (Suratmin, et al., 1990: 57). This problem was a rift between the family and the Company government. After the death of HB. I, various problems arose that had never occurred during the leadership of HB. I who was known as a military strategist, a capable and experienced warlord, and had the support of his people (Ricklefs, 2017: 148). There were internal divisions within the kingdom that brought each other down. There were several factions that formed within the palace.

The first faction was those in the government who supported HB II, represented by the ruling class that governed the government. The next group was a group of palace bureaucrats who still enjoyed the glory of HB. I (Suratmin, et al., 1990: 57). This group was a collection of employees who were appointed by HB. I but were removed during HB. II. Furthermore, there were factions belonging to Prince Natakusuma (Paku Alam I) and Prince Natadiningrat (Paku Alam II) who actually mediated between HB II and the Company, but in the end they declared their support for the Company which would later result in a new duchy, Pakualaman in 1812. The last group was Raden Ronggo Prawirodrijo III from Madiun. Raden Ronggo was not satisfied with the current situation. Raden Ronggo would later stage a rebellion that had quite an impact on the Company in 1810.

These groups consolidated on their own and were eventually won by the group that had the support of the ruling government and the Company. This political consolidation was done by eliminating other groups (Danureja II and Raden Rongga Prawiradirja III) in order to strengthen HB II's position. HB. II wanted his position to be stronger in opposing the Company. HB. II did not want the Company to interfere in his government so that the Company would feel reluctant towards him. The Sultan was of the opinion that the treatment of them (the Company) should be differentiated so that the traditions and power of the Javanese kings would not be undermined by foreign envoys (Margana, 2004: 68).

At the beginning of HB II's reign there were still some officials left over from HB I (Suratmin, et al., 1990: 59). They were loyal and experienced people from the previous reign. By the time of HB II, most of them were old and many died and were removed. One of those removed was the patih, Danureja II. He replaced Danureja I on 19 August 1799 (Cahyani, 2013: 75). The position of patih became the main bridge for contact with the Sultan.

Danureja II was also considered a son by HB II, one of the reasons being his closeness to HB II due to his marriage to one of his daughters. Danureja II was also one of the pillars along with K.R.T Sumodiningrat and Raden Rongga Prawiradirja III in the Kasultanan Yogyakarta (Qomar, 2022: 19). However, the relationship between HB II and Danureja II was not romantic. Danureja II often delayed decisions on important matters relating to the Netherlands and the kingdom (Carey & Hoadley, 2000: 442).

In the end, Danureja II chose to side with the Company and things got worse because HB II wanted to replace the position of patih with a new figure but this was

prevented by the Company. Danureja II was not immediately sacked, but his duties were replaced by Natadiningrat. The next chapter saw the emergence of enmity between Danureja II and Natadiningrat by bringing him down with Natakusuma, Ratu Kencana Wulan, the mother of Natadiningrat's wife. Danureja II was killed by strangulation in Bangsa Purworetno in October 1811 on the orders of HB II (Carey, 2017: 48). His duties were succeeded by Mas Tumenggung Sindunegoro and he was given the title Danuerjo III.

This was followed by the rebellion of one of Sultan HB. II's other 'pillars', Raden Rongga Prawiradirja. When news began to spread about Raden Ronggo's rebellion, Daendels asked HB II to hand over Natakusuma, Natadiningrat and Sumodiningrat (Suratmin, et al., 1990: 61). This was because they had a role in Raden Ronggo's rebellion. Raden Ronggo did send a letter to Sumodiningrat and Natadiningrat containing the reasons why he rebelled (Qomar, 2022: 78). Raden Ronggo returned to Madiun because he was not satisfied with the situation at the time. However, when he returned to Madiun, the Sultan did not know that Raden Ronggo had returned to Madiun. The Company considered Raden Ronggo's return a threat because he could form his own *gupermen*.

These groups eventually consolidated on their own and were inevitably won by those who had a position in the government at the time (Suratmin, et al., 1990: 58). However, there were also groups that were supported by the Company because they wanted to channel their political power within the Palace government. They considered that such consolidation would at least 'secure' and maintain the stability of the political situation in the Yogyakarta Palace.

AGAINST THE DUTCH

Hamengku Buwono II's reign as king is divided into three periods, namely the Dutch period (1792-1810), the British under Raffles (1811-1812), and the beginning of the Java War (1826-1828). The focus of the discussion below is to explain how HB II's feud with Daendels unfolded. The reign of Daendels is mentioned in Sunan Kalijogo's statement to Prince Dipanegara at Parangkusumo in Babad Dipanegara volume II, which has a core discussion about the coming three-year period (Daendels' reign) that will destroy Yogyakarta and be the beginning of the destruction of Java (Ambarsati & Marduwiyota, 1983: 14).

New Order under Daendels

The beginning of the feud with Daendels began with his arrival in 1808 which immediately had a significant impact on Yogyakarta under Sultan HB. II. Daendels reorganised the government of the Northeast Coast of Java (which included Yogyakarta) by dissolving the government of the Northeast Coast of Java which was then held by Nicolas Engelhard (Marihandono, 2008: 31). The reason for this dissolution was that Engelhard was very 'cautious' in his behaviour towards HB II as he did not want to provoke the Sultan's anger. Their task on the Northeast Coast of Java was to monitor and maintain relations with the two kingdoms in *Vorstenlanden*. After that, all things royal were immediately taken over by Daendels, this can also be likened to getting the two traditional kings to submit to the Dutch king at the time, Louis Napoleon.

This centralisation of government also resulted in the replacement of the term *Gubermen Java's Noord Oost-kust* and resident in *Vorstenlanden* with the term minister. Everything related to correspondence between the minister and the Governor-General was

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done directly (Suratmin, et al., 1990: 65). In addition, Daendels also made changes and abolished the established ceremonial procedures in Yogyakarta. The abolished ceremony was the ceremony performed by the residents to the king, according to Daendels this was a form of humiliating the Colonial government (Carey, 2012: 194). Daendels wanted the position of the resident to be equal to the king, because the resident was the direct representative of the Governor-General and the royal government centred in The Hague, Netherlands.

Other changes to the ceremonial procedures meant that the prefects did not have to take off their hats when approaching the king, instead the king had to stand up and salute them. The prefects were also given a seat to the left of the king's throne, so there was no obligation to serve the king because their seat was as high as the king's. The king was also required to greet the Dutch ambassadors both outside and inside the palace. The king was also required to greet the Dutch ambassador, both outside the palace and inside the palace. Then to assist the resident's duties, there was an important assistant called a secretary (Carey, 2012: 194-195).

From Daendels' policy, Java, in this case the Yogyakarta palace under HB II, experienced a breakdown in the political structure because there was no balance between the palace and the Company (Carey, 2012: 198). The Sultan felt very disappointed with what happened. He had already realised that when the Dutch came to power, they would demonise the palace and destroy its authority. It was like draining Java like gold that is eroded by water (Carey, 2008: 170).

Babad Dipanegara describes the reaction to the edict given by Daendels. The new seating arrangement and the umbrella bearing the Dutch royal emblem dealt a severe blow to the Sultan (Babad Dipanegara II: 50). One of the reasons for the Java War (1825-1830) was to restore Java to its pre-Daendels order. In one of the negotiations with the Dutch during the Java War, Prince Dipanegara demanded that the Dutch limit themselves to Batavia and Semarang (Carey, 2023: 90).

However, the Sultan's next reaction was to order his throne to be higher than the resident during the ceremony. He also requested that the dampar be made narrower, so that only he could sit there (Carey, 2023: 90). At the same time, a wooden footstool was placed under his throne so that the Sultan could sit higher than the resident (Houben, 2002: 20).

Yogyakarta's reaction was different from Surakarta, which tended to be accommodating in accepting Daendels' edict. In Van Braam's report, the point was that there were differences between Sunan and Sultan, especially because they could not speak Malay and there were indications of suspicion and wild stares (Carey, 2008: 175). Daendels perceived this report as defiance from the Sultan and felt humiliated by Yogyakarta.

Mancanegara Wetan Forest

The next conflict was over the king's forest management rights and logging monopoly, which Daendels demanded. This was done to meet the needs of defence development in Java because the previous supply was insufficient. For HB.II, such demands were detrimental because one of the main revenues of the palace was timber (Marihandono, 2008: 31-32).

Yogyakarta's forest area was in the *mancanegara wetan* region, from Madiun to Mojokerto. This area was led by Raden Rongga Prawiradirja III from Madiun. When he

heard Daendel's demands, Raden Ronggo was ready to guarantee the area under him for the sake of the Sultan and the kingdom if Daendels was angry because of the refusal. Daendels also continued to pressure the Yogyakarta palace to open the entrance for timber supplies in the Mancanegara wetan area. This kind of action was also unacceptable to Raden Ronggo because timber was the main support for the Mancanegara wetan region and would be a big loss if it fell into Daendels' hands (Qomar, 2022: 183-184). Daendels was annoyed by Raden Ronggo's attitude, plus he also often made trouble in the Delanggu region which became the boundary between the Sunanate and the Sultanate and was considered a rebel by Daendels. So Daendels urged Raden Ronggo to be handed over.

Raden Ronggo received support from factions of Yogyakarta royalty such as Notokusumo and Notodiningrat (Carey, 2012: 293). They were the ones who refused to surrender to Daendels. However, due to the many pressures exerted on HB II, the Sultan finally sent this gang to Batavia to face Daendels. But in the middle of the journey, Raden Ronggo broke away and returned to Madiun to prepare a rebellion.

Rebellion of Raden Rongga Prawiradirja III

In the early hours of late November, Engelhard was awakened from his sleep and informed that Raden Ronggo, HB II's son-in-law, was travelling to Madiun with his followers (Carey, 2023: 124). From then on Raden Ronggo became a fugitive from the Dutch and even the Yogyakarta palace. The Company sent letters to Sunan Pakubawana IV and Mangkunegoro II to intercept Raden Ronggo in Delanggu. Meanwhile, the Sultan mobilised a 1,000-strong army led by Purwodipuro and sent orders for foreign regents to join the hunt for Raden Ronggo. The order was clear that Raden Ronggo was to be killed on the spot if he refused to return to Yogya (Carey, 2008: 243).

Dutch troops, the Sultanate army, and the Mangkunegaran Legion were mobilised to pursue Raden Ronggo. On 5 December 1810, Raden Ronggo's defence centre in Maospati was captured and Raden Ronggo fled with his troops to Kertosono. This rebellion also carried the spirit of Ratu Adil and became an inspiration for Dipanegara when waging the Java War. Dipanegara wrote that Raden Ronggo was the only pelaga (bull) of the Yogya kingdom. Raden Ronggo had to be hunted down by fast-moving troops under Lucas Leberveld (Qomar, 2022: 247). On 16-17 December, Leberveld's troops met Raden Ronggo's entourage in Sekaran and it was Raden Ronggo's last battle as he was killed. The resistance waged by Raden Ronggo became a major event, especially in foreign territories, Raden Ronggo became the last hero (Carey, 2023: 135).

Janseens and the End of Dutch Reign

At a time when the Yogya Palace was in a precarious situation due to rumours of civil war and the threat of British invasion, the Dutch rule under Daendels was coming to an end. The French had taken control of the Netherlands, but this would not last long as the British would soon occupy Yogyakarta (Carey, 2023: 145). Daendels' position was replaced by Janssens, which also marked the end of Daendels' terrible leadership.

During his time in charge, Janssens took important steps such as providing new training for European administrators in Java (Carey, 2023: 146). However, Janssens' efforts were in vain as he inherited Daendels' notoriously corrupt system of government. Despite Daendels' efforts to strengthen his military force, the government's financial condition did not improve.

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Then came a letter from Raffles, who would later become the British ruler of Java. The content of the letter was that the British were ready to end everything that had to do with French Dutch rule (Carey, 2008: 280-281; Hannigan, 2023: 59). This letter was sent by Raffles to the royal rulers in Java, including HB II. Raffles' letter to the Sultan promised the restoration of power by being appointed Sultan and cancelling the changes made by Daendels earlier. The Sultan was not allowed to make any agreements with the Dutch until the British arrived.

So the British arrival and invasion came on 3 August 1811 with a total of 12,000 troops landing in Cilincing (Hannigan, 2023: 65). Then on 8 August the city of Old Batavia was conquered. Janssens then docked and defended Meester Cornelis, but on 10 August the fort was captured by the British and Janssens fled to Buitenzorg or Bogor (Thorn, 2024: 97).

Although Janssens attempted to regroup his forces in Semarang, on 18 September, at the Tuntang River bridge, Janssens signed a letter of surrender (Carey, 2023: 149). This surrender was also followed by a policy whereby all Dutch officials would work in the British government, but military officials would be detained as prisoners of war and taken to Bengal. Finally, the British were able to occupy and control Java. After the treaty, this was the end of Dutch rule in Java.

CONCLUSION

The conflicts and intrigues that occurred around Sultan Hamengkubawana II were due to his stubbornness and unwillingness to compromise with the Company. It was this trait that brought his reign into a quite difficult period. In addition to the conflict with the Dutch, the Sultan also had to face various problems that occurred both within the palace and outside the palace. He had to face problems with his own Crown Prince who was supported by the Dutch and had to accept that one of his favourite sons-in-law, Raden Rongga Prawiradirja III was killed in his pursuit.

It was a difficult time for the Sultan during Daendels' leadership in Java. Daendels made many changes to the order and regulations in order to organise the Yogyakarta palace to obey the colonial authorities. However, Daendels' time in Java was only three years before he was replaced by Janssens. The Dutch occupation of 1808-1811 was the end of the old Javanese order, which would create a new order that impacted on the political stability of Yogyakarta. Janssens also did not stay long in Java because some time after he arrived in Java, the British under Raffles were ready to expel the Dutch from Java.

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