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The Expansionist Politics of Sultan Agung and Turning Away the Sea in the 17th Century: Rereading Javanese Historiography

Miftahuddin✉ , Ajat Sudrajat, Danar Widiyanta, Ita Mutiara Dewi, Kuncoro Hadi, Raymizard Alifian Firmansyah
Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, ✉miftahuddin@uny.ac.id

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Abstract: This article develops a thesis by Adrian B. Lapian and contextualizes the Islamic rule in Java that stimulated the movement of the sea people to turn their backs on the sea. It critiques conventional historiography that focuses only on heroic stories. Using critical maritime history studies, this article presents a re-reading of the political narrative of Sultan Agung's expansion into North and East Java. The history of Java is not only about political power and conflicts between Javanese kingdoms in the 17th century, but also about expansion, social problems, socio-political domination, and the erasure of collective memory of maritime culture. Therefore, this research attempts to write history with an alternative perspective to examine the "movement towards the sea" in Java, which has implications for the formation of an agrarian society. As a result of strengthening the legitimacy of royal power in the 16th-17th centuries, various violent incidents occurred in northern and peripheral Java. Under the pretext of expanding power and attempting to attack Batavia, this event was normalized, which becomes a phenomenon of historiographical problems in writing history, particularly regarding the minimal discussion about the oppression of the Javanese Maritime community under the political domination of Mataram (Sultan Agung).

Abstrak: Artikel ini, dengan mengembangkan tesis dari Adrian B. Lapian, membahas tentang kekuasaan Islam di Jawa yang menstimulasi gerak orang laut untuk memunggungi laut. Artikel ini juga bagian dari kritik terhadap historiografi konvensional yang hanya membahas tentang kisah-kisah heroik semata. Dengan menggunakan kajian sejarah maritim kritis, maka artikel ini menyajikan pembacaan ulang mengenai narasi politik ekspansi Sultan Agung ke daerah Jawa Utara dan Jawa Timur. Sejarah Jawa kenyataannya tidak hanya soal kekuasaan politik dan konflik politik kerajaan-kerajaan Jawa abad 17, tetapi juga soal ekspansi, masalah sosial, dominasi sosial-politik, sampai dengan penghapusan memori kolektif budaya maritim. Untuk itu, penelitian ini adalah bagian dari upaya penulisan sejarah dengan perspektif alternatif untuk melihat “gerak memunggungi laut” di Jawa, yang implikasinya berpengaruh terhadap terbentuknya masyarakat agraris. Akibat peneguhan legitimasi kuasa keraton, pada abad ke 16-17, di Jawa bagian utara dan pinggiran terjadi berbagai peristiwa yang penuh kekerasan. Dengan dalih perluasaan kekuasaan dan upaya penyerangan terhadap Batavia, membuat peristiwa ini dinormalisasi. Hal ini menjadi fenomena permasala-

INTRODUCTION

So far, the historiography of Islamic Mataram, in particular, has only explained and presented existing historical data, and its discussion is not detached from positivism, glorification, and hero-sentiment. In this context, Sultan Agung is narrated as a symbol of Javanese resistance against the VOC in such a heroic way, without considering the real impact of its expansion in North Java that led to the displacement of maritime communities to the agrarian hinterland. However, the dominant maritime activities in the life of the Indonesian archipelago are reflected in the term "maritime era" (Lapian, 2017). All components of the waterways paved the way for

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trade and other social activities in this region. From here, we should be able to see that the maritime world is very important for the creation of Southeast Asian society. Meanwhile, like a legend, maritime studies have not found their place since they were first discussed in the first National History Seminar in Yogyakarta in 1957 (Panitia Seminar Sejarah Tahun 1957, 2017).

Conventional Javanese historiography has only focused on the political conditions of the Mataram kingdom in the hinterland, without discussing the social aspects of the coastal communities. It is well-known that in Java, the maritime communities have long been dependent on the agrarian communities in the hinterland. Therefore, since the era of Mataram II (Mataram of Islam), the maritime communities were forced to become agrarian communities due to the massive planting of values, political arrogance of the expansionist regime, and physical as well as epistemic violence by the Mataram regime. To address this issue, a postcolonial approach is necessary. Gayatri Spivak's subaltern theory is also appropriate to analyse the repressive activities of the maritime communities adjacent to the Mataram kingdom (Spivak, 2017).

Therefore, this article will examine the identity politics of the agrarian inland kingdom in its efforts to erase the memory of the maritime communities in North Java. As an agrarian ruler who tends to be "more strict" than maritime power, it is impossible to govern the hybrid and predominantly egalitarian maritime communities. The conquest of North and East Java by Sultan Agung is a form of "agrarianization" that is maritime. The glorifying narrative of Sultan Agung's conquest of North Java remains the only narrative. Even this conquest activity made Pakubuwana IX say, "He is the Most Perfect One who becomes a king in the world as in the time of the Prophets of old." This quote from Pakubuwana IX is certainly an intergenerational problem, which then internalises and describes Sultan Agung as a descendant of the Prophets and even God himself (Ham, 2018, p. 11). In reality, many of these hero-centric narratives are written and perpetuated in history books. Even the name Sultan Agung is the first discussion in the National Heroes Encyclopedia. In this case, Sultan Agung is designated as a national hero due to his "services" according to Presidential Decree No. 106/TK/1975, dated November 3, 1975 (Said, 1995, p. 1). This is not only about intergenerational issues within the palace environment, but also the state apparatus during the New Order era that sought to narrate a hero-centric history (McGregor, 2007).

This research focuses on Sultan Agung, the "exalted one" ruler of Mataram. In historical chronicles, initially, the title of sultan held by Sultan Agung was a title created and embedded in the name of Sultan Agung. Since Sultan Agung succeeded his father, Panembahan Seda ing Krapyak, Sultan Agung had the title 'prince' or '*panembahan*', only in 1624, Sultan Agung had the title 'susuhunan' (Ricklefs, 2005). However, the title Sultan Agung is mentioned in Javanese texts produced after his time, this title can be accepted by historians (Babad Sultan Agung, 2010). This title, which is different from the kings before or after it, originates from the assumption that Sultan Agung was considered the greatest king of the line of Mataram kings.

Responding to previous research patterns, which still looked at the greatness and heroism of Sultan Agung, in this research, Sultan Agung is narrated as a figure who carried out self-colonialism activities and stimulated the movement of turning away from the sea of the people of North Java. If the historian Ricklefs stated that Sultan Agung's achievements in unifying Java were the most successful after Majapahit (Ricklefs, 2005), then this research views this activity more as an act of repression against the independent regions along the coast of North Java.

Although during Sultan Agung's reign, trading activities allowed its citizens to trade. Moreover, historian Kwee Hui Kian explained that the coastal regents chosen by Sultan Agung were still oriented towards trade activities, but the exodus of traders leaving the coast of North Java could not be avoided. The further movement of the exodus was never again recorded in history, did they carry out their business elsewhere? Or are they forced to carry out activities like an agrarian society? The few narratives that explain the causality of this exodus only focus on the aristocratic investors in the maritime kingdoms of North Java (de Graaf, 1989, p. 44). Therefore, this research focuses more on these cases of marginalisation.

An alternative reading of historiographical products can be done by drawing from Spivak's discussion on subaltern history, which is widely studied in India. It is known that conventional historiography narratives only explain a black-and-white history, with dualism in a single lens showing only the coloniser and the colonised, the winner and the loser, and even the superior and the inferior. Therefore, an alternative reading is necessary to deconstruct this dualism/polarisation perspective, as explained above. Using Spivak's theory as a lens, it can be seen that the colonialism and feudalism relations

in Java gave birth to a subaltern society, meaning those who are the most oppressed and marginalised. Spivak's in-depth study of *sati* (an Indian religious practice where a widow voluntarily or forcibly burns herself in her husband's cremation ceremony), East India Company archives, and the early colonialism encounters and the sovereignty of local elites also deconstruct the socio-historical reality of pre-colonial society. With Spivak's theory of subalternity, it becomes possible to carry out an alternative reading of the coastal society of North Java as the cause of Sultan Agung's expansionist politics.

In addition to Spivak, Lapian's perspective can also be adopted. As a maritime historian, Lapian's various discourse products have earned him the title of "captain of Indonesian maritime history." Lapian's ideas provide a perspective that can explain the socio-historical reality of the "sea people" and subaltern discourse within the spatial scope of Java.

METHOD

This research uses historical methods and approaches from postcolonial discourse to provide an in-depth perspective and reading.. The historical method has four research steps: heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Sjamsudin, 2007, p. 14). The main sources in this research were obtained from written documents in the form of archives, books, chronicles, etc. The archival study traces sources from archives related to the North Java sea trade, the attack on Sultan Agung, and the social realities of North Javanese society, all of which are found in *Oost-Indische Voyagie; vervattende veel voorname voorvallen en ongemeene oreemde geschiedenissen, bloedige zee- en landtgevechten tegen de Portugeesen en Makassaren* to the Chronicle of Sultan Agung. The study will examine conventional narratives and reflect them in the form of alternative narratives based on the research objectives. Since existing sources and research do not adequately explain alternative perspectives in Javanese historiography, another historical methodology is necessary. Spivak's subaltern theory will be used to examine the repressive activities of maritime communities. Data will be collected by exploring Spivak's postcolonial thought texts to explain the subaltern community. In addition, Lapian's thought texts, as a maritime historian, will be used to enrich alternative readings and bridge the gap between the sea people and Spivak's subaltern discourse.

NORTH JAVA MARITIME COMMUNITY BEFORE SULTAN AGUNG'S EXPANSION

Since the mid-12th century, one or several Javanese kingdoms have been a prominent trading power in the Nusantara region (Wisseman, 1977, p. 197). They controlled the exchange of rice from Java with spices and sandalwood from islands in the eastern region, as well as Javanese and Balinese cotton, coarser textiles, and finer Indian products brought by Gujarat traders (Pires, 1944) & (Meilink-Roelofsz, n.d.). Thirty types of clothing were brought to Malacca from Cambay, as a substitute for cloves, nutmeg, mace, and sandalwood. These products were in high demand in the Nusantara region.

Traders from India and West Asia sailed to Java during the West Monsoon season in December and returned East in May of the following year. The Javanese also sailed to and from Banda and the Maluku islands, resulting in two mutually dependent trade routes that converged at ports in Northern Java. For instance, Tuban traders had colonies on the island of Hitu and sailed to the Port of Neira in the Banda Islands to buy cloves and nutmeg (Reid, 1999).

During that time, the Javanese were the most important Nusantara merchants, but they were not the only ones. The people of Banda, unlike those of Maluku, also had ships and sometimes sailed as far as Malacca. António de Brito (1523) discovered a Banda junk in Gresik, East Java. Trade in the Indonesian Archipelago was conducted through barter and the use of Chinese currency (de Brito, 1953). Spices from Banda and Maluku were exchanged for food, textiles, and various other goods such as iron and copper, cinnabar, ivory, mercury, mirrors, and beads from Java and other distant areas. Although sago was the staple food for most of the population, rice was an imported commodity. In fact, sago was even used as currency in the country of Banda around 1515 (Donkin, 2003, p. 248).

Although the clandestine trade or smuggling by Chinese merchants continued, Malay and Javanese merchants were never eliminated (Cheung, 1967, p. 223-227)They played an important role from the time East Indonesian products first appeared in the world market before the Christian era until the arrival of Europeans in the Spice Islands. Even after the Europeans arrived, local trade in cloves, nutmeg, and sandalwood persisted.

With the emergence of new rulers in the 16th century, Jepara, Cirebon, Sunda Kelapa, and Banten emerged as port cities. Merchants from West and South Asia, particularly Arab, Gujarati, and Bengali

traders, continued to sail to ports in East Java and neighbouring islands during the 16th century and early decades of the 17th century (Vlekke, 2010). In the trading network of western Indonesia, Banten emerged as an important node, among other things, for its inter-island trade and as a place of refuge for fugitives from the coasts of Central and East Java. In addition, Banten also attracted the trade of pepper from Indrapura, Lampung, and Palembang.

On the densely populated North Coast, there is the port of Gresik, known as "Java's gem in the trading port"(Reid, 2015). In the early 16th century, the coastal cities that handled spice trade were Demak-Jepara, Tuban, Surabaya, and Pasuruan, located about halfway between Maluku and the Malacca Strait. Malay and Javanese people from the Gresik and Tuban areas traded rice and textile materials from Gujarat, Bengal, and Coromandel. During the 15th century, Tuban played a role as the trading hub between the West or the Malacca direction and the East or the Maluku direction in Java. In addition to the vast agricultural areas in its hinterland, the shipbuilding industry nearby, such as Rembang and Lasem, strengthened Tuban's position (Federici, 1904). Later, that role shifted to Gresik.

The port city of Demak became the most important political centre of the maritime kingdom of Java between the 15th and 16th centuries. Demak prospered under the rule of Adipati Trenggana (reigned from 1505-1518). Demak exported food supplies from its interior but relied on the trade of its ships with Malacca for supplies. The port of Demak was closed in the 16th century and was replaced by Jepara, which had a better port (Isa, 2020).

Jepara has a more strategic location compared to other ports in North Java, due to its position to the west of Mount Muria, which makes it easy for both large and small ships to dock. It is no wonder that Jepara became a stepping stone between the west and the east, besides Tuban. Compared to the Demak Port, the sea conditions are not feasible due to silt deposits causing shallowness, making sailing activities only possible for small ships to pass. Therefore, trading activities were redirected to the port of Jepara, and in the 16th and 17th centuries, the two cities became a powerful duo (Graaf, 1989).

The Juwana port is located near the eastern mouth of an old strait that has long separated the Muria Mountains in Java. Meanwhile, Demak and Jepara are located on the west side of this estuary. However, over time, Juwana (or the port city in the area, which Tomé Pires called "Cajongan") became less important for maritime trade, unlike Jepara, which had a good bay (de Graaf & Pigeaud, 2019)

In the historical memory of Central Java, the position of the ruler in Pati was also significant. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the Pati ruler claimed to be powerful enough to exert political influence in southern Central Java. Pati and Juwana can be seen as transitional areas between the old kingdom of Lasem and the regions of Central Java. Lasem was one of the areas of the Majapahit kingdom in the 14th century, and the region was also the location of semi-independent and then fully independent Islamic kingdoms that developed in the 15th and 16th centuries (de Graaf & Pigeaud, 2019).

Juwana is a port city that, according to Tomé Pires, was attacked by "Gusti Pate," the last commander of the infidel Majapahit kingdom in the early 16th century (de Graaf & Pigeaud, 2019). Tomé Pires also reported that salt was made in ponds along the coast in Pati and Juwana (Isa, 2020), and these salts were export commodities. Portuguese explorers also reported that Rembang had shipyards as a place to build Demak trading ships when they visited the area (de Graaf & Pigeaud, 2019).

THE EXPANSIONIST POLITICS OF SULTAN AGUNG: THE LOSS OF A MARITIME CULTURE

During the Demak and Pajang eras, the northern coast of Java was a crucial location with its thriving trade. This included the areas of Gresik and Surabaya, which wielded great influence both within and outside Java. Sunan Giri (and its successors in Kedaton Giri) also had a religious influence that added to the political sway felt from Maluku to Malacca (H. J. de Graaf & Pigeaud, 2019). Although Pajang was located inland, they practised "*ostpolitik*" similar to the politics of the Demak Kingdom. In an effort to confront Mataram, the Pajang Kingdom strengthened its alliances with its vassals from the coast, including Tumenggung Demak and Tuban.

The decline of influence and trade in North Java began with the conflict between Pajang and Mataram. This conflict started when a member of the Pajang palace elite fled to Mataram seeking protection from the Sultan of Pajang, who wanted to avenge his son. After Senopati refused to go to the Pajang Palace for three consecutive years, Sultan Pajang decided to subdue Senopati. The battle took place in Prambanan, and Sultan Pajang was forced to flee to Tembayat while his troops were pursued by Mataram's army (H. J. de Graaf & Pigeaud, 1985). According to Javanese chronicles, Sultan Pajang later died after being attacked by the spirit of

Juru Taman (H. J. de Graaf & Pigeaud, 2019).

Although Mataram emerged victorious, the struggle to achieve hegemony continued. Demak, Tuban, Kudus, and Jipang emerged as rivals to the centre of power in Pajang. Here, the coastal communities were united as a very strong opposition. The candidates for the Sultan of Pajang were Pangeran Benawa of Jipang and the Duke of Demak. Eventually, Jipang and Mataram formed an alliance to attack Pajang and emerged victorious. The Duke of Demak then abdicated the throne, while Pangeran Benawa withdrew and meditated on Mount Kukalan, becoming known as Sunan Parakan (Kedu) (H. J. de Graaf & Pigeaud, 2019).

There was also a rebellion in Pati in 1600. Jepara, Kudus, and Demak were helpless to assist Pati, while the Kadilangu Dynasty, descendants of Sunan Kalijaga, had given their blessing to Senopati in his activities. Meanwhile, Senopati also maintained a friendship with the Cirebon Dynasty, so the expansion was more directed to the east and north. After Senopati's passing (1601), the expansionist politics were continued by his successors, especially under the reign of Sultan Agung (Ricklefs, 2005). After Panembahan Senapati passed away, the throne of Mataram was occupied by the son of his fourth wife, Raden Mas Jolang. During his reign, Raden Mas Jolang, who was better known as Panembahan Seda-Ing-Krapyak after his death, had to face rebellions from the regions that his late father had previously conquered. These rebellions naturally slowed the expansion of Mataram's territory to the east.

Since 1610, Panembahan Krapyak had been moving his troops to East Java with the aim of attacking Surabaya, but was limited to destroying the surrounding areas (Ricklefs, 2005). The city of Surabaya had strong defences with thick walls surrounding it, and the surrounding swamps acted as an effective barrier against enemy attacks. Panembahan Krapyak appointed Raden Mas Rangsang as his successor, with the title *Prabu Pandita Anyakrakusuma*, who later became *Sultan Senopati Ingalaga Ngabdurahman Sayidin Panatagama* (1613-1646) (de Graaf & Pigeaud, 1990). Within two decades, most rulers in Central Java recognised the power of Mataram. Resistance from older kings in East Java could be contained (Ricklefs, 2005).

In the early 17th century, Susuhunan Hanyakrakusuma, the new ruler of Mataram, launched a series of military expansions against port cities in North Java. In fact, since the end of the 16th century, there had been many conflicts in the interior of Central-East Java related to the power struggle between Mataram and Surabaya (Kartodirdjo, 2011). Mataram's expansion was met by the coastal port cities forming an alliance, with Surabaya as its leader (and indeed the main target of Mataram). Surabaya's strength was based on several factors. The main factor was its position as a centre of trade and all the wealth and connections it produced; the second factor was the common economic interests among the port cities of East Java that formed solidarity in the form of a coastal alliance.

Religious ideology also reinforces the second factor that accentuates the differences with Mataram. The third factor is the fertile and well-developed agricultural hinterland, which enabled Surabaya's rice production to sustain its function as an entrepot (H. J. de Graaf & Pigeaud, 2019). It should be noted that trade relations created political bonds with several kingdoms across the sea, including Sukadana, Landak, Banjarmasin, Maluku, and others. To overcome Surabaya's strength, Mataram's strategy clearly took into account the factors mentioned above and handled each one of them systematically.

The expeditions before 1620 aimed to conquer the hinterland of Surabaya and destroy its allies. In 1614, expeditions were sent to conquer Kediri, Pasuruhan, Lumajang, Renong, and Malang. Prince Pekik of Surabaya resisted by mobilising the coastal rulers, including Ranggalelana, Kanjeng Tumenggung Kapulungan from Pasuruhan, Dipati Pasagi, Kanjeng Patih Jayasaputra from Tuban, and Kanjeng Martanegara from Sedayu (H. J. de Graaf & Pigeaud, 1990).

The confrontation between the two forces occurred on the banks of the Andaka River, where the Mataram forces were forced to retreat (1614). The commander of the East Java army, Kanjeng Surapati, met his death. In 1615, Mataram's offensive was focused on Wirasaba, a defensive fortress located near the former Majapahit, which was a strategic point because of its location at the gateway to the Brantas delta and the entrance to the eastern tip of Java (Ricklefs, 2005). The defence, led by Prince Arya and Rangga Pramana, was very strong, so it was only after several attacks that the city could be captured.

The victory at Wirasaba changed the geopolitical map of East Java. Mataram immediately threatened Surabaya, the centre of the coastal alliance leadership, by occupation of the strategic location, especially because Sunan Giri took a passive stance. The epidemic that spread in the Mataram forces became a hindering factor for Mataram's offensive against Surabaya. The coastal forces had

the opportunity to consolidate after the defeat in Wirasaba. A retaliatory offensive against Mataram was planned. However, both the old southern route through Ponorogo and the northern route through Madiun and the Bengawan Solo valley were difficult to pass through because they had already been occupied by Mataram (Ricklefs, 2005) & (H. J. de Graaf & Pigeaud, 2019).

The only remaining option was the northern route through Lasem, Pati, and then southwards through Pajang. Both coastal cities had sympathies towards the coastal faction, and in Pajang, there was an anti-Mataram faction that could assist Mataram's invasion. The Mataram forces did not wait for the coastal army to enter their territory but instead intercepted them in the north, leading to the Battle of Siwalan (1616) (H. J. de Graaf & Pigeaud, 1990). The coastal alliance consisted of Surabaya, Pasuruan, Tuban, Jepara, Wirasaba, Arosbaya, Sumenep, and other cities. Here, the coastal alliance suffered a defeat. This was caused, among other things, by Pajang's last-minute change of direction. Additionally, logistical calculations were off, as the expeditionary forces were held up in Siwalan and exposed to the rainy season and the danger of starvation.

The Battle of Siwalan turned the tide for the coastal alliance, making them defensive again. In that same year, Mataram attacked Lasem. The siege of the city by Mataram forces under the leadership of Martalaya and with the assistance of Pati forces quickly forced the city to surrender (Ricklefs, 2005). Tuban was not immediately attacked by Mataram, and the attack on the city was delayed until 1619, as Mataram faced the Pajang rebellion in 1617. The delay was also due to Mataram's attack on Pasuruhan in that same year.

Due to their defeat at Siwalan, the coastal alliance became weak and could not hinder the advance of Mataram forces towards Pasuruhan. There was little resistance, and the city of Pasuruan fell, with Prince Kapulungan fleeing to Surabaya (H. J. de Graaf & Pigeaud, 2019). When Sultan Agung began his direct attacks on Surabaya, he had not yet conquered Madura and the kingdoms across the sea that had good relations with the coastal alliance, especially in South Kalimantan, such as Sukadana. Attacks on the other side of the sea were only carried out when the siege and attacks on Surabaya were underway.

Given the geographic location of Surabaya, a conventional siege alone would not be effective because the logistics route by sea was still open. Unless this route were cut off, the siege would not be able to be carried out, as the rainy season practically hindered military operations. In addition, food supplies were also limited. The effect of this can be seen in Mataram's strategy during the period of 1620-1625, which showed a clear pattern, namely that attacks were carried out during the dry season and systematically involved the seizure of harvests from the surrounding areas. During those five years, there were five attacks, with the addition of an expedition to Sukadana in 1622 and an attack on Madura in 1624. The expedition to Sukadana was carried out twice, the first consisting of 70 boats and 2,000 soldiers led by Governor Kendal Tumenggung Baureksa. The operation involved landing and seizure. In the second expedition, the queen and between 8 to 90 prisoners were taken to Mataram (Ricklefs, 2005).

The early invasion of Mataram of Madura was directed towards the western part. Battles took place in July 1624, and although there was fierce resistance, Mataram took Bangkalan, Arosbaya, Balega, Sampang, and Pakacangan. A month later, the entire Madura, including Pamekasan and Sumenep, was under the control of Mataram forces. Around 40,000 prisoners of war were moved to Gresik, while new residents were brought to Madura(Vlekke, 2010), (H. J. de Graaf & Pigeaud, 1990). Many nobles were brought to the palace, a classic policy to monitor local rulers. After being in Mataram for some time, Prince Prasena was appointed as the ruler of Madura with the title of Prince Cakraningrat and stationed in Sampang (H. J. de Graaf & Pigeaud, 1990). The first attempt by Surabaya to seek help from Banten was reported to have failed.

The siege of Surabaya severed connections with the inland regions, leaving only supply routes and neighbouring areas such as Makassar open. Mataram forces occupied villages around Surabaya, and all the rivers were blocked, creating a very tight siege. Eventually, a dam was constructed on the Brantas River to divert its flow and cut off the supply to the city of Surabaya (Ricklefs, 2005). Surabaya fell in October 1625. Prince Pekik, along with his sons Ki Sanjaya and Dipati Pajang, was captured and taken to Mataram. Later, Prince Pekik lived in seclusion and died as a revered figure (H. J. de Graaf & Pigeaud, 1990).

Meanwhile, there was also a shift of some trade from the East Java coast to across the Java Sea, namely to Banjarmasin and Sukadana (Vlekke, 2010). The exodus of traders from North Java has added to the hustle and bustle of trade and markets in Kalimantan, especially in the Banjarmasin area. Even so, relations with the Mataram Kingdom were

maintained well for the time being. Mataram's expansion destroyed coastal cities and therefore caused half of the trade to be paralysed, as the main producer and exporter of rice, Mataram's position in the trading network in the archipelago still had an influence (Margana, 2021). Relationships for rice trade have been established with Malacca, as well as stable relations with Jambi, Palembang, and Banjarmasin.

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF TURNING AWAY THE SEA: AN ALTERNATIVE READING

The polarisation between power in the coastal and inland areas since the disintegration of Majapahit has developed and greatly influenced Mataram's expansion movement with its Ostpolitik. By the end of the 16th century, Gresik and Surabaya had extensive trading networks, so that every centre of power in Central Java, such as Demak, Pajang, and Mataram, was targeted by Mataram to eliminate any political resistance and control all wealth obtained from trade. Apparently, peaceful coexistence created by the Wilwatikta/Majapahit Kingdom required a very strong central power. It should be added that the coastal dependence on agricultural products from the interior of East Java determined the existence of a kind of symbiosis. Similarly, the ebb and flow of power in Central Java brought consequences, so whenever conquered vassals acted independently, the central ruler had to fight again to establish his hegemony.

The continuous wars that took place from Duke Trenggana to Sultan Agung not only destroyed the coastal trade but also drained the agricultural labour force of the hinterland. From this framework, Mataram's expansion contained the seeds of "self-negation," and in the long run, the socio-cultural impact drove the integration process based on the cultural model of the Mataram Palace. The mechanical tendency to pursue expansionist politics is not new in Javanese history. This expansionist politics is associated with a clear awareness of *nggelar jajahan* (expanding the territory of power), which is related to the concept of mandala in ancient Indian political thought or even Majapahit in Java (Moertono, 2017). Like Singasari or Majapahit, which conquered Suwarnadwipa (Sumatra) to contain the Mongols, apparently Mataram, obsessed with Majapahit, also did the same, but then there was the VOC in Batavia that emerged as a new Mongol image.

The decline of the North and East Java ports and the emergence of Makassar as a trading centre resulted in a shift in sailing routes and trade at that time (Ricklefs, 2005). In the 16th century, the route taken was from Maluku-Java-Malacca Strait, but towards the end of the 16th century, the route changed to Maluku-Makassar-Sunda Strait. In connection with this change, the position of Banten and its rival, Sunda Kelapa, became more strategic. The destruction of coastal ports in North and East Java required alternative ports of call on the north coast of Java. This factor was also reinforced by Banten's location, which was far enough from Mataram to avoid its attacks. To strengthen its position against Mataram, Banten also formed an alliance with Makassar. This was later to be exploited by the VOC (Vlekke, 2010).

In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Javanese palace poets believed that the "achievements" of Mataram during its first century were due to supernatural factors that protected it (Moertono, 2017). It was said that the rapid development of Mataram in the 16th and 17th centuries was due to its fresh and enthusiastic population, and the untapped energy of its people. In addition, Mataram's progress was also caused by the decline (in several factors) of the old kingdoms on the coast, whose wealth stimulated the desires of the inland people.

Several things can be identified that help us understand why Mataram achieved victory in the war against the alliance of port cities along the north coast of Java, where the economic sector was more advanced. One of the reasons was the political division within the coastal kingdoms of Java. The shift of power centres in the interior of Central Java caused the collapse of Demak in Jepara, which was the centre of power. The expansion of the Mataram kingdom could not be stopped, and one by one, the coastal kingdoms (since the end of the 16th century) were conquered by Mataram.

After Mataram successfully 'conquered' several areas in North Java, the next step was to carry out reforms in the power structure. Some *tumenggung*, who had achieved success during the expansion, were rewarded with *lungguh* land (*apanage* or salary land) to legitimise their submission to Mataram forever. For example, Tumenggung Wiraguna was granted *lungguh* land along with 12 *mantri* (subordinates) under his patih, because he was considered a hero in quelling the rebellion of Adipati Pragola from Pati (Moertono, 2017).

After gaining political control, Mataram also eradicated a cultural product that later became an epistemological problem for society. The cultural product in question is the Islamic literary culture in the coastal regions of Java that was 'burnt to the

ground' by Mataram. Philology implicitly proves that what followed the 'conquest of Islam' was a hidden darkness. It is often said that the coastal authors of the middle period produced works that were of 'non-original' descent, which were sometimes damaged and incomplete, certainly with an 'alien' Islamic context (Florida, 2021). Therefore, cultural products that are 'defective' and depart from the noble Javanese elements must be conquered. Even today, Mataram's cultural hegemony is used to view the 'failed' coastal culture.

Historically, Sultan Agung's tendency was clearly to prioritise the inland areas over the coast. Sultan Agung did not move his palace to the northern coast of Java, even though trade could have been developed and more easily monitored. However, Sultan Agung still chose Mataram, which was far from the centre of commerce and shipping, and even lacked rivers that flowed into the northern sea. This happened because Sultan Agung looked down on trade activities and traders, as he had told the first VOC envoy in 1614 (Ricklefs, 2005).

Conventional historiography has failed to read Sultan Agung's expansion as a cultural problem all this time because it is seen as simplistic in looking at a problem that exists. Due to Sultan Agung's expansionist politics, the decline of kingdoms on the north coast of Java, not only had a direct impact on political factors, but also on cultural factors that directly affected the society of the northern coast of Java.

Responding to the multiple defeats of North Javanese society, the subaltern theory formulated by Gayatri Spivak is considered worthy of being a lens for re-reading it. In its implementation in postcolonialism studies, Spivak uses subaltern theory, not just a word to describe the oppressed like Marx, but subaltern is defined as an individual or collective figure who does not have access to represent himself (Spivak, 2017). Subaltern in this context is also a criticism of Marx's theoretical framework regarding the concept of class which is trapped in binarity (bourgeois-proletarian). Apart from that, subalterns are not limited to individual or collective subjects, but also to situations or conditions. Therefore, subalternity is the appropriate terminology to describe conditions or situations where inferiority activities occur in a hegemonic structured social order. In line with this, Spivak's ideas about the subaltern are not only influential in philosophical discourse, but also in historical studies.

Subaltern studies that developed in India in the 1980s created a new stream in the flow of historiographic studies. In its implementation in South Asian historical discourse, this current produces narrative historiography with experiences of oppression (Gopal, 2006, p. 140-141). Relevant to Sartono Kartodirdjo, Ranajit Guha uses subalternity in writing his phenomenal work, namely the peasant rebellion against the British colonial government in India. In its implementation of history, subalternity studies are seen as an effort to explain the history of groups of people who are considered to have 'no history'.

As an early cartographer, reading the reality of Indonesian social history always uses 'big people' and dominant political forces in history as the starting point. In this context, Sultan Agung as a 'big man' with dominant political power can be compared with another dominant power, namely VOC colonialism. Even in a more basic reading, the activities of Sultan Agung's political forces can be read as activities of self-colonialism. If we use the Marxian bourgeois (winner)-proletarian (loser) concept, then social history will revolve around two class relations, namely Sultan Agung-VOC and the local power elite of North Java. So, if we use Spivak's perspective, this reading will obscure or even eliminate the losers from the losers in the flow of Javanese social-maritime history.

For centuries, wood carving culture in Jepara has been considered a culture that naturally emerged in Jepara society, even though it did not. Since Kartini introduced Jepara's carving culture to the world, Jepara has been famous for its stunning furniture carvings. Consequently, the world recognises it as a natural culture. However, this naturalness should be reconsidered after Sultan Agung's expansionist politics in Jepara or North Java. Nevertheless, Jepara's conquest by Sultan Agung made the maritime community, which was originally ship builders and carvers, switch to carving furniture. The emergence of this culture of carving furniture can also be read as part of the element of "self-elimination", which has been expressed above. Because, this assumption of naturality arises from history's omission of the causality of self-colonialism. The inability of the subaltern communities of North Java to carry out Sultan Agung's expansionist pre-political activities, or even to write their own history. This inability to write his own history is proven by the lack of books, chronicles, and even oral traditions that discuss the defeat of the North Java maritime community. This loss of ability and history's inability to read this phenomenon have created a momentum for paralysis in Indonesia-centric social history.

As explained in the conventional historiog-

raphy above, there were other expansions before Sultan Agung's expansionist politics, such as those carried out by Panembahan Senopati and Panembahan Seda Ing Krapyak. However, from the activities during his expansion, Sultan Agung can be said to have influenced the changes in various aspects in the following period. The northern coast of Java, which is closely related to a hybrid and more egalitarian maritime culture, has a different culture from the Javanese culture in the interior. Demak, Juwana, and Jepara are among the regions that became a bridge port between Malacca and Maluku. In addition, Tuban, Lasem, and Gresik still have many maritime cultural artifacts that are only in the form of artifacts. The local wealth of the Javanese maritime community is often portrayed in the form of large boats full of distinctive carvings. Jepara is one of the many shipyards in several ports along the north coast of Java.

After the collapse of the Pajang Kingdom, several attacks from the inland kingdoms made the political turmoil even more heated. This not only affected the rulers of the coastal regions but also had an impact on the maritime community. Mataram's expansionist politics made the movement of the Javanese maritime community feel oppressed in general. As a result of this expansion, they were forced to temporarily stop the production of the maritime community. Many factors were causing this, but for sure, they had to face two powers at once, the Mataram rulers in the interior and the VOC on the sea.

The distinctive shipbuilding culture in Tuban, Juwana, and Jepara shifted into a culture of carving furniture (Wooter, 1676). Until now, it is still evident in the social life of the Jepara community, which is famous for its production of carved furniture or furnishings. The power that originally moved in a dispersed manner, then, after the expansionist politics, there was an unavoidable centralisation of power. This also marked the collapse of the egalitarian maritime community and became the starting point for the context of turning away from the sea in Java. The community that used to build boats now became labourers in the massive Mataram rice trade.

As explained in the discussion above, the northern coast of Java was a strategic area for various nations to establish trading posts. In his efforts to fight against the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in Batavia, Sultan Agung used it as a pretext to conquer the coastal regions of Java. Therefore, this activity can be seen as a centralisation of power. The location of Mataram's central power in the interior of Java forced the maritime community of North Java to become symbolically maritime. This symbolic maritime culture was intentionally created due to Sultan Agung's inability to take over the maritime culture of North Java. In addition, Sultan Agung's obsession with his agrarian kingdom left him no choice but to create a symbol of the existing maritime culture. This was necessary to strengthen his power.

As a new conqueror, Mataram needed some kind of legitimacy to justify its actions. After subduing the maritime community of North Java, Mataram still needed a maritime cultural life "even if only symbolically." Geographically, Mataram had Mount Merapi and was situated between major river systems such as Bogowonto, Progo, and Opak which eventually flowed to the South Coast. This geographic condition often served as a pretext for balancing agrarian and maritime culture.

In 1578, Kotagede was established as the initial milestone in the formation of the Mataram dynasty (de Graaf & Pigeaud, 1985). After the death of Panembahan Senopati, the centre of government was continued by Panembahan Seda Ing Krapyak and later succeeded by Hanyakrakusuma or Sultan Agung. During the reign of Sultan Agung, the centre of Mataram was moved from Kotagede to Kerta, and then moved again during the reign of Amangkurat I to Pleret. Throughout the process of moving the kingdom's capital from Kotagede to Pleret, the narrative of the continuity of agrarian and maritime culture is always mentioned. Even Erick Wolf observed that, although the position of the kingdom was in the interior, the coastal culture was well integrated and manifested as part of a unified and interconnected whole (Wolf, 1982).

In its articulation, Mataram is mentioned as having a maritime culture in a broader sense of cosmopolitanism and modernity, reflected in symbols, meaningful values, and cultural practices. But is this really true? From an alternative perspective, the logic of conquest and the division of reality by the king's guardians often lead to a blurred consciousness. This vague consciousness is based on obscuring reality behind the splendour of culture as the cause of Mataram's defeat against external forces that threaten their "*wahyu kedaton*." The splendour of this culture is often associated with the symbol of "*keadiluhungan*" (glorious) (Florida, 2021).

In the ancient myth, the Javanese king's relationship with mystical power was the initial milestone of the king's absolute power. In this context, Mataram rides on the legitimacy of the legacy of Panembahan Senopati's relationship with Nyai Rara

Kidul. Therefore, if a Javanese king does not want to lose his dignity, he must "conquer" the goddess in his power (Moertono, 2017). The marriage, which is said to be carried out from generation to generation, is not only interpreted as mere flattery but also as a symbol of the conquest of maritime power under the agrarian Mataram. The annual ceremony of "*labuhan*" to send gifts to the southern coastal rulers can also be interpreted as Mataram's dependence on symbolic maritime culture. In addition to the story of Nyai Rara Kidul, maritime life in Mataram is depicted through the architecture of "*segaran*" (artificial lake) within the palace complex. This "*segaran*" architecture also symbolises the sea in harmony with the land, supporting the power.

What is the correlation between Sultan Agung's expansionist politics and symbolic maritime culture in the hinterland? Although Sultan Agung was not the first ruler of Mataram to carry out expansionist politics, he was the most massive. This massive activity resulted in a massive effect on the social changes of the maritime communities in North Java. The movement away from the sea may not be as visible due to the blurring of social realities over time. However, maritime communities that were once able to trade freely on the same sea eventually had to rely on Mataram's rice production. The maritime culture that originally emerged naturally from the minds of coastal communities now had to merge into the "symbolic maritime culture" of the royal poet's "*adiluhung*" (glorious) ideas.

CONCLUSION

From the conquest of Pati to the attempt to fight Blambangan, Sultan Agung's expansionist politics had changed the social realities of Javanese communities, especially the maritime ones. Mataram's expansion had destroyed many communities on the northern coast of Java. Economic and trade activities in North Java underwent significant changes, one of which resulted in changes to trade routes in the archipelago. Mataram's expansion on the island of Java caused the loss of records and memories of the past on the northern coast of Java. The loss of memory of Javanese maritime culture was then replaced by agrarian and symbolic maritime culture.

The lack of information about the movement away from the sea cannot be ruled out as being caused by Sultan Agung's expansionist politics. This is because of the massive "conquest" launched in various regions along the coast of Java. This writing aims to provide evidence that Sultan Agung's expansion placed Javanese maritime communities as subaltern communities, even dwarfing the expressive movement of socio-cultural communities. After being away from the sea, this subaltern community had to be able to produce rice as per the regulations set by Sultan Agung to cover costs after Mataram's defeat of Batavia. Furthermore, the presence of the story of Nyai Rara Kidul and the expansion to the east can also be read as layered conquests of the realistic or even symbolic maritime image. This layered distance and conquest create subaltern subjects and situations that not only exist in North Java but also in the heart of the capital city of Mataram.

To create a complete historiography of Java, we cannot view Javanese history in black and white terms. Black for the VOC and white for Sultan Agung, the maritime communities of Java, who were displaced, hardly have a place in Sultan Agung's heroism. Therefore, interdisciplinary studies are needed to unravel these cultural-epistemological problems. The author realises that this research is not final. Hence, the author hopes that this research can provide new perspectives on Javanese history that are not simplistic.

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