

Political approach of Sultan Abu Al-Mahasin and Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II towards the Lampungnese in XVII and XIX century CE

Pendekatan politik Sultan Abu Al-Mahasin dan Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II di Lampung pada abad XVII dan XIX M

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ABSTRAK

Kata Kunci:
Banten;
dalung;
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Kajian ini secara khusus bertujuan mengkaji relasi kuasa Sultan Palembang (Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II) pada abad XIX dan Sultan Banten (Sultan Abu Al-Mahasin) pada abad XVII di wilayah Lampung berdasarkan piyagēm Natayuda dan dalung Bojong. Kajian ini membahas tentang bentuk pesan-pesan politis Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II dan Sultan Abu Al-Mahasin dalam kaitannya dengan pendekatan yang dilakukan oleh kedua kesultanan tersebut kepada masyarakat Lampung. Berdasarkan hasil analisis data prasasti, dapat diketahui bahwa Kesultanan Palembang lebih berorientasi pada pendekatan yang bersifat hard power, sedangkan Kesultanan Banten berorientasi kepada perpaduan antara hard power dan soft power.

ABSTRACT

Keywords:
Banten;
dalung;
Lampung;
Palembang;
piyagēm;
inscriptions

This study specifically aims to examine the power relations of the Sultan of Palembang (Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II) in XIX century CE and the Sultan of Banten (Sultan Abu Al-Mahasin) in XVII century CE Lampung region based on piyagēm Natayuda and dalung Bojong inscriptions. This study describes the form of political messages of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II and Sultan Abu Al-Mahasin in relation to the approach taken by the two kingdoms to the people of Lampung. Based on the analysis results of the inscriptions, it can be seen that the Sultanate of Palembang was more oriented towards a hard power approach, while the Sultanate of Banten was oriented to a combination of hard power and soft power.

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INTRODUCTION

Lampung since the early days of history until the colonial period became a strategic land for kingdoms to rule with various interests. The first kingdom who occupied Lampung region was the Kedatuan Sriwijaya ([Boechari, 2012a](#), p. 377). The evidence of Srivijaya's existence in Lampung can be traced through ancient habitation sites in Way Sekampung ([Saptono, 2013](#), p. 138). The succeeding ruler of Lampung (XIII-XIV centuries) were most likely Majapahit, referring to the description of *Kakawin Nagarakrtagama canto 13 stanza 2* ([Pigeaud, 1960](#), p. 16). In XVI century, Lampung started to be dominated by the power of the Sultanate of Banten ([Ariwibowo, 2017](#), p. 254), followed by the Sultanate of Palembang which then came to power in the northern part of Lampung in XIX century ([Boechari, 2012c](#)). Evidence of power of the Sultanate of Banten and Palembang in Lampung is in the form of metal inscriptions issued by the two Sultanates. Later, these metal inscriptions in Palembang are known as "*piyagĕm*" ([Fadhilah & Tarawiguna, 2019](#), p. 210), while in Banten they are known as "*dalung*" ([Sarjiyanto, 2008](#), p. 62).

Researchers have mentioned the findings of the inscriptions as an indicator of the power of the Sultanate of Palembang and Banten over the Lampung region. *The piyagĕm* of the Palembang Sultanate was first discussed by J.L.A Brandes (1888) and L.C. Westenenk (1919), who focused on the inventory of *piyagĕm* discoveries from South Sumatra. Louis-Charles Damais (1995) conducted a research on a critical analysis of several Palembang *piyagĕm*. Machi Suhadi (1998) in his discussion of *piyagĕm*, had corrected the transliteration of previous researchers, while I.G.N Tarawiguna and Fadhilah (2019) focused on epigraphic study of some *piyagĕm* in Palembang, South Sumatra with the objective of describing *piyagĕm* patterns. Boechari (2012c) was the only one who mentioned Palembang's *piyagĕm* found in the Lampung area.

The first research on *dalung* was initiated by H.C.van der Tuuk (1884) who made an inventory of *dalung*. The research was then continued by G.A.J Hazeu (1906). An epigraphic study was also conducted by Louis-Charles Damais (1995) on twelf *dalung* from Lampung. Husein Djajadiningrat (1920) began to use *dalung* as historical data. Heriyanti Ongkodharma Untoro (1998), Sarjiyanto (2008), and Iim Imadudin (2016) used *dalung* as a source of tracing the history of the pepper trade. Mufliha Wijayati (2011) on the other hand, conducted an epigraphic study of one of the *dalung*, namely *dalung* Bojong.

To further the study of *dalung* and *piyagĕm*, this study aims to examine the power relations of the Sultan of Palembang (Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II) and the Sultan of Banten (Sultan Abu Al-Mahasin) in the Lampung region based on *piyagĕm* Natayuda and *dalung* Bojong. The background for this study is the opinion of Boechari (2012b, p. 25) which states that the inscription contains various political narratives, bureaucratic structures, or legal policies. This hypothesis is combined with the opinion of Noerhadi Magetsari (2016) which states that the inscription narrative is static, so it needs to be re-interpreted by epigraphers. The research question that is being addressed here is the political messages of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II and Sultan Abu Al-Mahasin in relation to the approach taken by the two sultanates to the people of Lampung?

Theoretical framework applied in this research is the Politic of Power. J.S. Nye (2009, p. 268–270) states that power can be divided into two, hard power and soft power. Hard power is a power characterized by repressive military intervention, economic sanctions, and diplomacy that is represented by violence. Soft power is a power that is characterized by persuasive action. The sign of soft power can be seen from the existence of elements of a cultural, social, religious, and political approach.

METHODS

In order to answer the research question, this study will consist of several stages, namely data collection, analysis and interpretation (Gibbon, 2013). The data collection process includes a literature study of previous research discussing the transliteration and translation of the written sources used as the data for this study. The said data is *piyagĕm* Natayuda (1804 CE) and *dalung* Bojong (1692 CE). The supporting data used are inscriptions and manuscripts from the same period with each inscription used as the primary data. *Piyagĕm* Natayuda was chosen because it is the only inscription of the Palembang Sultanate (particularly from the time of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II) found in Lampung area that is available and has been studied epigraphically (Boechari, 2012c) and *dalung* Bojong was chosen because it is the earliest inscription from Sultan Abu Al-Mahasin period. Sultan Abu Al-Mahasin was the king who issued the most number of *dalung* in Lampung during his reign. Despite the age of these two eras, this study considers the inscriptions as having similar context, which is the form of early penetrations of foreign rulers in Lampung during the Islamic period.

Regarding the credibility of *dalung* Bojong as a historical source, *dalung* Bojong in a previous study was mentioned by Djajadiningrat (1920) although it turns out that the description actually refers to *dalung* Kuripan. *Dalung* Bojong also has many similarities with *Dalung* Putih which was issued in the same year. The common elements of the two *dalung* are the use of copper plates as the writing media, the use of the Arabic Pegon script and the Javanese-Banten language, the arrangement of the descriptions of the inscriptions, and the use of Hijri year. The difference between them lies only in the mention of the king's name (*Dalung* Putih mentions the king's name, while Bojong does not) and the place where the inscription orders were carried out. (Pigeaud, 1929, p. 126–129). Based on this, *dalung* Bojong can be confirmed as an authentic inscription from the time of Sultan Abu Al-Mahasin of the Sultanate of Banten from the early XVII century.

Data collected from the literature study were then being analyzed. The analysis stage was carried out by classifying the elements of the inscription, which consist of several policies that appear in the inscription, and the use of language and script of the inscription. The results of the analysis were then being interpreted by matching the results of the analysis with the historiography of the two sultanates. The interpretation stage is in the form of assumptions based on the results of the analysis of the relationship between the data and the context that describes the form of power relations between the Sultanate of Palembang and the Sultanate of Banten in the Lampung region.

RESEARCH RESULTS

Piyagĕm Palembang in Lampung

Louis-Charles Damais (1995, p. 204) mentions that the *piyagĕm* of the Palembang Sultanate which have been inventoried since the end of the nineteenth century are about 21 inscriptions. This number does not include the finding of the *Natayuda piyagĕm* from Lampung, which was translated by Boechari in 1986 and the Rejang Lebong *piyagĕm* in Bengkulu, which was first read by Tjahjono Prasodjo in 1998 (Boechari, 2012c; Fadhilah & Ngurah Tara Wiguna, 2019). All of the *piyagĕm* of the Palembang Sultanate are generally found in South Sumatra Province and partly in Bengkulu, Lampung and Bangka-Belitung (Boechari, 2012c; Damais, 1995; Suhadi, 1998). Some of the discoveries of the Palembang Sultanate *piyagĕm* can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. Some of the *piyagĕm* of the Palembang Sultanate from XVII–XIX centuries

No.	Name of the <i>piyagĕm</i>	Year Javanese- Islamic/ CE	Party/Village receiving orders	Script/ Language	Contents Overview
1.	Charter No. 10	1686 J/ 1760 CE	Sungi Keruh Village	New Javanese/ Javanese- Palembang	Rules for planting <i>sahang</i> (pepper), prohibition on mischief, and marriage
2.	<i>Sukabumi</i>	1690 J/ 1765 CE	Tanjung Village	New Javanese/ Javanese- Palembang	Rules for planting <i>sahang</i> (pepper), prohibition on making trouble, and rules for the <i>peranakans</i>
3.	Charter No. 6	1690 J/ 1765 CE	Prince Pakubuwana	New Javanese/ Javanese- Palembang	Rules for moving house, debts, and making troubles
4.	Charter No. 7	1690 J/ 1765 CE	Palimbangan Village	New Javanese/ Javanese- Palembang	Rules for planting <i>sahang</i> (pepper) and prohibition on making trouble
5.	Charter No. 8	1702 J/ 1777 CE	Patani Village	New Javanese/ Javanese- Palembang	Rules prohibiting gambling and debts
6.	Charter No. 11	1702 J/ 1777 CE	Prince Natagama	New Javanese/ Javanese- Palembang	Rules for debts, mischief, and murder
7.	Way <i>Batanding</i> Charter (Prince Natayuda)	1729 J/ 1807 CE	Way Batanding Village (possibly now in the West Lampung area, Lampung Province)	New Javanese/ Javanese- Palembang	Rules for debts, prohibition on making trouble, and moving places

Sources: (Boechari, 2012c; Damais, 1995; Suhadi, 1998)

The discovery of *piyagĕm* Palembang Sultanes in Lampung to date was found only in the southern-side of Ranau Lake, Way Tanding, Pagardewa, West Lampung. Below is the transliteration and translation of *piyagĕm* Natayuda,

“hinĕkaŋ layaŋ piyagĕm kaŋjĕŋ sulthan ratu. Kaga duħhakĕn mariŋ paŋieran natayuda desa way batandiŋ. Margganiŋ sinuħan layaŋ piyagĕ= m. deniŋ haŋdawuħhakĕn taliti dalĕm. Kaŋ lumrah hiŋ paĕsan kabeh utawi lamun nana woŋ palembaŋ hutariŋ hapihutaŋ lan woŋ desa mu = wah papaĕaniŋ desa. Yen

tumĕkka hiñ ubayane hora nahur mañka hiñitun katigan wĕllasan. Tutuk piñ tiga muñgañ dadi nikĕl hora kni muñgah manin. muwah yen won hutang hapiyutan hora pisahil hiñ prawatine ya hiku dadi pĕtĕñ. Lan hora kna tarik tinarik. Huwati dagan hapiyutan mariñ won desa. Lamun durun tutas tiban dalĕm ho= ra kna hanagih kalawan prakara hutang karana juđi sabun hora kna tinagih lan hora kna tukarbbantah paten pinaten denin prawatin pađa mupakat kabeh, muwah hora kna won dagan atawa won desa hulah dagan huwon hiku larañan dalĕm. Lan hora kna won dagan moñdok hiñ numah won desa hatawa hañgawih humah yen maksa huga kna danđa dalĕm. Utawi lamun nana won maliñ mañka wus ñata pamaliñe saduwine won niku mulih nikĕl kan maliñ iku dadi panambut gawih. Utawi kan wĕnnañ dadi hantĕrrannin kupotusannin ratu. Lan jĕjĕnĕñan lamun dudu kan kaya hiku poma haja hiñantĕr. Yen maksa huga prawatin gawaha malembar. Kalawan lamun nana won nĕmu gađin samambu kan bĕcik lan komala, lan cula, lan gulila, tangalun candramawa celup lan pintĕl, ya hiku kadalĕm. Utawi lamun nana won kanak-kanak tu= li, buras, wuñkuk, wujil, palikan, lan cebol, lan kĕmbar, kan kan ya hiku tĕmonnin ratu. doñnya hamrdowa tan dadi. Mandiya sahani= nin layan piyagĕm. In śaka larwaśannya. Trus waspađa swanin ratu. Ha (ŋ) kañnya 1729 titi."

"This is the *piyagĕm* letter from Sultan Ratu, given to Prince Natayuda from Way Batanding Village. The reason he was given a *piyagĕm* letter was that he had to spread the king's orders which must be informed throughout the countryside. If a Palembang person owes a debt to a villager or fellow villager, then if it comes to the agreement he is not able to pay, the debt is calculated to be "thirteenth" (plus 10% interest). If the debt has not been settled after three terms, then the debt will become double and it cannot go up anymore. When someone owes a debt without notifying the *perwatin*, then the debt becomes unclear (not the responsibility of the *perwatin*). The debt cannot be withdrawn. Or if a merchant has an account receivable, with the villagers, and it has not been settled, it will become the King's business. One is prohibited from collecting debts caused by gambling, the debts cannot be billed, fighting and murder are prohibited. Everything has to be agreed with *perwatin*. And it is not permissible for traders or villagers people to conduct trafficking, that is the Sultan's prohibition. And traders are not allowed to spend the night/stay together in a villager's house or build a house. If they use force, they will be fined by the Sultan. Or if someone steals and it is proven what they stole, then the objects will be return in double to the owner, and the person who steals is subject to forced labor. Or things that may happen in the activity of the Sultan and *jejenengan*. Otherwise, it should not be delivered. If it is not possible, the *perwatin* should also take him to Palembang. And if anyone finds tusk, which may be good, and *kemala*, and horn, and 'gulila'. 'tanggalung', Candramawa cat, 'celup' and 'pintel', all of them will belong to the Sultan. Or if there are deaf, *burik* (wounds from smallpox or other skin diseases), hunchbacks, dwarfs, 'palikang', and midgets, and twins, all of them become *temuan* (servants) the Sultan. It should have been more

'mandi' (?) all that is written in the *piyagēm* letter. In a Saka year that last "trus waspada swaniḡ ratu" (name of *candrasengkala*), the year is 1729 (1807 CE)." ([Boechari, 2012c](#), p. 524–526)

In general, *piyagēm* Natayuda does not directly confirm that the king who issued the inscription. The elements indicating that this *piyagēm* was issued by the Sultan of Palembang, is clearly seen from mentioning places and the names of certain positions. The sentence "... Yen maksa huga prawatin gawaha malembarḡ ..." (if anybody use force, then *prawatin* will take them to Palembang) shows the person who issued this *piyagēm* was the ruling administrator in Palembang. *Prawatin* is also a typical position of the bureaucratic system of the Palembang Sultanate. Hierarchically this position is under the *depati* (*adipati*) and is directly in charge of the *matagawe* (the people). In short, *prawatin* is similar to the head of the village in modern times ([Wargadalem, 2017](#), hlm. 13). Another uniqueness of the Natayuda *piyagēm* is the absence of an order to plant pepper for the Way Batanding community, making it different from the other Palembang Sultanate *piyagēm* in general.

Dalung Banten in Lampung

The number of *dalung* Banten that have been inventoried until now is not as many as the *piyagēm* Palembang. There are at least 12 *dalung* Banten that have been inventoried. All the findings of the *dalung* are from the Lampung area. The *dalung* of the Banten Sultanate spread in almost all areas under Banten's command, starting from Teluk Betung in the south, Kotabumi on the north, the Way Sekampung River on the east and Krui on the west coast of Lampung ([Damais, 1995](#)). The following are some of the *dalung* Banten in Lampung ([Table 2](#)).

Dalung from Bojong Village is the earliest *dalung* issued by the Sultan of Banten to the people of Lampung which specifically only covers an area (in this case the Sekampung area). The following are the transliteration and translation of *dalung* Bojong,

"Lan mâning lâmûn ana kongkonan Kang Jeng Sulthân ing Lampung utawa liyâné ikû sakabéhing pûnggâwa dén padha mûfaqata atûhun (?) pangandhîkan dâlem dén timbalâken déning kongkonan iki sarta padha rûmekсахâ ing sakabéhé kekûrângané. Lan mâning singsâpa tetûkâran utawa peperangan padha ra'yat Kang Jeng Sulthân ikû kâdhendha karoné lâmûn mâti sâlah sawîji saking karoné maka kang ûrip pinâtén hukomé sarta anaq râbiné angâlêhâken mâring Sûrasowân dâdi 'abdî dâlem lan sakabéhé artâné rinampas kâtur ingdâlem. Lan mâning singsâpa pûnggâwa ingdâlem negârané dhéwék utawa pûnggâwa kang liyân-liyân agawé perang pada ra'yat Kang Jeng Sulthan sebab kârepé dhéwék ora kalawan pâréntâh lan idzin Kang Jeng Sulthan ikû ora kuwâsa ora anyandang bebendo lan hukum kang luwih sângêt saking Kang Jeng Sulthân kârana penggâwéné iki apahukomâken wong dûrâka lan bagha Ingkang Jeng Sulthân. Kâya mongkono mâning singsâpa longa angrâmpog utawa angéwât ing lâhût utawa ing dhârat ora kalawan pâréntâh Kang Jeng Sulthân ikû hukomé pinâtén sarta anaq râbiné angâlêhâken mâring Sûrasowân dâdi 'abdî dâlem lan sakabéhé duwéné kâtur ingdâlem. Lan singsâpa kepondhokan wong [?saking]

angrâmpog utawa angiwat mrâna mréné ingdâlem negârané utawa ing muwâra kâliné nanging ora kuwâsa ora punggâwa iki angrusak kalawan sakuwâsané ingatasé wong kang dûrâka iki. Lan mâning lâmûn ana wong lampung arep alelûngan kalawan prahû becik momot becik ora ikû anjâlok sûrat cap prahû ing punggâwané pitakoning sûrat cap lan ajâ pîsan2 apé mrâna mréné ikû arep anjojug ing Sûrasowân sahinggâ yén ana pakéwuh kang gedhé kaya mongkono mâning sakabéhing prahû kang mot saking Sûrasowân iki ajâ pîsan2 ape angliwâti sâwîting sûrat kang dén gâwa iki lan singsâpa angliwâti pangandikan dâlem iki kâdhendha rinampas prahûné sarta momotâné. Lan mâning lâmûn punggâwa lampung anggâwa mârîca maring Sûrasowân utawa kongkonâné iki angkatûrân sûrat Inggang Jeng Sulthân kabéhing mârîca kang dén gâwa iki lan kâya mongkono mâning sakabéhing wong cili2 kang anggâwa mârîca maring Sûrasowân iki padha awehâ warta maring punggâwâné pîra mârîca kang dén gâwa iki maka punggâwâné angkatûrân sûrat Inggang Jeng Sulthân. Lan mâning lâmûn ana kâpal utawa slaven Kumpeni utawa sapatdhâné iki prahû ra'yat Jayâkartâ kelembaging pesisir Lampung sebab kilir kagâwa dhéning angin gedhé utawa kasûkarân kang liyân liyân maka punggâwa kang ana ingdâlem negâra iki pacuwan orâ atolung lan pacuwan orâ rûmeksa ing bârang papanganâné utawa liyâné dén kaya ra'yat Kang Jeng Sulthân dhéwék tetepa punggâwa kang ana ingdâlem negâra iki anjâlok tetûlisan maring kaptan kâpal iki maka atorna ing Kang Jeng Sulthân iki supâya oléh wewâles kebecikané. Lan mâning lâmûn ana wong adhagang wong pûtih anâné utawa wong irengan anâné wongiku pecah prahûné ing pesisir Lampung maka punggâwa ingdâlem negâra iki prayoga atolung kalawan sâtuké lan pacuwan ilang artâné yen ora pahâdhom [tigel/tikel] sarta panyomeksahâ maka gâwanen wongikû maring Sûrasowân sarta sakabéhé artâné katur Inggang Jeng Sulthân. Lan mâning singsâpa anyolong utawa atotohan barang selobarang(?) atotohan utawa anginum arak utawa barang inûmnûman kang amûrbiya iki kâdhendha sarta anghukomaken kalawan pârentâh Kang Jeng Sulthân. Lan mâning pârentâh Kang Jeng Sulthân maring sakabéhing punggâwa Sekampung méwah ing sakabéhing wong cili2 ikû pangandikakâken kinon ing wong sawiji atandur mârîca ing lîmangâtus witwaras. Dhâwuh undhang2 dâlem iki ing akhiring wûlan Jumâdil awal tâhun Bâ' séwu sâtus rong tâhon lumâkû saking hijrah an-Nabi Muhammad shallallahu 'alaihi wa sallam. Tamma"

"And when the messenger of His Majesty the Sultan comes to Lampung, it is better for the courtiers to agree with each other on the Sultan's orders carried by the messenger, so that it is also an absolute thing that they always complement what is missing, if there are Sultan's people fighting each other, they should be given a fine. And if one of the two people fighting died, one of them who was still alive would be put to death and his wife and children would serve as servants for the king in Surosowan, his wealth would become the Sultan's right. If there is a courtier in his own country (the Sultanate of Banten) or other courtiers (the territory conquered by the Sultanate of Banten) who provokes a fight or war among the people of the Sultan without the Sultan's order, then his position will be revoked. His weapon will be taken and receive a severe punishment from His Majesty the Sultan, because this matter is included

in the act of subordination to the Sultan. If anyone robs or [blocks?] either at sea or on land outside the Sultan's orders, they should be put to death and their wives and children would serve as servants for the king in Surosowan and their wealth will become the right of the Sultanate. If there is a person who accommodates robbers or (?) within the territory of the Sultanate or at the estuary of his river, in which that person is not the authority of the Sultanate office, it is obligatory to act against that person. If there are Lampung people sailing, whether with a loaded ship or not, it is better to ask for a boat stamp letter first from the official who has authority over the boat stamp, and it is forbidden for them to travel to Surosowan in order to avoid major problems. Similarly, any ships delivering goods to Surosowan, should not violate the rules in the letter they carry, and if they violate them, the ship and its cargo will be confiscated. If there are Lampung officials or their envoys who deliver pepper to Surosowan, they are required to provide a certificate regarding the total amount of pepper delivered. Likewise, if there are common people who deliver pepper to Surosowan, they are required to notify local officials about the total amount of pepper delivered, so then a letter of introduction addressed to the Sultan by the local official will be made. Similarly, if a ship or *slaven* (?) belonging to the Dutch or the people of Jayakarta is stranded on the coastal area of Lampung due to a storm or other problems, it is obligatory for local officials to help them like citizens of the Sultanate. It is better for local officials to ask for notes from the captain of the ship stranded, which later will be conveyed to the Sultan to get a reward for that kindness. If there are traders, whether white or black, whose ships break in the coastal area of Lampung, then they must be given assistance until they are finished, and do not lose their property. If not --, then escort them to Surosowan, in which their belonging will eventually become the Sultan's property. Similarly, if someone steals, gambles, ---, or drinks liquor or intoxicants, then they will be punished with a fine as instructed by the Sultan. Similarly, the Sultan's orders through officials as well as the people of Lampung, each person is obliged to plant 500 pepper plants. This law was enacted at the end of the month of *Jumadil Awal* Year *Be* 1102 Hijri (1692 CE) " ([Wijayati, 2011](#), p. 390-398).

Table 2. Some of the *dalung* of the Sultanate of Banten from XVII–XVIII centuries

No.	Name of the <i>dalung</i>	Year Hijri/ CE	Party/Village receiving orders	Script/ Language	Contents Overview
1.	<i>Kuripan</i>	1073 H/ 1662-1663 CE	For all Lampung people	New Javanese/ Javanese-Banten	An order for the people of Lampung to be loyal to the Sultan of Banten
2.	<i>Bojong</i>	1102 H/ 1691-1692 CE	Sekampung Village (possibly now Sekampung Udik area, East Lampung)	Arabic Pegon/ Javanese-Banten	Information that pepper can be used for payment of debts, a policy of mandatory pepper cultivation
3.	<i>Putih</i>	1102 H/ 1691-1692 CE	Putih Village	Arabic Pegon/ New Javanese	Information that pepper can be used for payment of debts, a policy of mandatory pepper cultivation
4.	<i>Krui</i>	1102 H/ 1691-1692 CE	Krui Village	Arabic Pegon/ Javanese-Banten	Information that pepper can be used for payment of debts, a policy of mandatory pepper cultivation
5.	<i>Sukung</i>	1104 H/ 1692-1693 CE	Sukung Village	New Javanese/ Javanese-Banten	Information that pepper can be used for payment of debts, a policy of mandatory pepper cultivation
6.	<i>Tegi Neneng</i>	1185 H/ 1772 CE	Tegi Neneng Village	Arabic Pegon/ Javanese-Banten	Information that pepper can be used for payment of debts, a policy of mandatory pepper cultivation

Source: ([Damais, 1995](#); [Pigeaud, 1929](#); [Sarjiyanto, 2008](#))

A Brief History of the Sultanates of Palembang and Banten and Their Diplomatic Relations

The Palembang Sultanate was originally under the power of the Sultanate of Demak in XVI century. The establishment of the Palembang Sultanate is predicted to occur due to historical events dating back centuries before. Based on the records of the Ming Dynasty, as stated in *Ying Yai Sheng Lan, Ku-Kang* (Palembang) in XV century was under the power of Java (perhaps Majapahit) which was inhabited by a lot of Chinese. This area was repeatedly occupied by pirates, one of the most famous of them was Chen Zu Yi ([Groeneveldt, 2018](#), p. 83)

In XVI century, Ki Gede Ing Suro came to Palembang and began to establish a *kadipaten* (duchy). The kadipaten during the second half of XVI century to XVII century became a vassal of the Sultanates in Java, like Demak, Pajang, and Mataram. Ki Mas Hindi became the first king (from Javanese-free influence) of Palembang, since the falling of Mataram power and Palembang's close diplomatic relations with the VOC in 1702. Since the time of Ki Gede Ing Suro, the area of Palembang includes the areas of Komering Ilir and Ulu, Ogan Ilir and Ulu, Musi Ilir and Ulu, Lematang ,Ilir and Ulu, Banyuasin, Buai Bawan, Blalau, Ranau, Buai Pemaca, Mekakau, Buai Runjung, Kisam Saka, Semendo, Enim, Mulak Ulu, Kikim, Ulu Manna, Pasumah, Ampat Lawang, Rejang Tengah, Rawas, Lebong and Bangka Belitung ([Wargadalem, 2017](#), p. 5).

Similar to the Sultanate of Palembang, the establishment of the Sultanate of Banten is inseparable from the existence of the Sultanate of Demak. Since the early arrival of Islam in West Java, Banten (Banten Girang) which was previously under the Sunda Kingdom, gradually began to separate. The central figure in the formation of the Sultanate of Banten was Maulana Hasanuddin. According to *Sajarah Banten*, Maulana Hasanuddin conquered Banten Girang in 1478 CE (according to the *candrasengkala* "brasta gempung warna tunggal") ([Poesponegoro & Notosusanto, 2010a](#), p. 65–67)

The sultanates of Palembang and Banten were basically two neighboring sultanates. The direct interaction between the two sultanates occurred on war. During the reign of Prince Madi Angsoka (1594-1627), Palembang was attacked by the Sultanate of Banten led by Sultan Maulana Muhammad (1580-1596). The conflict resulted in the death of Sultan Maulana Muhammad (who was later honored as *Panembahan Seda ing Rana*) and the defeat of Banten. The background of this attack is likely due to political and economic rivalry between Palembang and Banten over the Sunda Strait ([Poesponegoro & Notosusanto, 2010b](#), ha. 67; [Syawaluddin & Fikri, 2019](#), p. 99). Another study states that the reason for the Banten attack on Palembang was also because of Palembang's close relation to Mataram who began to expand its territory in the Tatar Sunda ([Nawiyanto & Endrayadi, 2016](#), p. 66).

DISCUSSION

Based on the review implemented on *piyagĕm* and *dalung* found in Lampung, there are several distinctive elements. *Piyagĕm* Palembang are generally written in New Javanese script, while linguistically *piyagĕm* Palembang use Javanese-Palembang language. In terms of script, *Dalung* Banten has more variations, some are written in the Arabic Pegon script and others are in the New Javanese script. The language used in *dalung* is generally the Javanese-Banten language. The internal aspect or the contents of *piyagĕm* and *dalung*, have some similarities and differences in characteristics.

The year used in *piyagĕm* and *dalung* is fundamentally different, *piyagĕm* use Javanese-Islamic year, which was developed by Sultan Agung ([Musonnif, 2017](#), hal 347–348). *Dalung* Banten, on the other hand, use the Hijri year, which has become a tradition in the Islamic world. Based on the year written to *piyagĕm* Natayuda, it is likely that it was issued during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II who ascended the throne in 1803 CE ([Wargadalem, 2017](#), p. 32). From the year mentioned on *dalung* Bojong, it was probably issued by Sultan Abu al-Mahasin Muhammad Zainulabidin (1690-1773) ([Damais, 1995](#), p. 202).

The narrative on the political-bureaucratic life is one aspect that often appears in the inscription. The political and bureaucratic narratives in this study include the mentioning several public positions and messages related to the political interests of the Sultanate who issued the inscription. Sultanate's public position mentioned in both *piyagĕm* and *dalung* is "Sultan". The position is certainly essential because it relates to the person authorizes the power to issue inscriptions as well as the highest authority in the Sultanate's political bureaucracy. Regarding the description of the contents of the two inscriptions

that have been made, in *piyagěm* Natayuda Sultan of Palembang is only referred to as "*Sulthan Ratu*", as well as in *dalung* Bojong, the name of the sultan is not mentioned at all (was only being addressed as "*Kanjeng Sultan*").

Boechari, previously discussed the identification of the "sultan" figure in *piyagěm* Natayuda. According to Boechari (2012c, p. 524), *piyagěm* Natayuda is most likely a *tinulad* inscription from the original inscription of Sultan Agung's reign. However, Boechari did not clearly mention the connection of this inscription with Sultan Agung and Sultan Agung from which Sultanate was referred to. However, the author assumes that the title "*Sultan Ratu*" in *piyagěm* Natayuda represents the name of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II. This is based on historical information which states that Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II was entitled "*Prince Ratu*", both when he was still a crown prince and after becoming a Sultan. Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II also reigned at the beginning of XIX century or in this case a contemporary to *piyagěm* Natayuda ([Wargadalem, 2017](#), p. 32). L.-Ch. Damais (1995, p. 202), meanwhile, identifies the character "*Kanjeng Sulthan*" in *dalung* Bojong as Sultan Abu al-Mahasin Muhammad Zainulabidin, referring to the year in the inscription that belongs to the period of this king's reign.

Other public positions mentioned in *piyagěm* Natayuda are *jejenengan* and *perwatin*. *Jejenengan* by HC van der Tuuk (1884), a Dutch philologist states that this was similar to the landlord who also served as the "duke". This position is well known in the bureaucratic structure of Banten. In this case, *Perwatin* is a position under the power of *jejenengan*. Unlike *piyagěm* Natayuda, *dalung* Bojong did not mention the names of positions in the sultanate's bureaucratic system. The official's name is only referred to as "the sultan's *punggawa* (local administrator)".

Piyagěm Natayuda provided less information than *dalung* Bojong in terms of political policy. Contrary to *piyagěm* Natayuda, *dalung* Bojong provides several public policies of political nature in details, for example the recommendation for consensus among the courtiers, the prohibition on rebelling against the sultanate, the rules for diplomacy with the Dutch and so on. *Piyagěm* Natayuda in this case does not mention any such suggestion or narrative at all.

The basic similarity between *piyagěm* and *dalung* is the narrative of economic regulation. The narrative of economic regulations in *piyagěm* Natayuda can be seen from the debt and credit regulations between residents and between residents and traders. *Dalung* Bojong also states a narrative of economic regulation but covers more aspects. The economic regulations shown include port authorities, trade, and pepper commodity production. The economic regulations on the two inscriptions are also attached with sanctions that are aggravating the violators of these regulations.

The basic difference between *piyagěm* Natayuda and *dalung* Bojong lies in the existence of a narrative that discuss about norms. *Dalung* Bojong states more details on norms related to Islamic teachings (such as the prohibition of killing, robbing, gambling, and drinking) compared to *piyagěm* Natayuda. People who violate these rules will be punished by the sultan directly in the capital (Surosowan). The narrative that discusses about norms in *dalung* Bojong is also reflected in the suggestion to do good deeds.

Piyagēm Natayuda and Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II

The previous analysis showed that there were several signs that appeared in *piyagēm* Natayuda. First, from the language and script used, the Palembang Sultanate seems to continue the writing tradition rooted in the Javanese culture by using the Javanese year. Second, in terms of the description of the inscription, the party who issued the inscription seems only focus on controlling the territory politically and economically. This may be due to two factors, namely internal factors and external factors of the Palembang Sultanate.

Palembang Sultanate, especially in political life, holds a concept of *Uluan and Iliran*. The term refers to the duality of the people of South Sumatra, they are the people who occupy the downstream area of the river (*iliran*) and the people who live more upstream of the river (*uluuan*). These two societies are socially differed in how they view each other's culture. *Iliran* people view their civilization as more advanced and civilized than the *uluuan*, so there is a kind of pride among the *iliran* towards the *uluuan* (Santun et al., 2010). The signs of year, alphabets and language in *piyagēm* Natayuda need to be discussed in this paradigm. The Sultan of Palembang, who is an *iliran* (Javanese culture), shows his pride through the way of writing inscriptions in certain way.

From external perspective, the Sultanate of Palembang often experienced political pressure from the Dutch, which had an impact on the making of royal decisions. Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II ruled during the fall of the VOC, so that his bargaining position in diplomacy was strong. The reign of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II also became the golden age of the Palembang Sultanate because of the stability of the Sultanate's economy. This economic stability started from the existence of free trade between Palembang, Britain, and China. This phenomenon indirectly strengthens the military power of Palembang, especially in the rural. (Wargadalem, 2017, p. 32-33). The conquest of parts of Lampung is presumably to be one of the ways of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II in strengthening the rural areas in the early days of his reign. The political and economic pattern of the inscription become logic at this level because Palembang's occupation of parts of Lampung was based on political and economic motives. This political interest is also assumed affected by the conflict between Palembang and Banten in 1596 AD (figure 1).



Figure 1. The border of the territory of the Sultanate of Banten which are more dominant than the territory of the Sultanate of Palembang in Lampung based on the findings of inscriptions.
 (Note: the bright yellow color represents the Banten Sultanate region in Lampung, the beige color represents the core region of the Banten Sultanate, the bright red color represents the Palembang Sultanate region in Lampung, the dark red color represents the core region of the Palembang Sultanate, and the white color represents the Bengkulu region)
 (Source: Alnoza, 2021)

Dalung Bojong and Sultan Abu Al-Mahasin

Dalung of the Banten Sultanate, especially *dalung* Bojong, showed several signs that seems to be more complex than *piyagēm* of the Palembang Sultanate. These signs can be seen, among others, from the use of the Arabic Pegon script and the Hijri year on the inscriptions, the existence of political and economic narratives, and the existence of narratives related to religious norms. These signs can be interpreted as containing two main factors, the political-economic interests of the sultanate and the factor of the religious supremacy of the sultanate.

The political-economic aspect of the sultanate was based on the historical orientation in establishing the Sultanate of Banten by Maulana Hasanuddin and Sunan Gunung Jati. Since its establishment, by the suggestion of Sunan Gunung Jati, Maulana Hasanuddin moved the capital of the sultanate from Banten Girang to Surosowan which was located on the coast. This relocation can be interpreted as an effort by the Sultanate of Banten to make itself the center of international trade on the western point of Java Island. Based on archaeological and historical data, the Surosowan area and the Karangantu port were busy with traders from all around the world. This busy port would certainly be more profitable if the sultanate was able to provide commodities that sell well in the market. Pepper from Lampung was considered a commodity with a very good value in the market, because its quality was above other pepper from other area ([Wibisono,](#)

[2013](#), p. 114-117). This trading motivation in relation to the observed *dalung* can be clearly seen from the way the Sultan of Banten delivered it. The Sultan explained in detail the pepper trading system in Lampung, from the process of production, distribution, and consumption.

Supremacy in religion has also been an important role at this level. Maulana Hasanuddin as a direct descendant of *ulama* (Muslim scholar), has positioned himself as a king as well as *ulama*. This status is reflected in the existence of the concept of the *ratu pandita* who was supervised by both the Sultans of Cirebon and Banten ([Sucipto, 2010](#), p. 478). The people of Lampung have traditionally considered the people of Banten to be the propagator of Islam in Lampung ([Wijayati, 2011](#)). The people of Lampung have traditionally considered the people of Banten to be the propagator of Islam in Lampung ([Wijayati, 2011](#)). The existence of this concept is then reflected in the considerably strong Islamic elements in *dalung* Bojong. The religious supremacy approach has been proven to create cultural relation between the people of Banten and Lampung. This cultural relation is reflected in the expression, "*Lamun ana musuh Banten, Lampung pangarep Banten tut wuri. Lamun ana musuh Lampung, Banten pangarep Lampung tut wuri.*". (If there is an enemy of Banten, Lampung will fight and Banten will follow. If there is an enemy of Lampung, Banten will fight and Lampung will follow). The cultural relation between Banten and Lampung can also be seen from the presence of Lampung people who migrated to Cikoneng (an area in Banten), and blended culturally in the area ([Sutrisna, 2014](#), p. 23-24).

Pepper Commodities and the Differences in Power Orientation of Palembang-Banten

One of the important aspects in the discussion of this research is the pepper commodity as the main natural resource of Lampung region. The island of Sumatra as mentioned by Farida ([2009](#), p. 13) as a pepper producer. These commodities have become the best-selling in the international trade market, especially for Europeans. The price of pepper in XVII century reached four *reals* per hand-carriage. Europeans who stop in Sumatra usually get pepper commodities through Acehnese, Riau, or Palembang people.

On the one hand, Lampung is also a producer of pepper. Through the data *piyagëm* and *dalung* found in the area, it is known that only the Sultanate of Banten strongly regulated the delivery of pepper of Lampung to the Sultan of Banten. This phenomenon is basically related to the policy of land extensification of commodity crops by the Sultanate of Banten. Banten, which was basically a pepper producer, has begun to expand its pepper production area to Lampung since the relocation of the capital city of Banten to Surosowan ([Wibisono, 2013](#), p. 117-118). The relocation of the capital city to the coast caused the port to become more crowded, so it became obvious that Banten then needed pepper commodities with a larger quantity of pepper.

Regarding the absence of evidence that Palembang was taking profits from pepper production in Lampung is explained through historical data on the sultanate's economy. On one hand Palembang was also a distributor of pepper,

but on the other hand this commodity can be easily accessed by Palembang through the areas closer than Lampung. It is known that Palembang imported pepper from the upstream of the Musi River (such as the Rawas), Bangka and Belitung (Farida, 2009, p. 13). The large number of production areas and the short distance between them have allowed Palembang not to invest its economic interests further than to Lampung. Moreover, when Palembang began to expand its territory to Lampung, there was already the Sultanate of Banten which became a competitor in the area.

CONCLUSION

The power of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II and Sultan Abu Al-Mahasin were implied in the signs that appear in the inscriptions issued by the two sultans. Form of certain narratives on the inscriptions of the two sultanates indicate the motive for the attempt to conquer the Lampung region. Economic, political, and religious motives can be depicted in the form of different approaches from the two sultanates in conquering the people of Lampung. The different motives of conquering were based on the context of the reign of the sultanate, the orientation of the sultanate's power and the prevailing political concepts of each sultanate. The border of the Sultanate of Palembang and Banten in Lampung that was based on the findings of the inscriptions can finally be reconstructed.

Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II as seen from *piyagĕm* Natayuda prioritize an approach with a hard power pattern. The pattern of hard power can be seen from the existence of repressive sanctions in the form of threats to the economic rules of the sultanate as well as the efforts to make people to obey the sultanate bureaucratic officials. Regarding the reasons for implementing this approach, it could be related to the political orientation of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II who conquered Lampung with the aim of supremacy and national defense from possible attacks from the enemies (Dutch East Indies and Banten). Sultan Abu Al-Mahasin, on the other hand, showed a combined approach between hard and soft power. The hard power pattern was seen from a series of military invasions from Banten to Lampung. The pattern of soft power was represented in the form of advice for the people of Lampung to always do good and threats for people who violate the legal regulations of the Sultan of Banten. This type of policy is certainly related to the economic, political, and religious interests of the Sultanate of Banten. The Sultan of Banten who acted as caliph needed to show soft power as part of efforts to spread Islam in Lampung, while hard power was applied as an effort to maintain the stability of pepper production in Lampung which Banten require as a trading port.

Through this study, primary data (inscriptions), which were issued at different times, were critically studied in order to understand the power of authority from outside Lampung over the Lampung area according to the context of their time. The differences in signs that appear in the descriptions of the studied inscriptions were connected to the historical background experienced by each sultanate. Based on the two inscriptions studied in this study, it can also be understood that from XVII to XIX century, the Lampung area was considered an ideal area for the rulers of the sultanates around Lampung.

AUTHORS DECLARATION

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