STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN JAVANESE SOCIETY: THE SUPRA-VILLAGE SPHERE

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(authorized translation by Leslie H. Palmier)

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Southeast Asia Program
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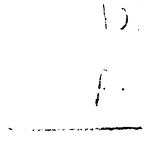

STRUCTURAL CHANGES

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THE SUPRA-VILLAGE SPHERE

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The old Java of about the year 1800 was a feudal land par excellence. Javanese society consisted of princes, nobles and peasants, of masters and serfs, of a hierarchic class society. The feudal structure of this society, unlike that of the European middle ages, did not depend on a fief system and large landownership. Whilst in Europe nobility was hereditary, in Java nobility depended on kinship to the prince up to the fourth degree of relationship. Unlike European medieval society, the Java of about 1800 knew no urban middle-class group of artisans and traders with independent political power.

Javanese culture was closely bound up with this feudal structure. It was a knightly culture in the sense that the ideal of life consisted of a knightly ideal, that of the satrija. This culture held in high regard the aristocratic style of life; and it is this which I shall deal with in particular.

This Javanese way of life was rooted in the fund of culture which is implied in classical Javanese literature and the wajang (the shadow play to music, and the dance). The wajang had a religious significance. Wajang performances were given on occasions of great importance in life, such as birth, marriage, and circumcision, as well as for the warding off of calamity or in the exorcism of the sick and other harmful influences. An old-fashioned wajang performance was a sacred spectacle, at which the deified forefathers appeared on the scene. Especially the nobility saw their forefathers in the heroes of the wajang.

The classical literature and the wajang - according to Stutterheim a "museum of the old values of life" - have given to the Javanese people a guide to life, a world- and life-view, a lesson in character formation and inner civilization, an insight into the human heart with its good and its evil. "The play strengthens life, it teaches standards and the right attitude to life, it also shows the way to the good, it initiates into the mystery of life" (Gonda). Knowledge of literature and wajang was indispensable for a good Javanese education, since olden days required the full development of the personality. The development of the art of living was thereby of central importance.

This cultural possession offered a great richness in types of personality and of attitudes to life, of examples with which men inspired their cultural life and which they tried to follow. In the centre stood the beautiful, elegant ideal of the knight without fear and without reproach, of loyalty to the prince, of simplicity and absolute self-control. This ideal was strongly held in the kratons and dalems, (1) and thus by princes and nobles; but the wajang

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(1) kraton: princely residence (complex of buildings, occupied by Javanese monarch with his family, etc.)

dalem: house of eminent person, e.g. a Regent

spoke to everyone, to high and low, to old and young, to man and woman. This world of ideas united the whole people, the feudal sphere with the village sphere.

The dance was even more important for the dancers themselves than for the spectators, because the dancers underwent the influence of it in their body and spirit. The wajang also contained examples of, and lessons about, facial expressions and the posture and gestures of the body, the head, and the limbs, and the way in which to move them. Thus, for example, the oppressor was typically depicted as more or less straddle-legged. The noble type placed his feet closer to one another. The head was held rather erect, the glance was generally up- or downwards. The wajang was, so said Stutterheim, "an arsenal of forms of politeness and ways of life". P. A. Soerjodiningrat declared that the good dancer could be recognised up to an advanced age by his body posture, his appearance and his speech in daily and public life. (2) Probably in this way the dance especially has contributed to the so typical Javanese stylization of the expressions of living.

This whole culture was thus par excellence directed to the art of living in private and social life, in order that men should live in harmony with their daily surroundings, with society, with the social order, and with cosmic events. Javanese culture thus knew a highly cultivated, very refined and stylized aristocratic way of life which was very closely interwoven with a view of life and the world, of which it formed an integrating part.

This Javanese world exhibited externally much similarity to European medieval culture as Huizinga depicted it in his The Waning of the Middle Ages. (3) According to Huizinga, men, dissatisfied with everyday reality, everywhere and at all times have dreamed of a higher, more beautiful life. This dream may take three forms. First of all, men can escape from reality; but since I am here concerned with social phenomena, I shall leave this out of consideration. The second way is that of the perfecting of reality, thus of a conscious struggle for the reformation of social or political institutions. This method is typical for the modern West but was hardly known to the European middle ages. Only in the 18th Century did there arise in Europe in broader circles a new concept of life that gave courage and hope that society could be improved.

The third path Huizinga called the dream. "It is the easiest way, but one which always fails to reach its goal." Here life becomes coloured with the beautiful apparition of the ideal. A simple

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(2) Handelingen en Geschriften van het Indisch Genootschap te 's Gravenhage /Transactions and Communications of the Indies Society at The Hague/, 18th June, 1926. (In subsequent references this is abbreviated to "Ind. Gen." T.N.)

(3) J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, 1924. (T.N.)

theme is sufficient, for example, the heroic dream, the theme of wisdom, or of life in and according to nature. Since antiquity, according to Huizinga, all literary culture has been built on these few themes. This flight from reality into a beautiful pretence is not only a characteristic of literature but also affects man and society, is "the art of living", and is stronger the more primitive the culture. In this way the forms of life were transformed into forms of art. This is true not only works of art as such, but also of life itself. Society is filled with play and forms. The highest demands were made on the personal art of life. Huizinga saw the French-Burgundian culture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in this light; here the "heroic dream" was the ideal.

From the twelfth century, French knightly culture experienced an intensive cultivation of the old ideal of chivalry as the noble way of life. It was the period of the "waving plumes". In the court-centered State this aesthetics of the forms of life could fully develop. The Burgundian dukes attached the greatest weight to all that concerned the pomp and ceremony of the court. There was even a quasi-liturgical element in the school of court etiquette. This quasi-religious sphere explained the extraordinary importance of questions of precedence and politeness.

The sense of power in this feudal and hierarchic world did not yet repose primarily on wealth. It was more personal: "power must, to be recognised, manifest itself in a great display of large retinues of followers, in costly ornaments, and in the impressive appearance of the one holding power. The feeling of being more than another man was continually given a living form by the feudal and hierarchic concept: kneeling homage and servitude, solemn marks of honour, and awe-inspiring pomp, which all together make the masses feel as something very essential and rightful".

More important even than etiquette and politeness was the chivalric code. The sphere of court and nobility was "soaked in the knightly ideal". The knightly code was hero-worship; the imitation of heroes from the Court of Arthur or from antiquity. The virtue of the knight was the set of qualities that made him fit to fight and to command. This idea of virtue obtained another content as the culture developed itself. It raised itself to the level of the ethical and the religious. This knighthood myth was dramatised in the tournament and in the chivalric orders. Both had, according to Huizinga, their deepest roots in the sacred customs of a long distant past. The accolade was, in his opinion, an ethically and socially elaborated puberty rite; the orders of knighthood could not be divorced from the men's associations among primitive peoples. The chivalric idea is, as an ideal and a way of life, linked par excellence to a feudally organised society. That this ideal lived on for centuries shows, according to Huizinga, that it contained very high social, ethical and aesthetic values. In practice this high ideal naturally fell pitiably short, and the beautiful dream was often a nightmare of chronic war and brigandage, misgovernment and extortion.

The period of true feudalism ended in the thirteenth century. After this came the period of the urban princes, in which the power of the nobility gave way to the commercial power of the urban bourgeoisie and the money-power of the princes based on it. The nobility then "had its wings clipped". Long thereafter, however, the noble style of life maintained its mastery over society. The wealthy bourgeoisie also adopted it.

By the end of the Middle Ages the knightly vows had become mere adornments of court feasts, and chivalry was little more than a higher mode of life and a social game. From the nobility itself emanated fatigue and dissatisfaction with the ideal. With each renovation of the culture, the outer shell of the knightly idea was broken off. The knight became the French gentilhomme of the seventeenth century and the English gentleman. The original chivalric type passed over into the soldier of the nation-state. From chivalry, according to Huizinga, a rich harvest of cultural values came forth: epics, lyrics, the art of adornment, ceremony and convention. All the higher forms of bourgeois life are based on an imitation of aristocratic ways of life.

Much that has here been said about the European Middle Ages applies also to the traditional Javanese civilization. Javanese culture also followed Huizinga's third way, namely that of the art of living and not the second way of the improvement of society. Old Java also knew the "embellishment of the aristocratic life with knightly romance" and the old chivalric ideal as the "noble way of life". Java also knew hero-worship, tournaments and the raising of the knightly idea to the level of the ethical and religious. In Java, too, the forms of life were adorned with colour and pomp, the very greatest weight was attached to court ceremony, exceptional importance was attached to questions of protocol and etiquette, of precedence and ceremonial. Huizinga's observation about the sense of power could be applied to Java almost literally. Here, too, there was great display of large retinues of followers and solemn demonstration of homage and servitude, marks of honour and ceremony. Here also was a strict hierarchy of cloths and colours: the Javanese ceremonial attire, the right to the bearing of certain parasols, batik patterns, kris forms and pamor (4) motifs. In Java, too, the aristocratic ways of life ruled over society. Even though the flesh of the Javanese satrija was naturally often weaker than his willing spirit, yet here too this art of living bore a rich harvest in cultural values.

Apart from such points of agreement there are, however, radical differences. In the first place, for example, the European knightly character existed in an Mediaeval-Christian, European culture. Javanese knighthood stood in an old-Indonesian culture, influenced

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(4) A sort of white steel welded to the steel of kris (Javanese dagger) pike, etc. Pigeaud, Dr. T. H. - Javaans-Nederlands Handwoordenboek, 1938. (T.N.)

by Hinduism and Islam. We therefore have to deal here with completely different cultural backgrounds; this implies the warning that the identity of both these cultural complexes may not be assumed on the grounds of their external similarity. These different cultural backgrounds probably also gave different contents to both knightly ideals, but for my purpose I need not go into that.

Moreover, as I see it, it must be recognised that the feudal structure took up a much larger place in Javanese society than in Europe. In Europe the knightly ideal was only one cultural element, to a certain degree independent, but always subject to criticism and more or less in conflict with other conceptions of life which existed alongside it or opposed to it. In Javanese culture, however, the chivalric idea was no more or less independent cultural element but, on the contrary, was woven into a greater harmonic relation with a social order, which itself corresponded to the cosmic order. The Javanese chivalric idea thus formed an integrating part of the total life- and world-view, without there being any question of a sharp contradiction with other cultural elements. The court ceremony in Burgundy, for example, had only a quasi-liturgical character, while Javanese court ceremony, on account of the divinity of the princes, was of a wholly sacred nature.

In considering the question of how deeply rooted in the Javanese people was this feudal structure with the aristocratic style of life belonging to it, it is advisable to enquire how old this cultural complex was and in particular how old was the form in which all this existed about the year 1800.

Pigeaud observed on this subject that what at present is known as Javanese art and culture has gone through a process of growth through various centuries and has been exposed to many influences. Shortage of data all too often does not permit us to follow the development closely. "There is, however, enough information available to be able to establish on good grounds that it is an error to consider the form and the content of present-day Javanese culture as faithfully handed down from ancient times, unchanged by outside influences or by internal growth." (5)

Much therefore still lies in the dark, but certain points can be clarified.

The centre of Javanese culture of about 1800 was formed by the Central Javanese kingdoms, whose tradition began with the kingdom of Mataram, which arose at the end of the sixteenth century. This Central Javanese culture was preceded by the East Javanese cultural period, which obtained its greatest expansion under the empire of Modjopahit. This empire experienced its golden age in the fourteenth century and was based on what were probably highly

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(5) Pigeaud, Dr. T. H. Javaanse Volksvertoningen /Javanese popular theatre/, 1938, p.6.

self-sufficient village economies, which it subjected to forced deliveries and service. Besides this, however, Modjopahit carried on a sea trade and shipping, which went together with naval power. The East Java states preceding Modjopahit had spread their authority from the archipelago out over great parts of the East. Modjopahit commanded the sea and the coastal stretches over an area which corresponded pretty well with that of present-day Indonesia. Further Modjopahit possessed a court culture which, thanks to overseas connections extending to the Straits of Malacca and Further India, stood open to cultural influences from outside. (6)

This Javanese sea trade was already very old. It formed a subdivision of the old Asian trading pattern which has been described by B. Schrieke and Van Leur. Sea trade moved along the coasts of East and South Asia, bringing Asian products to the West, where, via the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, they even reached Europe. Indonesian spices were already known in Europe in the first centuries of our era. This whole trade consisted principally of costly goods in small quantities; in brief, therefore, of luxury goods. We have data on Javanese shipping from as early as the eleventh century and before; at this time it was driven out of Tuban and, as later, was largely controlled by East Javanese harbours. Like the other old Asian trading systems, Javanese trade was conducted by merchants who travelled with their goods; "pedlars", Van Leur calls them, though from his description it appears that these are not to be considered mere petty traders. Above this group, according to Van Leur, there stood the "merchant princes", the large traders and financiers, who often also held posts as officials; they made no voyages themselves but had others make voyages for them. The influence of the princes, the local rulers and the nobility on this trade was very great. This Javanese commerce served two functions. In the first place, it consisted of the transport of goods from east to west and vice versa within the Indonesian sea territory. The second function was the export of rice from Java to the Moluccas and to the harbours along the Strait of Macassar, later also to Batavia. Java in the seventeenth century was called the granary of Indonesia.

Modjopahit grew weak in the fifteenth century, and shortly after 1500 it quietly succumbed. Its culture was continued by the harbour principalities of the north coast, the "Pasisir", which

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(6) Schrieke, Dr. B.: "De Javanen als zee- en handelsvolk" /The Javanese as seamen and traders/. (Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen /Journal of Indonesian Philology, Geography, and Ethnology published by the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences), Vol. LVIII, 1919, p. 424/, and "The Shifts in Political and Economic Power in the Indonesian Archipelago in the 16th and 17th century" in his Indonesian Sociological Studies, Part I, The Hague, 1955; Van Leur, J. C., Indonesian Trade and Society, The Hague, 1955: p.1 "On early Asian Trade"; p.157 "The World of Southeast Asia: 1500-1650"; p.268: "On the 18th century as a category in Indonesian History".

flourished in the sixteenth century. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Demak acquired hegemony over them. In the course of this century the centre of gravity shifted more to the eastern coastal states, among which Surabaja especially came to the fore. This Pasisir-culture remained internationally oriented.

The southern part of Central Java, where the state of Mataram arose, had had little or no part in this development. This territory remained backward and rural. According to Pigeaud it was, about 1600, "warlike and peasant-crude" in comparison with East Java and the Pasisir. A direct connection of South-Central Java with Modjopahit is, according to Pigeaud, unproved and improbable. This South Central Java was also politically less highly organised. Until the sixteenth century there existed here "many small estates or tribal principalities", which, after an unsuccessful attempt by the Empire of Padjang, were not fused into a greater political unity until the sixteenth century under Mataram. (7) Young Mataram strove for the domination of the whole of Java, was not recognised by the coastal states, and finally extorted this recognition through fire and the sword in a series of wars, occuring principally in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. In this period the coastal towns were repeatedly beleaguered and laid waste, Demak in 1604, Lasem and Pasuruan in 1616, Tuban in 1619, Gresik in 1613 and 1622, Madura in 1624 and Surabaja in 1625. Surabaja was besieged several times and finally fell thanks to the cutting off of the supply of drinking water, the same trick by which the extremists in 1946 hoped to bring the town to its knees. This continuing state of war had a destructive influence on trade. After the conquest and the laying waste of the coastal areas, the traders retreated on a large scale to Makassar and Bandjarmasin. The war thus dealt the death blow to Javanese transit trade, at the same time being the cause of the flowering of Makassar, which subsequently experienced its golden period.

In addition to this, the overseas rice-trade of Java was destroyed as a consequence of the policy of Mataram. There are reports from 1641 and 1656 that the ruler of Mataram had forbidden the sea-trade to his subjects. The Sunan reserved foreign trade for himself. None of his subjects might obtain advantage therefrom. A royal rice monopoly was set up. The death penalty was instituted for the export of rice by private individuals. (8)

There were probably various motives for these measures.

In the first place, this monopoly was a measure against

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(7) Pigeaud, p.347, 398, 478, 515.

(8) On this subject see: Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies "The Shifts in Political and Economic Power in the Indonesian Archipelago in the 16th and 17th century".

Batavia, which was dependent on Mataram for its food supply and therefore very vulnerable. In earlier years this was indeed obvious, when Batavia had sometimes to obtain rice from Further India, Siam and Japan. Mataram could obtain political and financial advantages from this.

In addition, there was perhaps still another reason. The Sunan sacrificed private sea-trade and shipping to his monopoly, and it is a question whether this was merely indifferent to him or whether it was indeed his plan. Sunan Amangkurat (1646-1677) declared to Rijcklof van Goens that his people had no right to welfare, that he did not need to consider their welfare, and that great welfare of his people would bring his power into danger. It is also reported of his predecessor, Sultan Agung, that he intentionally kept his subjects poor the better to be able to rule over them. The danger for their dynasty or for the state which these rulers thus dreaded from the people's welfare could not come from the peasants, who were yielding up their rice in forced deliveries and for whom a rice monopoly made little difference. Neither did danger threaten from the side of the traders, because they were not organised in guilds or towns and possessed no political or military power. Even in the trading towns along the coast political power rested with the nobility.

The danger came rather from the nobility, in particular the high nobility of the coast. Preceding history had continuously been witness to the desire of the coastal nobility for independence. Mataram had won the last round in the struggle of the interior against the coast but even now must at all costs take care to maintain its position, in the interest both of the dynasty and of the unity of the state. For this the nobles must be kept weak; and they derived their wealth from trade.

The ban on sea-trade and shipping and the institution of the rice monopoly had thus perhaps the intention of depriving the coastal nobility of their most important sources of income. (9) This would fit into a policy which is apparent from other measures. Sunan Agung after the capture of Madura in 1624 had forty thousand of its inhabitants brought to the coast of Java to break the manpower of Madura. The princes, the pangeran's, who earlier ruled over the provinces and thus had been real holders of power, were in the period of Mataram turned into courtiers, in order that they should thus offer less danger.

The result of the measures against sea-trade was that in 1657 the Javanese themselves could no longer undertake the shipment of

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(9) Schrieke showed in his already quoted article the influence of Mataram's policy on Javanese sea trade. B.H.M. Vlekke in his Nusantara, A History of the East Indian Archipelago, 1944, laid very strong emphasis on the crippling of the vassal states by Mataram (pp. 156, 200, 202).

rice, and that in 1677 the Javanese' great ignorance of the sea was commented on.

The sea-trade had for centuries brought Java into close contact with the outer world. This trade had, according to Van Leur, even a greater cultural than economic meaning. Cultural influences from outside came in along the trade routes, as had last happened with Islam. The loss of the sea-trade thus meant a cultural impoverishment and a high degree of cultural isolation.

However much the East India Company has on its conscience, it is for me still doubtful whether the policy of the Company was of great influence on the decline of Javanese trade. In this period there was indeed still no mention of monopolies in Java; the monopolies elsewhere did not prevent that in the same period in which Javanese trade declined that of Makassar rose and Makassar and Bantam experienced their golden ages. For the decline of Javanese trade causes other than the monopoly policy of the Company must be sought.

Later, after Mataram in 1677 had become a protectorate of the Company, the princely absolutism of the first Mataram period weakened. The sea-trade was, however, lost for good. The rice export in 1705 became a forced delivery from Mataram to the Company.

This history is also of importance in considering the dualism in Javanese society. About 1600 there was no important difference in level between Javanese society and that of Western economic activity. The difference was at least not great enough to be able to speak of an economic dualism, which in Boeke's sense refers to two different social-economic systems of far differing character. Javanese society, with its feudal-agrarian interior and an international trade on the coast, stood on a level which, in the spirit of Werner Sombart, can be denoted as early capitalism. This concept, borrowed from Europe and especially from Germany, is not tailored to the Java of the time, but this can here be neglected. European sea-trade and shipping were at the time also early capitalist. In the sense of Henri Sée, who classified capitalism into trade, financial, and industrial capitalism, it may be said that there existed both on the side of the East and of the West trade capitalism and some financial capitalism. (10)

Just after 1600 the dualism between the Eastern and the Western element in Indonesian society began to develop, for both levels moved apart; the Eastern fell and the Western rose.

Javanese society lost its sea-trade in the seventeenth century and thereafter had left almost exclusively feudal-agrarian forms of organisation in the interior. The villages were almost without money and without barter, closed and self-sufficient economies.

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(10) Henri Sée: Modern Capitalism: its origin and evolution, 1928.

Everything which concerned social life and social organisation above village level was dominated by feudal forms, but this was almost wholly in Indonesian hands. This applied both to cultural life in the narrower sense and to the state administration, military organisation and economic life. This was still the position about the year 1800. Chinese business life, too, was at that time for the greater part adapted to the feudal framework.

In the nineteenth century, after the end of the Java war, a period of internal peace began which lasted over a hundred years. The military function of the nobility was lost. The higher, supra-village economic life of corvée and forced deliveries was wholly transferred to contractual organisations under the leadership of Western entrepreneurs. The nobility then also lost its economic function. The economic activity of the Indonesian population itself was limited in the main to that in the village.

On the other hand, the level of the Western element rose. Next to trade capitalism it produced a steadily developing financial and industrial capitalism (in the sense of Sée) or, in the phraseology of Sombart, it moved from early to high and late capitalism.

The end result of this development was, at the beginning of the twentieth century, a sharp dualism with on the Western side a very modern trade, financial and industrial capitalism and on the Eastern side little more than the humble, non-capitalist village economy. This dualism, therefore, did not originate until after 1600.

The 'development' of Javanese society in the seventeenth century was thus opposed to that in Europe, where next to the nobility an urban middle class arose which gradually increased in financial and political power, linked itself with the rulers against the nobility, wrested power from the nobility, and thereafter increasingly expanded. In Java on the contrary there had existed for centuries not unimportant but politically immature trading groups, which however came to nothing and perhaps were sacrificed to the interests of dynasty and state.

By the loss of shipping and foreign trade Java obtained a very one-sided feudal structure.

In the fourteenth century Mojopahit had possessed self-sufficient villages, a sea trade and an internationally oriented court culture. Apart from court towns it also counted trading towns along the coast.

In the subsequent fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Pasisir culture, which continued that of Mojopahit, the emphasis fell on sea trade. This coastal culture was itself centralised in the trading towns.

The Mataram period, which began about 1600, knew in addition

to the self-sufficient villages only a court culture. The only towns were the kraton towns, which were exclusively consumption centres and were placed much deeper in the interior than the court towns of the Pasisir and of East Java. Apart from village life there remained thus only a very isolated court life, practically cut off from all international relations.

This course of events has probably been of great significance for Javanese culture. It is true that the backward South-Central Javanese regions borrowed much in the subsequent period, especially after 1700, from the richer and earlier Pasisir culture (11), but Javanese culture from the seventeenth century on turned itself away from the outside world. It directed itself inwards and addressed itself very one-sidely to the ennoblement and refinement of court life. The concentration of the nobility at the court no doubt played a part in this.

It is true that aristocratic character of Javanese culture did not arise at this time; but it was brought to a high degree of development. The Kartasura period (1688-1744) was, according to Rouffaer, a "Byzantine time, during which the modern Javanese court-etiquette and the modern Javanese court language obtained their perfection and polish". (12)

The Javanese language underwent a new development. The use of language categories in Javanese--in popular terminology, the use of 'high' and 'low' Javanese--did not exist in its present extent of form before the Mataram period, that is before 1600. The Javanese language of that time was similar to present-day Sundanese, which has gone much less far in the formation of language categories. This meant that the Javanese of the time contained many fewer 'high-Javanese' words and forms, and that the use of them was less obligatory and less common. Thus, 'high-Javanese' was then much more variable and more limited; and the language expressed less class distinction. The etiquette expressed in the language was less regulated, developed and stylized. Only later did the language divide itself into various categories, whereby the distinction between familiar, polite, and respectful words was driven to extremes and carried further than, according to Rouffaer, has been done in 'any other language'. (13)

There arose a new literature. Pigeaud sets the first beginnings of the South-Central Javanese court literature and court art

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(11) Pigeaud, p.52

(12) G. P. Rouffaer and H. H. Juynboll: "De Batikkunst in Ned. Indie en haar geschiedenis", (The art of batik in Netherlands Indies and its history) Vol. 1, p.306.

(13) Brandes in Tijdschr. Bat. Gen., Vol. XXXII (1889), p.98 and 339 and Rouffaer-Juynboll, p.3.

in the period 1726-1749, the rise of the Surakarta court art and pudjangga literature (14) in the period of 1788-1820, its flowering in 1830-1858 and its revival in 1853-1881. (15)

Many of the elements connected with the wajang, such as the highly developed composition and the structure of the lakons /plays/, the diversity of the music, the form of the puppets and masks, were brought to their present-day development only in the Kartasura period, and perhaps not until the eighteenth century. The wajang wong (16) probably originates from the eighteenth century. (17) The art of batik, the refined home industry of women in the highest classes, did not acquire its later splendour of colour and richness of design until after 1500. It was especially in the Kartasura period, according to Rouffaer, that the colour school of the Principalities came into existence with its great originality, 'stately warmth' and 'glowing nobility'. (18)

Above all, the development of the language, with the cultivation of courtliness, class distinction, politeness and submissiveness, leads us to suppose that the aristocratic style of life, even though presumably for a great part of older date, probably did not obtain its high development and beautiful stylization until after 1600. To European taste this indeed became a hypertrophic development, an over-stylization and over-refinement or even artificiality, which took place at the cost of the spontaneous element and therefore carried in the danger of paralysis and petrification. (19)

It is still impossible to give accurately the ages of the various components of the Javanese culture of about 1800.

One part is very old. The division of the society into princes, nobles and peasants, and thus also the feudal, hierarchic class society, is immeasurably older than the Mataram period. The basic element of the wajang comes from the Hindu period. As for literature, we know of writings dating from the eighth century. The equation of rulers with gods goes together with the Indian dogma of

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(14) Court literature (the classical literature revolving around, by and for, the court). (T.N.)

(15) Pigeaud, p.29-30.

(16) Javanese theatre performance, with dancing and gamelan music. (Pigeaud: Javaans-Nederlands Handwoordenboek). (T.N.)

(17) Pigeaud, p.75 and 358.

(18) Rouffaer-Juynboll, p.307 and 503.

(19) Rouffaer-Juynboll, p.306 and Brandes in Tijdschr. Bat. Gen., Vol. XXXII, p.134.

the incarnation of gods in the kings. Great priests and lesser princely persons could also be incarnations of gods. The concept of caste and the knightly (satrija) idea are Hindu. The influence of this upon class differences is thus very old. The princely house of Modjopahit, according to Pigeaud, very probably laid claim to the highest sacred veneration. Both the knightly culture and at least an important part of the aristocratic way of life are therefore presumably very old.

According to Stutterheim, the cultural treasures of the Hindus, which were previously accessible only to the few Sanskrit scholars, were made available to the people since the end of the tenth century through being translated into the vernacular; and after that the real conversion to Hinduism of the Javanese people began. "We can form an idea of the results of this if we realise that, even at present, the ideals of higher Javanese life and thought are the same as those which were brought to life by the heroes of the Mahabharata, which was diffused everywhere by the wajang." In connection with the Kediri period, Stutterheim speaks of the penetration of Hindu influence into the village and of the great cultural unity which obtained in both village and palace. (20)

More recent, from the Mataram period or later, as we have seen, is the refinement of court life to a high degree, the splitting of the language into 'high' and 'low', the exaltation of etiquette, the refining and stylization of the aristocratic way of life. In this period the aristocratic style of life obtained a greater monopoly of the good life than ever before, as a result of the decline of the sea trade. This aristocratic way of life dominated the whole elite and set the direction of the entire Javanese people.

In Europe the aristocratic style of life remained limited mainly to the knightly classes, which, however, quickly faded into the background; whilst the urban groups, which all arose early, though they endeavoured to imitate the nobility on the other hand brought forth their own ideals and principles of living. In Java such groups, which formed a social and political counterweight to the nobility, were lacking. The classes in Java were probably also much more rigorously hierarchically ordered than in Medieval Europe, where freedom from feudal villeinage could be obtained in the towns. Furthermore, the clergy--which knew no sacraments--was less independent in Java than in Medieval Europe. (21) Unlike in Europe, where the nobility itself became tired of the chivalric ideal, the Javanese princely and aristocratic world did not of itself tire of

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(20) Dr. W.F.Stutterheim: 'Het Hinduisme in den Archipel' (Hinduism in the Archipelago), 1932, p.36, 45, and 46.

(21) G.Gonggrijp, 'Schets eener economische geschiedenis van Ned. Indië', (Sketch for an economic history of Netherlands India), 2nd edition, 1938, pp.3 and 14.

the old ideal. It remained to the end of the nineteenth century a living and inspiring concept; and only under Western influence did a dissatisfaction with the old way of life arise.

To sum up, in comparison with Europe the aristocratic way of life in Java was probably much more deeply rooted and harmoniously fitted into the whole culture, and much more closely related to that culture's life- and world-view. Presumably the feudal structure had existed much longer, the nobility had longer occupied a central and all-dominating position, the class divisions coincided more with the feudal hierarchy and the distance between high and low was greater. The aristocratic way of life was probably more highly cultivated and more refined and stylized than in Europe, had more of a monopoly as a style of life, and was more generally accepted by the whole people as its guide. Almost certainly the aristocratic art of life, as it was developed in the Javanese courts, was an unchallenged ideal for the whole people for much longer and penetrated much more deeply into all layers of the population.

What has been said above does not hold for all the peoples of the island of Java to an equal degree, but is true in particular for the Javanese and in lesser degree for the Sundanese and the Madurese.

Pigeaud observes that though their languages may differ from Javanese, the Sundanese and Madurese are, strictly speaking, 'Javanised' in so far as concerns their higher culture and art. The nobility, the prijaji class, is presumably partly Javanese in origin and certainly to the end of the last century continued to be strongly Javanese-influenced. For the Madurese this holds, in his opinion, to a yet higher degree than for the Sundanese.

As regards West Java, the coastal regions of Cheribon, Indramayu, Krawang (also Djakarta, Batavia) and Bantam, which at present are Javanese, were probably conquered from the old Sundanese people in the fifteenth century by Central Javanese sea-farers and colonists who came by sea. The Sundanese were thereby excluded from the sea and the main stream of trade. They had previously, even as late as in the fourteenth century, engaged in sea trade; but thereafter they had to limit themselves to the interior. The Sundanese found little other connection with Javanese culture than via Cheribon, which itself, however, became more and more out of contact with the centre of Javanese life in South-Central Java.

Pigeaud assumes that Javanese influence affected Madura much earlier and more strongly, also as a result of the many points of contact in the coastal places. Moreover the influence on Madura started from another area, namely East Java and the Pasisir. The Madurese regions, at least the coastal towns with sea trade, in his opinion became economically developed earlier than the Sundanese highlands. The Madurese princes after the conquest would also originally have been of Javanese origin. Furthermore, unlike the Sundanese, the Madurese in the course of more recent history have remained in close contact with the Javanese.

According to Pigeaud the difference in Javanisation appears, for example, from the fact that the Javanese literary language was so popular with the Madurese that it kept them for a long time from using their own language for literary work; this, however, occurred among the Sundanese to a lesser extent.

In the popular art of the Sundanese and Madurese there are, in his opinion, still many indigenous features to be seen; and it is precisely this popular art which appears in the recent times among both peoples to be developing into a modern popular comic theatre. The transplanted Javanese art, which was especially cultivated under the patronage and at the expense of princes, and regents shows on the other hand a tendency to deterioration. "Here can be seen", according to Pigeaud, "in the first place the opposition of a newer, "modern" trend in popular amusements towards the older one of the wajang and its kind. Perhaps it may be established that in the Sundanese and Madurese regions, the newer, popular art has gained more on the old wajang art in this struggle between old and new than is the case in Javanese territory. If this is so, then this head start in the "modernisation" of the Sundanese over the Javanese is certainly due among other things to the fact that the opposition between old and new is strengthened by that between Javanese and indigenous. The old Javanism with its 'wajang-culture' has not been able to strike such deep roots among the Sundanese and Madurese as among the Central Javanese." (22)

It may be added here, that since the development of categories of language in Javanese has gone much further than in Sundanese and in Madurese, it can also be accepted as very probable that the aristocratic way of life in strictly Javanese territory reached a much higher development and that the Javanese people have been more deeply influenced by it than the Sundanese and Madurese people.

After 1800 Western influence penetrated deeper into Javanese society, and first of all into the feudal sphere. The consequences of this were disintegration and reconstruction: de-feudalisation and renovation.

The de-feudalisation was connected first with the institution of a European Civil Service, which had as its task the bringing of legal security and the freedom of person and goods to the population. The old, despotic nobility was placed under the new Civil Service, which broke the absolute power of the nobility and took action against abuse of power to protect the village people. The ceremonial processions of the feudal chiefs were simplified. At the end of the eighteenth century, for example, the regents were followed by retinues of hundreds of people, which gave expression to their high social prestige. These retinues had already been reduced by Daendels, and after him were diminished still more, so

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(22) Pigeaud, p.109-110, 147, 148, 412.

that in twenty years they were brought down to about a tenth of their former size.

In 1820 (Staatsblad No. 22) and 1824 (Staatsblad No. 13) the ranks, titles, parasols, processions and retinues of the regents and a number of the lower chiefs were regulated. The detailed way in which this was done shows what great importance was attached to it in the Javanese world. In later years these external signs of the position and prestige of the chiefs were still more reduced. The forced labour which the people performed for the retinue of the chiefs, the so-called 'pantjendiensten', were in 1885 wholly abolished.

Bijblad No. 1531 of the year 1864 contained a government decision on the request of the widow of a regent to be allowed to continue after the death of her husband to bear the pajung /parasol/ and other distinctions, consisting of a cortége of three pikes and four men, prescribed for the wife of a Raden Tumenggung. The Government had no objection to the bearing of the title and the pajung, but it objected to the cortége because this was related to the power to dispose of people. A large cortége, according to the government, could not well be reconciled with the "present principles of government". The government considered that gradually much of what had been permitted by the regulation of 1820 had of itself become obsolete and that a further regulation would revive much of it, which was thought undesirable.

The tournaments (the seton's in the Vorstenlanden /Princely States/ where they fell on Saturday, and the senenan's elsewhere, where they were held on Monday 'to set them apart' (23), were according to Rouffaer still in vogue in most of the Regency capitals outside the Vorstenlanden until after 1860. Pangaran Achmad Djajadiningrat himself remembered such tournaments in his youth, in which his father as district head had to take part. He gave a description of the tournaments, but saw in them little more than a means for the Indonesian officials "for the sake of the greatness of the regent...to provide a subject of amusement for the people". (24)

In 1876 (Bijblad No. 4043) the government instructed the European Civil Service to oppose the inclination of the regents to hold feasts. The giving of feasts on the occasion of appointments, promotions, awards of titles of nobility, marriages and circumsisions had as its result that most regents were burdened with debts. At the same time, the burden of each feast came to rest for a large part on the people, whose custom it was to give presents in the form of foodstuffs and other articles. The European Civil Service, therefore, had to limit this 'feast-giving'.

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(23) J. W. Winter: 'Beknopte beschrijving van het hof Soerakarta in 1824'(Brief description of the Court of Surakarta in 1824).

(24) 'Herinneringen', (Reminiscenses) 1936, p.11.

By similar measures the pomp and circumstance of the feudal world was significantly diminished. For the beautiful feudal play there thus remained in the long run little room for expression. Because of the abuses which were connected to the old type of administration, de-feudalisation was rightly begun; but in the last century this also destroyed a piece of court-culture which possessed poetry and a colourful way of life.

In the twentieth century the colonial administration went still further by also taking action against the Javanese pattern of etiquette, the hormat. The customs of etiquette and homage had, according to the "hormat circular" of the year 1904 (Bijblad No. 6113), a number of "peculiarities" which would have to disappear with more social intercourse, just as in the larger centres of communication they had already been considerably modified or diminished. The faithful observance of stricter adat /custom/ regarding homage gave occasion for much waste of time and was humiliating for those in whom an idea of self-respect had awoken. The government spoke about "the forms of hormat, which belonged to an earlier period of political and social life". It desired, however, to take into account a class of Indonesian government officials who were still far from realizing the superfluity of these forms and would consider the abolition by higher authority of the traditional forms of respect as a diminution of their prestige.

According to the government, the adat must therefore be tolerated by the European administration, but not protected or encouraged.

P.A. Djajadiningrat relates that though in 1900 much had already been changed, the pajung custom was still "in full glory". When the regents saw that the European government officials after the hormat circular of 1904 no longer walked with a parasol, they too left this at home. The "old period" quickly drew to an end after 1900. The new "Sarikat Islam" set itself against the performance of the sembah. (25)

More government circulars followed later, whereby the use of Dutch was also encouraged. Dutch only began to come into greater use in the twentieth century; according to P. Djajadiningrat there were in the whole of Java in 1900 only four regents who spoke Dutch.

A government circular of 1913 (Bijblad No. 7937) said that there still were complaints about the treatment of the Indonesian people. The European Civil Service did not behave correctly towards the Indonesian service; the latter did not do so towards Indonesian officials in other branches of service, such as physicians, teachers, and irrigation personnel; European and Indonesian officials did not

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(25) Expression of respect (hands extended and placed together before the nose or forehead). Pigeaud, Dr. T.H. Javaans-Nederlands Handwoordenboek. (T.N.)

do so towards the non-official Indonesian public. The government pointed out the influence of the nationalist movement. Hitherto it had consisted almost solely of the Indonesian official world, in which a certain emancipation could gradually be observed. However, there was now an increasing number of "ordinary" Indonesians who were conscious that they could be something more than they had formerly suspected, and who thus began to make claims to another valuation and treatment, not only from Europeans, but also from their own superiors. The government saw in this "awakening of self-confidence" the first result of its long-standing attempts to elevate the people.

The first action against the feudal structure of Javanese society was taken by the Netherlands Colonial Government, and this cost it the Java War (1825-1830). From the above it also appears that later, especially after 1900, an aversion to the feudal structure arose among the Indonesian people, who particularly objected to the great social differences which resulted from it and to the submissiveness which the old etiquette ordained. This resistance began in the towns and among the officials who had obtained a Western education. These Indonesians, oriented to the modern world, lost the old-fashioned religious respect for their superiors; they could no longer practice homage as a cult, but felt it to be humiliating. They considered their old culture no longer as courtly and refined but as too courtly and decadent.

The de-feudalisation, which was set in motion artificially and from above by the Europeans, was afterwards continued spontaneously by Indonsians. The nationalist movements of this century were nearly all anti-feudal. The de-feudalisation of the nobility was coupled with their education on Western lines. De-feudalisation, which caused the beauty and gaity of the old culture to vanish, must have cut the old-fashioned Javanese to the heart. Later, however, they opened themselves to Western ideas, and eventually they eagerly asked for Western education for their children. Gradually, the nobility took over more and more Western ideas and principles.

The external forms of social intercourse also changed. Typical of this development is that a regent who formerly included in his retinue his horse, a sitting mat and a betel set, came in the years before the war to prefer a motor car, a leather armchair and a cigarette-case. And a well trained Controleur /District Officer/ of the Civil Service, once had to be able to dance in the Indonesian fashion; but in the years just before the war a Wedana /District Head/ applied himself to tennis, billiards and Western dancing. The contact between both bodies of administrators took place earlier in a more Eastern and later in a more Western fashion. Fifty years ago at government conferences the Regents and European officians were almost the only ones who sat on chairs, the Indonesian prijaji /nobles/ and village heads sitting on mats on the ground. Thirty years ago the prijaji had come to sit on chairs and in the last pre-war years the village heads did so, too.

A number of Western ideas and institutions concerning the State

and society penetrated into Eastern community. People thought about ideas such as "the common interest", "democracy", "progress", the equality of men, nationalism. The Western-educated especially were the bearers and transmitters of these new concepts. The direction in which these ideas moved was Western: there was a desire to co-operate for the development and betterment of society.

In general the ideal of what has been denoted above as the third way of Huizinga was discarded for that of his second way--the medieval, feudal, ideal made way for the modern Western ideal. The performance and ennoblement of personal and social life-expressions, the ideal of life itself, made way for the goal of knowledge, of the domination and betterment of society. The art of living was supplemented by the art of government; the ideal of the satrija was supplemented by that of the social engineer; emphasis was transferred from Javanese self-sufficiency and repetition of the traditional pattern to a struggle for the future modernisation of the country.

This de-feudalisation and modernisation had the consequence that Western cultural influence was no longer seen by the Indonesian upper class as Western, foreign, and alien to them; and it was acknowledged by many that there were also things of universal value in Western culture. Because Indonesians began to take part in the Western influence, which initially was exclusively in the hands of Europeans, it is better now to speak not of a 'Western', but of a 'modernising' influence, or the modernisation of the country. As a result of these changes, the nobility underwent a renovation. In comparison with the medieval tyrannical potentates, the aristocrats of 1941 were modern administrators.

These new phenomena affected not only the nobility but the whole supra-village sphere, in which important changes had occurred after 1800.

Formerly, the supra-village sphere consisted almost exclusively of princes and nobility, with some exception for Chinese tax-farmers, who had leased public revenues and adapted themselves to the feudal structure. In the course of the nineteenth century, new social groups were added. The first of them was the European Civil Service, which was instituted shortly after 1800. It was in the eyes of the people a sort of Western nobility set in Eastern society, and it retained that character to the Second World War. The European administration received a share of the popular respect for the bearers of authority. When Pangeran A. A. Djajadiningrat as a young boy was receiving a lesson in Javanese etiquette he was taught that "the basis of chivalry" consisted in "respect and loving care for one's parents" and "real affection for the Prince" (the Ratu); and that under "Prince" must also be included his representatives, including the Resident and Assistant Resident. (26)

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(26) "Herinneringen" p.71.

Many new groups of Indonesian officials were added. The regulation of 1824 prescribed titles, ranks and ceremonial for the "heads of forestry and the senior heads of the water works, vaccination service, salt works and warehouses", in addition to those already in existence for officials of the administration and the judiciary. Later, teachers and others were so distinguished. With each new group there arose the then very important problem of how they were to be adapted to the hierarchical structure of Javanese society and into which place on the social ladder they were to be included. For that purpose, the newcomers were made identical in rank with certain already existing senior officials, this determining their titles, ranks, and ceremonial were defined. They thus initially also obtained, on behalf of their retinue, a right to the pantjendienst /corvée/ of the population.

Thus, for example, in 1865 a mantri-guru /elementary school headmaster/ was made identical in rank with certain "heads of the water works". In 1874 this happened to the cashiers and tellers in the State Treasury. In 1879 state school teachers were assimilated, head teachers being equated in rank with the senior forestry chiefs, teachers of the first, second and third rank with senior heads of water works and senior officials of that level, teachers of the fourth class with second-rank forestry officials, and the assistant teachers with the "minor clerks". At the same time, two uniforms were prescribed for the teachers: a dress uniform for official occasions and a "pradjuritan /warrior/ uniform", to wear on horseback on official occasions as they rode by right and duty in the retinue of the Resident or the Regent.

In 1893 similar prescriptions were given for veterinary surgeons, in 1896 for the clerks of the Post, Telegraph and Telephone Service and for the clerks and draughtsmen of the State Railways. In 1906, as the last measure of this nature, the ceremonial, retinue and pajung of the personnel of the pawnshop service were laid down. In this way it was necessary every time to fit the new groups of officials into the hierarchic structure of Javanese society. In other words modern public services, every time they were confronted with Javanese feudalism, had to be feudalised.

After 1906, these assimilations became obviously out of date. The hormat circulars appeared, the government declared its opposition to the old customs, and popular opinion underwent great changes.

A third group which emerged into the feudal sphere in the nineteenth century was that of the European entrepreneurs. In order to be accepted by Indonesian society and to command respect and obtain authority there, they perforce sought esteem and, thus, a high position in the social hierarchy--a feudal or semi-feudal position. They did this through the organisation of their businesses, employing the services of the native leaders, at first openly and with official toleration and later, after 1863, clandestinely. At times they sought to obtain a more general power

position at the local level, whereby they sometimes nearly developed into independent barons and fought to shove aside the assistant residents in a half-open and half-underground struggle. In their public and private lives, too, by the display of great state, the building of imposing houses, laying out of large grounds with stately carriage-drives, the giving of great feasts, the planters bore themselves as grand seigneurs, and the tea barons, the sugar lords and sugar ladies strove for a quasi-feudal position. Later all this was less necessary; and the houses of the modern administrators were quite a bit smaller and more modest than those which were built earlier.

A fourth, still younger group which made its entry into feudal sphere consisted of the Indonesian intellectuals, the lawyers, the physicians, Ph.D.'s, the engineers. They originated principally from the higher class of officials, the only group which could finance the costly studies from its own means and which often made the greatest efforts and heaviest sacrifices for it. The people in general have indeed shown that they are capable of saving, not only for the pilgrimage to Mecca, but also for the education of their children. According to a novel by S. Takdir Alisjahbana the expenditure for one child was often greater than for a whole family. (27) Professor C. Hooykaas points out "how parents, elder brothers, whole families have put up with very great sacrifices for the schooling of the family's pride and joy." (28)

Academic degrees were very much desired by the nobility. This was first of all for financial reasons, because an academic education gave entry to various situations in the administration which were considerably better paid than those in the Indonesian civil service. In the second place academic titles enjoyed a high regard in the Indonesian world. In the beginning, especially, they were over-estimated. Just as in old Europe the doctor's graduation stood on approximately the same level as the accolade, so also in Indonesian society an academic degree stood in high honour. Academics married girls of higher social standing. Typical is an anecdote, told of one of the Central Javanese courts, where the son of one of the nobles said in answer to the question what he would later become "a lawyer-doctor-engineer". On account of its origin and culture the group was thus considered by the nobility to be, in general, its equal. After the earlier, nineteenth century aversion to western education had been overcome, academic studies in the twentieth century were thus promoted by the feudal aspiration for esteem.

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(27) Prof. dr. J. Gonda: "Letterkunde van de Indische Archipel", (Literature of the Indian archipelago), 1947.

(28) "Voldoet de A.M.S.nog?" (Do the High Schools still satisfy), Koloniale Studien (Colonial Studies), Feb. 1940, p.24.

A fifth, largely new group in the supra-village sphere is the Indonesian middle class. By this middle class I understand the group of Indonesian entrepreneurs who are running a business in either trade and industry which is organised exclusively on a contractual basis, and who stand head and shoulders above the village sphere. We are thus concerned principally with traders and industrialists. This middle class exists within the area of money exchange. It is small, but increasing in numbers. In 1928, when P. A. A. Djajadiningrat was invited to give a lecture on the Indonesian middle class, he did not find it simple, for "it was not even then certain that among the Indonesian people in our country there was such a middle class". Now it need no longer be doubted.

The middle class originated not from the aristocracy but from the villagers, and was thus of lower origin and enjoyed a lesser regard than the nobility. Even when the bourgeoisie stood on the same financial level as the aristocracy, they were not considered as equals or fully accepted by these. In general, the nobility had little regard for the middle class. This went together with the lordly style of life of the aristocracy, which involved a highly developed class consciousness and a contempt for trade and manual labour. The nobility, as the bearer of a higher and finer culture, saw in the middle class in general only ill-bred or uncultured parvenus. The nobility therefore treated the middle class as a rule as "wong tjilik", as the little man, the villager and the peasant. When a regent gave a feast, for example, the officials, down to the lowest clerks, would be seated in the pendopo./pavilion/ and thus take part in the feast; but the middle class were left to stand outside with the common people as spectators. This treatment has important consequences, for the children of the middle class noted the higher distinction which accrued to those fathers of their friends who were officials, and consequently they themselves desired to become officials. This formed an obstacle to the growth of the middle class, which to begin with was sown very sparsely and was thus disunited. In this respect, the feudal structure formed a brake against the economic moderization of Javanese society.

This is also the case in another respect, in that the Javanese nobleman would not take part in economic life, a factor which was connected with the aristocratic style of life. It is true that the nobleman had earlier played a great role in the old Javanese overseas trade, but then matters had been different. At the time the nobleman could intervene in trade as financier and holder of administrative power and thus take part in trade without falling in rank or respect. Now, however, the noble would have to begin from the bottom, something which the aristocratic style of life rejected because it would mean a loss of esteem.

In Europe entrepreneurs emerged from the ranks of the tradesmen and manual labourers; the nobility mostly assimilated itself with the world of high finance. In Florence this took place in the fifteenth century and earlier. The nobility adapted itself to the new social relations, moved to the towns, took part in commercial life, and allied itself with the patricians. On the other hand, commoners who had become rich sought prestige and

security in landed property. This adaptation to the middle class way of life by the nobility and the feudalisation of the entrepreneurs furthered the fusion of the upper class to a new trading aristocracy, in which the middle element modified the style of life of the whole. (29)

Approximately the same thing happened later in France and in England. Here each step forward on the road of economic development was the work of new men, of "self-made men" and "nouveaux-riches", because those who had risen to the top in a previous wave chose to remain above the risks of trade and sought admission into the old, aristocratic circles. (30) Even in Japan, where the merchant was despised by the nobility, there nevertheless came into existence a trading class on which many noblemen became financially dependent. Rich merchants were then often connected to samurai's by marriage or adoption. (31)

In both Europe and Japan, therefore, the entrepreneurs did not originate from the nobles, but from groups which sprang up next to the nobility and with which the nobility amalgamated. There the nobility could move into big business, and participation in commercial life meant little or no loss of esteem.

In Java, earlier, before the seventeenth century, rich traders often married into noble or princely families. Also, according to Pigeaud, there was in the harbour towns of the North Coast (Lasem, Tuban, Gresik, Surabaya, Cheribon) a "mixing and consolidation of the numerous Indonesian-Chinese communities with the Javanese people, both of the middle and the upper classes", by marriage as well as the conversion of Indonesian-Chinese families to Islam. It is known that distinguished families in East Java have Chinese among their forefathers. A strong Chinese influence is also discernible in the plastic arts, woodcarving, and so on. Later, too, the Chinese, including the very well-to-do, continued to participate in Javanese artistic and cultural life. In modern times, with the development of world communications, the Chinese have almost all associated themselves with Western culture or sought support from modern China. This mixing with the Javanese people has therefore been arrested. (32)

In the period just before the war contact between the Indonesian people and the Chinese and European groups was almost solely limited to the economic and business level. There was little social intercourse; few personal ties were created, and there was consequently no fusion by inter-marriage, which for that matter was not looked on with favour by any of the three groups concerned.

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(29) A.V.Martin: "Kultursoziologie des Mittelalters" /Cultural Sociology of the Middle Ages/ in Vierkandt, Alfred "Handwörterbuch der Soziologie"/Encyclopaedia of Sociology/1931

(30) H. Sée, p. 179.

(31) E. Herbert Norman: Japan's emergence as a modern state,1940,Ch.11.

(32) Pigeaud, p. 114 and 141.

The Indonesian middle class was too small to be expected to bring about a renovation and commercialisation of the nobility.

As far as the tendencies which were active in Europe and Japan are concerned, it thus appears, to begin with, that in Java too the new business classes valued esteem and security above the risks of trade, that here too the rising entrepreneurs underwent a process of "feudalisation". Moreover, that there is little question in Java of the assimilation of the nobility into the middle class, because the influence of the Indonesian businessmen is quantitatively too small for that and the nobility were separated from the non-Indonesian business group by social barriers. The economic development of the Javanese people must therefore come exclusively from the village people.

The new Indonesian middle class developed, in spite of its scanty prestige, a new self-consciousness. According to an anecdote which was told both of wealthy Indonesian merchants in Kudus and in Jogja, the middle class men whose daughters had deserved a reprimand threatened them with the punishment of marriage to a prijaji. In this, of course, they were referring scornfully to the nobleman as a "poor official". The middle-class thus came to realize the value of its social function; its members felt themselves too high to be treated as villagers. They had outgrown the village and were often well off, but they found no satisfactory place in the supra-village sphere. They would pay no hormat and would rather, so to speak, have received hormat themselves. This gave rise to difficulties, and it is said that one of the Central Javanese kratons set up a commission, consisting of representatives of the kraton and of merchants, which tried to evolve new forms of etiquette. Certain regents did meet objections of this nature; for example, at formal ceremonies members of the bourgeoisie would also be invited into the pavilion and there would be offered a chair. Also, in the last pre-war years, attempts were made within the Javanese linguistic area to unify the language and to abolish or to soften the gradations of high and low in Javanese. Post-war developments, which are strengthening the tendencies towards a diminution of social differences and towards a furtherance of equality, will perhaps help to lighten the difficulties mentioned here, although the language remains a stumbling-block. The success of the Indonesian language in this sphere is due in part to a desire to avoid the difficulties which Javanese presents in this respect.

However, the signs of a new style of life and a new group consciousness are still not strong. Pigeaud argues that the rising or semi-urban labourers and petit bourgeoisie have loosened themselves from the old Javanese patterns of life and art more than the older classes, the peasants and the higher and lower prijaji's. Pigeaud understands here not only the entrepreneurs whom I mentioned above, but also the smaller merchants and the labourers. These groups have in common with the businessmen that they stand outside agriculture and outside the old desa context. According to Pigeaud, these new classes are less content with old Javanese art, which was to a high degree static and without much action. This old art was

one of the expressions of the old Javanese world view, shaped by a "cosmic community feeling". An understanding of it diminishes in modern times, most of all among the new class. In Pigeaud's judgment the Javanese urban middle class does not yet possess its own new, in the Western sense established, bourgeois pattern of life and art. In this middle class there develops, according to him, "little by little, here and there, a modest centre of an established middle class with its own group feeling, mostly having as its centre a somewhat modernised kaum-group". Where the new middle class and the lower classes which depend on it are still in their early period, they apparently seek satisfaction in the modernisation of the more dynamic aspects of the old theatre. In this way the modern farce or the folk theatre is developing; here--more than with the old wajang--action takes place, subjects from daily life are discussed, and the vernacular language is used. (33)

That this renewal, modernisation and dynamizing are still incomplete appears from the character of this new popular art. This, according to Pigeaud, is all too clearly reminiscent of the old types of theatre and wajang. The birth of a new bourgeois theatre that does not copy the past and which is genuine and originally Javanese, is still awaited. "The great influence of Western culture, especially on the modernisation of life patterns and art, has led to and will probably eventually compel the adoption of the modern dynamicism of the West without much criticism or transformation. Under these conditions there is little chance that the slowly increasing stimulation of Javanese spiritual life will quickly result in an original, completely rejuvenated higher art." (34)

However, this opinion of Pigeaud's dates from the year 1938. Probably the time that has elapsed since, especially the post-war period, has not remained without influence, although it is not yet possible to say to what extent this is the case. I must in this matter content myself with noting that after the war Indonesians at one time expressed the opinion that the gamelan was opium for the people (35), and that, further, in Madiun and Solo a new wajang theatre has emerged, which with its leather puppets corresponds to the old wajang kulit but which differs from it in that the stories, persons, and subjects of the present day are brought on the scene. This so-called "wajang suluh" portrays, for example, Indonesian

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(33) Pigeaud, p. 34

(34) Pigeaud, p. 34, 35

(35) D. de Vries: Culturele aspecten in de verhouding Nederland-Indonesie, /Cultural aspects of Netherlands-Indonesian relations/, 1947, p. 90.

National Army soldiers, members of the Hizbullah (36), Republican ministers, Sukarno, Hatta, Van Mook, aircraft and tanks. The stories concern, for instance, the proclamation of the Republic, the Japanese capitulation, the Police Actions and the negotiations of the Netherlands with the Republic. (37)

On the question of how far there is a difference between West, Central and East Java with respect to the problem of the bourgeoisie, there are few facts of any use. Important, however, is Pigeaud's report in the following passage on the esteem for the middle class in various parts of Java, where apparently under the term "middle class" the entrepreneurs are understood: "In both the Sundanese and Madurese areas, as a result of social development the generally strongly Muslem middle class enjoyed a very high esteem next to the more or less Javanised prijaji classes and the modern intellectuals. In Central Java, on the other hand, the prijaji's pride in their kinship with the princes, their nobility, together with the ever more numerous Western-oriented intellectuals, committed the petit bourgeoisie and the orthodox Muslims to the shadows." (38) This leads one to assume that the situation of the middle class is not everywhere the same in other matters, either.

It is also probably not the same in another respect. There is, you see, a remarkable difference in recent economic development among the various parts of Java. We are concerned here with impressions which are not recorded in figures, but which are so accepted by the experts on this territory, that in my opinion they can be relied on. This impression is, to wit, that the modern business activity of the Indonesians in recent years, and even before the war, has awakened most clearly in the Sundanese regions, in West Java. In Central Java this is the case to a much lesser degree; while in East Java it has taken place somewhat more than in Central Java but less than in the west of the island. A difference is at present to be observed in the attitude of Indonesians in comparison with their attitude before the war. The Indonesian now is considered more frank, self-assured and independent; he feels able to undertake more, even in the commercial field which again is to be observed especially in West Java among the Sundanese. According to these impressions, therefore, the order in which a revival seems to have taken place goes, now as in pre-war times, from West to East and Central Java. Central Java thus shows the least growth of modern business activity in general.

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(36) A Muslim armed organisation, existing at the time of the Indonesian struggle for independence. (T.N.)

(37) "Indonesië Cultureel" /Cultural Indonesia/, Sep. 1948.

(38) Pigeaud, p. 149.

It may be asked whether this phenomenon is connected to the differences previously indicated in the cultural pattern of the three peoples of Java.(39) Their cultural pattern is on the whole defined by the nobility's aristocratic style of life and the communal form of life of the village, inasmuch as the modern middle class way of life is still very weak and limited to small groups.

Now it has been shown above that Javanisation has pervaded the Sundanese and Madurese regions much less than Central Java, that the differences of language point to a stronger, feudal, hierarchy there and that the aristocratic pattern of life in the Javanese regions is more developed and has deeply pervaded all classes of the population. The scanty esteem for the middle class in Central Java shows a greater class differentiation, a higher pedestal for the nobility, a more humble position for the villager. The aristocratic style of life, which entails a low regard for trade and manual labour thus imprints an exceptionally strong stamp on the whole population of Central Java.

Moreover, the village form of life has a stronger communal character than in West and East Java. As is known, the right of the village to dispose of its inhabitant's land is stronger among the Javanese than among both the other population groups. This has had the consequence that in the Sundanese regions the right of the peasant to his land has from olden times been less impaired by the princes and nobility than elsewhere. Also, later attacks on the property rights of the peasant were rejected by public opinion. When Daendels directed that the cavalry he had founded be rewarded with land, this proved, in contrast with the Javanese regions, to be impossible in Preanger, where it was opposed to the popular land rights. Under the "cultural system" the government in the Javanese regions intervened very greatly in village domestic affairs, with the consequence that land ownership and the class structure in the villages underwent modifications. In the Madurese and Sundanese regions, such intervention proved impossible, being frustrated by the uncooperativeness of the people. (40)

Among the Javanese the individual thus stands in a weaker position against the society than elsewhere. They are weaker with regard to the nobility, which stand on its lofty pedestal and demands more respect and humility of the villagers, and to the village community, which asks for more compliance and adaptation.

There was in other respects a connection between the old-fashioned feudal structure which earlier led to despotism and the communalism of the villages. In the traditional desa, profits from possessions or windfalls were shared to a very high degree. The

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(39) Ruth Benedict: Patterns of Culture, 4th edn., 1948.

(40) See my dissertation, p. 43, 45, 148.

rich man shared his from a feeling of obligation. To refuse was generally most unseemly, although this by no means made for complete levelling of economic distinctions. One man profited from another without shame. In the villages, a man was as open-handed with his own property for the sake of another as he was close-fisted with regard to another's possessions for his own benefit. The traditional despotic potentates made use of these relations. Their despotism may be considered as an extreme example of the village community's demandingness. The now vanishing meekness of the villagers may be seen as a highly developed generosity which excluded almost all resistance or refusal with regard to the exactions of prince and noble.

In the same order--Javanese, Madurese and Sundanese--in which Javanisation decreases, business activity thus apparently increases. The Outer Territories are probably also connected in this series. In these outer territories, the leaders of the people and their relatives generally take a greater part in trade than is the case in Java. The opposition of the nobility to the middle class is here apparently not a problem worth mentioning. Now the Outer Territories are in general less Javanised than Java itself. The aristocratic style of life with its class consciousness, refinement and dislike of trade and manual labour, is in the Outer Territories apparently much less developed than in Java. These territories are thus connected with the range of regions where Javanisation decreases and modern business activity increases.

These facts give rise to the impression that there does indeed exist a connection between the backwardness of Central Java in economic development and the cultural pattern of this territory as it is expressed in the aristocratic style of life and the communal living pattern. The reverse side of the high development of Javanese culture is therefore perhaps that, with a renovation of the old pattern which lies so much deeper, more of the culture must be overturned, that the loss of old values is greater and the transition harder and lengthier than elsewhere. For the other Indonesian peoples, whose own culture was less developed in the Javanese direction, the acceptance of new values meant a smaller loss and, to the extent, modernisation had to overcome less resistance there.

Another important new social phenomenon in the supra-village sphere arose from the co-operatives and other associations. These associations are of importance not only on account of the content of their aims and the degree wherein they exercise political, economic, social or cultural influence, but also because of their organisation. Like the Indonesian entrepreneurs, the associations are a phenomenon of the money economy which exists in the supra-village sphere and which the Indonesians no longer permitted to be organised for them--as was the case with wage labour--but which they organised themselves. I shall deal here only with certain features of this development. The viability of the associations, particularly of the political associations, was closely connected with the modern structure of Indonesian society, especially with the economy introduced there, and the legal order which went with it. The associations borrowed from the West the association as a form of

organisation. They utilised the circulation of money, so strongly stimulated by Western business life, in the collection of contributions and in their own financial managment. They profited from the modern means of communication, which made possible the transport of their members over great distances and opened up opportunities for rural organisations. They utilised the limited, but democratic, rights of free speech, assembly, association, and freedom of the press. They adopted Western social ideals and dedicated their lives and property to them.

The political associations of the pre-war years were in general nationalistic, in favour of more social equality and against feudalism. This last can be seen, for example, in their opposition to the inheritance of the post of Regent. The Netherlands colonial government in recent decades had therefore to consider the wishes of Indonesians who wished to go further with de-feudalisation than the Government, which was keeping in mind the point of view of the masses, considered advisable. Just like other features of the money economy, the associational life did not escape growing pains in its early beginnings. New associations, for example, did not understand the novel character of the associational idea. Local associations in the 'twenties and 'thirties of this century sometimes tried to decide matters over which only the village was competent, such as the allotment of shares in communal lands, the leasing of these lands to sugar factories, etc. These associations then tried to make their associational decision pass as a village decision, identified the associational tie with the village tie, and confused their association with the village. They thus mistook the new social tie for the old one.

As I have already mentioned elsewhere, co-operative associations borrowed various characteristics from the traditional, communal ties.

However much the left-oriented political associations furthered social equality and replaced the noble titles of "Raden" and "Mas" by the brotherly "bung", prominent leaders from the major cities were sometimes greeted by their followers from the interior with a veneration and a show of respect which awoke memories of the old feudal homage. However anti-traditional the associations, especially the political ones, were, they were thus confronted with the traditional restrictions (feudalism and the village ties), in which at first they sometimes lost their way, and from which they borrowed certain characteristics.

Among the new associations I would expecially mention the Taman Siswo movement, which was established in 1921 and which set itself the target of providing education. The association ran entirely on its own momentum. In 1930 it owned 30 schools in Java and Sumatra; in 1937 it managed 225 schools distributed over Java, Sumatra, Borneo, the Celebes, Madura and Bali. Among them were one High School, 26 Secondary Trade Schools, and 7 Teacher Training Colleges. 700 teachers were employed in these schools, which taught 16,000 children.

According to the articles of S. Mangoensarkoro in

"Koloniale Studiën" of 1937 and 1938, the Taman Siswo Movement fought for social progress. In this task it is to maintain itself as an Eastern organisation, but be open to the most modern cultural expressions of the West. It tested these according to their worth and adopted what could serve for the enrichment of its own culture. It did not want to cling timorously to the indigenous. Expressions or values from the native culture, which no longer fitted present-day situations or had lost their worth, were considered as played-out and inappropriate. This applied especially to the field of hormat, therefore etiquette. The movement desired "progress", but no imitation of Europeans, no rash adoption of Western cultural elements, no one-sided Europeanisation. It aimed on the other hand at "the enrichment of its own culture by nationalising foreign cultural elements". It thus sought to adopt Western cultural elements but to assimilate them to its own spirit.

Taman Siswo's objection to the official education system was that it was imbued with foreign culture, resulted in a neglect of one's own culture and in self-contempt, placed intellectual formation too much in the foreground, neglected the inner life and, moreover, gave instruction in a foreign tongue. The Taman Siswo therefore gave instruction in the vernacular. It strove for the development of the full personality, of the art of living, in which the emphasis fell on character-formation, on ethical and religious values.

The movement wished to co-operate in the "building of the future society", and it was conscious of performing a "missionary labour", which once more brings to mind Huizinga's second way. By accepting Western cultural elements and assimilating them to its own spirit, it was representative of broad circles of the upper classes, which desired no Europeanisation but a similar acculturation. The Taman Siswo was a conscious and organised effort to that end.

At present there are, besides this, strongly Western-oriented Indonesian groups which desire a still more radical adaptation in the building up of an Indonesian national culture, reject the Taman Siswo as Javanism, and lay more emphasis on Western elements. (41)

Apart from these six new groups, which came into being in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries or increased in size and importance, mention can further be made of a social--or better an unsocial--group, which lost importance during the same period, namely that of wanderers and vagabonds. This group stood not so much above as out of the village.

In Pigeaud's work on the Javanese popular theatre, mention is repeatedly made of strolling players. The popular masque was, for example, originally a spectacle for the village people, performed mainly by wandering players. Pigeaud supposes that these strolling players formed a part of the large group of the wanderers and tramps, who earlier must have been an important factor in society.

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(41) D. de Vries, p. 82 ff.

Apart from players this group consisted of yet other people; "traders or pedlars, santri's (servants or pupils, who sought for a master in order to acquire while working for him instruction in holy knowledge, or, what is not very different, in one of the noble trades such as armouring) and sometimes also wandering nobles (satrija lelana) with their retinue, declared outlaws and exiles, or searchers for adventure, hardly distinguishable from robbers and bands of soldiers. Various facts and situations in Javanese history, various stories in Javanese literature are only to be fully understood when one remembers the existence of this group of wanderers and vagabonds throughout the princely lands, who, not tied to the land and not living in relationship with the village or the family, easily came to acknowledge no authority of lords or regents, submitting themselves only to the all too often powerless majesty of the ruler in the capital, and not always to that. It is known that in other countries also, even in Europe, in earlier times this group of wanderers and vagabonds, the "fahrende Leute", have played an important role, especially where trade was not yet conducted within regulated channels and written communication was still little developed". (42)

As an example of the existence of such a group of wanderers Pigeaud gives the history of Ki Oentoeg, a Balinese slave run away from Batavia, who was able to form a band in the environs of Batavia with which after 1685 he went eastwards through the country, took up service with the Prince of Kartasura as bandit leader or condottiere under the name of Surapati, and eventually erected a princedom for himself as Adipati Wiranegara in Pasuruan. In addition, the overflow of the Chinese troubles of Batavia to Central Java in 1740-41, which led to the fall of the kraton of Kartasura, is, according to Pigeaud, only to be understood when it is remembered that the wanderers and vagabonds were spread over the whole of Java and that many Chinese-Indonesians were apparently included among them even then, as were other people originating from outside Java, such as Madurese and Balinese. Concerning the Preanger Regencies, we know of many early reports from Dutchmen of the time concerning wandering santri's, often called "Javanese priests or vagabonds".

P. J. F. Louw observes in "De Java-oorlog 1825-1830", that at the time of the outbreak of this war many "bad people"--the so-called "wanderers"--took shelter in the villages, wandered from one kampong to another, and brought public security into danger. This class of the population mostly consisted of propertyless and younger people. "Among them," according to Louw, "much dissoluteness ruled: buaja's (sharpers) were to be found everywhere, in the markets, at the ronggengs (dances) and the cock-fights. They possessed an adventurous spirit which was cultivated and maintained by a host of legends and folk tales and by histories of adventurers who in their forays and wanderings had acquired a name for heroism. These legends were

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(42) Pigeaud, p. 35-36.

brought to and maintained among the people by wajang actors. The wonderful adventures of Surapati, who was able to raise himself from slave to prince, made Javanese youth ready to join with anyone who with some chance of actual success set himself against the existing powers." (43) When later, under the Culture System, free labour on the sugar plantations was instituted, work was performed to an important extent by the wanderers. In 1853 it was said that they consisted of "all sorts of people who came from other Residencies, where they not infrequently had had trouble with the police." They could not be relied on; their numbers were changeable and uncertain. In 1866 a great part of the plantation labour force still consisted of wanderers. Dr. Levert in his thesis cites various facts concerning this: at that time most of these wanderers probably worked as cutting coolies, and even before the war "badjingangs", the wanderers, formed the largest group among these workers. (44)

Wandering santri's were also still known in recent times. The strolling players, too, have survived. Whilst earlier they toured in small troupes or alone and in a limited area, modern communications have made possible the existence of larger troupes, which travel over the whole of Java and beyond. These are, for example, the troupes of actors of wajang wong, stambul, and ketoprak. (45)

Though the group of wanderers was thus not yet extinct before the war, they nevertheless no longer formed a conspicious, separate, class of people. As Pigeaud observes, these wanderers and vagabonds belonged to an earlier stage of society with other conditions. In modern society there was less room for them. On the one hand by reason of the great degree of legal security there was less room for adventure and lawlessness which went at the cost of others, although before the war the police sometimes did have to take local action against gangs of robbers, as, for example, about 1920 in Meester Cornelis. (46) On the other hand the modern exchange economy, which was introduced in the nineteenth and twentieth century, and to which increased trade, communications and urbanisation are due, created new possibilities for regular work which still offered variety. Thereby the wanderlust and adventurousness of many was led into new paths and canalised. The new opportunities for the wandering troupes of players which Pigeaud observed are therefore probably only one example out of many. It may, for example, be asked how many of the present-day chauffeurs earlier would have formed part of the group of wanderers. Also the group of Mecca pilgrims, whose total at the beginning of the last century was

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(43) Vol. 1, p. 16

(44) "Inheemsche arbeid in de Java-suikerindustrie", (Native labour in the Java sugar industry) p.88 and 129.
See also my thesis, p. 139.

(45) Types of Javanese theatre. (T.N.)

(46) A Djakarta suburb, now called Djatinegara. (T.N.)

insignificant, has profited from modern communications.

The wanderers and vagabonds have thus not altogether vanished, but are significantly reduced in numbers. At least this was the case before the war; in the post-war period the old desire for adventure was revived in various forms.

Further, this unsocial group of wanderers is of importance because it points up the relativity of the old Javanese ways of life. Modern social anthropology and sociology lay emphasis on the great importance of the cultural pattern of a society. Above all, social anthropology teaches what enormous differences exist between the various "patterns of culture". Social anthropology at the same time reminds us that, in connection with this difference in patterns, behaviour which is social in one culture may be unsocial in another culture with other norms and standards. Social anthropology also shows that each culture has its unsocial people and that therefore no one culture apparently succeeds in canalising all expressions of life into regular forms, without leaving a residue of unsatisfied wishes or aspirations and without certain possibilities of development remaining unused. (47)

As said earlier, important factors in the Javanese way of life were, firstly, the aristocratic style of living which originated in the court culture, and, secondly, the village way of life, which was, however, influenced by the aristocratic style. It is therefore of importance to observe that neither the aristocratic style of living nor the communal way of life were successful in fully developing Javanese talent and organising and canalising without exception into specified patterns of life. This is perhaps also of importance for the future, because it shows that there are in the Javanese world more possibilities than the old, aristocratic and communal forms. The migration of the villagers to the towns need not be seen, considered in this light, merely as an impoverishment of the villages. Many have probably found more satisfaction in the towns than they could in the narrow confines of the desa. For the future this may be said: however difficult it is to change the way of life of a people, preservation of the old is not the only ideal that is worth aiming at.

Mentioned above as new social groups were the Europenan administration, Indonesian officials of the government services, Western businessmen, Indonesian scholars and bourgeoisie, and the private Indonesian associations.

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(47) R. Benedict: Patterns of culture and e.g., W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff: A Handbook of sociology, 1947 and Kimball Young: Handbook of social psychology, 1946. Critique of R. Benedict and the school to which she belongs, by Pitirim A. Sorokin: Society, Culture and Personality, 1947, p. 339, note 1; Sorokin lays strong emphasis on the non-integrated parts of culture.

Both European groups came from outside Indonesian society. The group of the new Indonesian officials was called into life by the government. The group of scholars arose in a spontaneous fashion, partially as an answer to the new opportunities to study offered by the government. The bourgeoisie and the associations came forth in a completely spontaneous way. The older phenomena thus showed an artificial growth and were called into being from without or from above; the more recent show a spontaneous growth from below.

The structure of all new groups consisted of Eastern and Western elements, but among them there is a gradual shift in a Western direction. The oldest groups oriented themselves wholly to the then still predominant feudal hierarchy of Javanese society. Later this no longer occurred and they stood in the other camp, as critics or opponents. In the oldest group of Indonesian officials the Western element is but weak; the more recent feel Western influence much more strongly. The scholars drank from Western knowledge. The associations and businessmen made full use of the modern economy. Taman Siswo aimed at the taking over and independent assimilation of Western cultural elements. The most modern go very far in the rejection of their own inherited culture.

The way of life of the older groups was initially wholly adapted to the Eastern model. Later this changed. The European Civil Service, the Western entrepreneurs and the Indonesian Civil Service were de-feudalised and brought up to date.

As the society changed, new groups were fitted in to a more modern plan, and the older underwent a renovation. In this process, the Eastern elements weakened and the Western became stronger.

Looking back on the past, it is self-evident that the loss of national independence and later the de-feudalisation of the Javanese world must have caused a feeling of malaise. The Javanese popular consciousness at first sought a reconciliation with the national bankruptcy in a traditional, mythological way through the well-known legend about the supernatural descent of the Dutchmen from a princess of Padjadjaran, the medieval empire of West Java. This story, which saw in the Netherlands administration the continuation of a native dynasty, very clearly shows, according to Dr. Hoesein Djajadiningrat, the intention to justify the foreign domination to the native conscience. By this lineage, the Netherlands colonial government could be seen as a legitimate inheritance in the female line and thus a legitimate, divine decision, to which one could willingly bow. (48)

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(48) Hoesein Djajadiningrat: "Critische beschouwing van de Sedjarah Banten". /Critical consideration of the Banten History/, dissertation at Leiden, 1913, p. 285. Rassers mentions more cases where the factual domination over Java was legitimised in mystic ways (De Pandjiroman, 1922, p. 335).

This legend shows not only the attempt to achieve a moral legitimation of foreign domination, but also the internal, moral conflict that underlay it.

The de-feudalisation, which was begun by the colonial authorities in about 1800, must inevitably, as has already been mentioned, have meant a loss for the culture bearers of the period. The diminution of the retinue of followers, of splendour and pomp, were a loss to social esteem, to poetry and to the content of life, to a number of things which made life worth living. The banning of the "feasts" meant--because it affected wajang performances--both the repression of pleasure and of ethical and religious values. The limitation of the hormat forms made worthless a great part of the etiquette, which had been raised to a cult. All this meant cultural loss and cultural destruction, a spiritual impoverishment, which must have placed a damper on Javanese culture.

In the main, one can only guess as to what psychological consequences this has had. There must have been a feeling of desecration and tarnishing of the world and a despondency, as the idea penetrated that the old cultural pattern was a lost cause, which no longer gave satisfactory support in the modern world. Gradually doubt of the old must have arisen, without, at first, a new ideal standing clearly before their eyes. Dr. Radjiman complained in the Indisch Genootschap in 1920 about the spirit of apathy, the "demoralisation" and the lack of the "motive to progress" among the Javanese people. He missed in Javanese society "ideals" and their "propelling force." (49)

The twentieth-century Western education often resulted in an internal conflict in the pupils, who at home were raised in the old world of ideas, but who in the Western schools came into a completely different cultural atmosphere and by the attitude to life formed there came into collision with the sphere of their parental home. W. F. Stutterheim (50) and C. Hooykaas (51) have given a description thereof. Miss B. H. Lans spoke in the Indisch Genootschap in 1920 of the "chaos of ideas and desires" in the heads of the Indonians and some of their leaders, in which "the greatest

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(49) Dr. Radjiman: "De maatschappelijke loop van de Javaanse bevolking", /Social progress of the Javanese people/, (Ind. Gen., 27 Feb. 1920); see also his: "Het psychisch leven van het Javaanse volk", /The psychic life of the Javanese people/ (Ind. Gen. 14 Feb. 1911).

(50) Dr. W. F. Stutterheim: "Iets over de cultuurbasis onzer leerlingen", /On the cultural basis of our pupils/. (Mededeelingen /Communication/ VI from the Onderwijsraad, Batavia, 1931).

(51) Koloniale Studiën /Colonial Studies/ Weltevreden, Batavia, Feb. 1940, p. 27

contraditions" stood side by side. (52)

Professor Berg showed that the basis of the rationalistic, Western education was at fault because it addressed itself one-sidedly to the intellect, was non-religious, although in Indonesian eyes religion and ethics are essential. Because education was neutral, it led, according to the author, to cynicism, indifference and materialism and affected the moral basis of society. This education, according to Berg, started off the period in which Indonesian youth were no longer at home in their own society. Education, which was completely opposed to the earlier, static attitude to life, sucked them into the vortex of "progress", brought about a break with the old and presented no new harmony. This break with tradition meant a loss of the old customs, but, according to Berg, the desertion of traditional customs, themselves of an indifferent nature, has the tendency to cause the masses to desert good customs, too. Against this de-nationalising and rationalising the society, according to the author, possesses no defenses or antidotes. In the long run this must therefore, according to Berg, lead to a general degeneration, unless something else as positive as the old is not put in the place of the vanishing culture. Just as in China, India, and Russia, Western education led too much to the forming of an uprooted, spiritually unbalanced group of suddenly Westernised intellectuals. Berg therefore argued for a revision of the rationalistic basis of the governmental, Western education. (53) The Economisch Weekblad of 14th September 1946 found that: "Many, in blind worship for everything that is "Western" and "modern", become altogether estranged from the indigenous culture whilst the so-called adoption of Western culture is no more than superficial. Others reject every foreign cultural element on principle and a priori, and retreat to a fortress of self-sufficiency. Still others are seized by a sterile indifference or apathy."

De Kat Angelino puts forward the objection that Western education often led to the adoption of certain externals of Western culture and attitude to life yet without implanting the essence of Western culture, while at the same time this caused the Indonesians to become detached from the source of their own culture. In this case there arose, according to the author, a bastard form, a

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(52) Miss B. H. Lans: "De Soendaneesche vrouw in het licht van het heden, het verleden en de toekomst" /The Sundanese woman in the light of the present, the past, and the future/ (Ind. Gen., 6 Feb. 1920).

(53) Professor Dr. C. C. Berg: "Critische beschouwing van Neerlands cultureele invloed en Neerlands cultureele taak in Oost-Indie" /Critical consideration of Netherlands cultural influence and Netherlands cultural task in the East Indies/, (Ind. Gen., 6 April 1934).

combination not of both cultures, but of two soul-less parts amputated from each of the two cultures. The people concerned expected no more salvation from their own tradition, but Western culture left their hearts "stone cold". Wertheim thought after the war that Western influence "still, on the whole, acted as an uprooting and dislocating factor. (54) The danger of mixing cultural elements was later pointed out by Indonesians also. (55)

This development may therefore probably be seen in the following manner: the initial awareness of the necessity to acquiesce in the "colonial" situation went together with an internal opposition, to which the old legend gave expression. After this, when a rehabilitation of national independence seemed unthinkable and the hope of it vanished, the national struggle limited itself to the preservation of Javanese cultural property, such as literature and drama. When doubt also arose about the worth and the tenability of their own culture, there resulted an apathetic dejection. The national revival of the 20th century again gave rise to the hope of a better future. The Western education of this century, however, resulted in all sorts of uprooting and dislocation.

Though there was thus all kinds of dislocation, which have by no means been surmounted, there was not only dislocation. As appears from the foregoing, there was also a co-operation on a large scale for the modernisation of the country, an adoption of Western ideas, a search for a new attitude to life, an intentional and purposeful attempt at acculturation, the search for a synthesis which would bind valuable ingredients from their own culture with valuable elements from Western culture although all this was accompanied by stupendous difficulties.

The image of the old Java of a century and a half ago has thus been thoroughly altered. The society consisting exclusively of princes, nobility and peasants, traditional and ordered in a strict hierarchy, lost its traditional and hierarchic character in the supra-village sphere. The one-sided feudal class division was broken through by the rise of new social groups which brought more differentiation. The nobility was "put in its place" and modernised.

The hypertrophically developed aristocratic style of life went through an atrophic development. The public display of power and homage decreased. The processions and ceremonies, the tours, the pomp and splendour, the pajung and hormat wholly or almost wholly disappeared from public life. The courtly, over-refined etiquette was simplified. On the other hand this aristocratic form of life gave lasting cultural values, which impressed a strong stamp on the whole people, especially in Central Java, though here it

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(54) Professor D. W. F. Wertheim: Nederlandse cultuur invloeden in Indonesia /Netherlands cultural influences in Indonesia/ (Undated, c. 1948).

(55) e.g. Agoes Djaja in the "Kroniek van Kunst en Kultuur", /Chronicle of Art and Culture/ Jan. 1949.

probably also worked as a brake against an adaptation to modern times.

The belief in the old "wajang-culture" is seriously shaken. The accent is moving from the art of living to the art of government, from the development of personality to the reformation of society. After the destruction of many of the old things there has followed a construction, in an attempt to modernise in the Western spirit.

In conclusion I note that no complete picture has been given in the above of the structural changes in the supra-village sphere. Thus, for example, to the newly arising social groups should be added that of the semi-intellectuals, which, according to Overdijkink (56), play such a large role in the post-war political situation. Also the comparison of Javanese feudalism with that in mediaeval Europe makes no claim to completeness. This comparison was, for that matter, not a goal in itself. Each evaluation of Javanese feudalism will, however, consciously or unconsciously contain a comparison and therefore it appears to me better to do so consciously and to seek a standard whereby feudalism can be "measured", by comparison, even though this is only possible by approximation. The main point as I saw it was to place certain economic problems in a more general framework and to point out the connection between the two.

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(56) Dr. G. W. Overdijkink "Het Indonesische probleem. Nieuwe feiten" /The Indonesian problem. New facts/, 1948, p. 173.