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Nina Herlina Lubis

Religious Thoughts and Practices of the *Kaum Menak*: Strengthening Traditional Power

Abstraksi: “Menak” adalah sebutan untuk kelompok aristokrat Sunda, yang dalam budaya Jawa disebut kaum priyayi. Kaum menak adalah mereka yang secara sosial dan politik berada di atas masyarakat kebanyakan (cacah), tidak saja secara material, tetapi juga secara sosial-budaya. Mereka memiliki satu pandangan hidup yang sejalan dengan kesadaran mereka sebagai anggota masyarakat dengan kelas sosial tinggi.

Artikel ini membahas sejarah dan pandangan hidup kaum menak, yang pembahasannya utamanya diarahkan pada perilaku dan pandangan keagamaan mereka. Selain itu, juga dikemukakan tentang signifikansi sosial-politik yang diperoleh oleh kaum menak, yang memang memiliki arti penting bagi kehidupan mereka.

Keberadaan kaum menak merupakan bagian penting dari sejarah masyarakat Jawa Barat, khususnya di wilayah yang kemudian dikenal sebagai Priangan. Meski mungkin telah ada jauh sebelumnya, berakhirnya kerajaan Sunda pada akhir abad ke-16 menjadi satu periode penting bagi tumbuhnya kelas aristokrat ini. Hal ini terutama berawal ketika bekas wilayah kekuasaan kerajaan Sunda berubah menjadi kadipaten-kadipaten, selain kerajaan Banten dan Cirebon. Kadipaten-kadipaten ini, yang kemudian berkembang menjadi Priangan, dikuasai oleh kalangan aristokrat Sunda, yang mengklaim berasal dari keturunan raja-raja Sunda sebelumnya. Tidak adanya kontrol politik secara langsung oleh kerajaan Mataram pada awal abad ke-17 telah memberi keleluasaan kepada kaum menak untuk menjadi “raja”, yang berkuasa secara turun-temurun di kadipaten masing-masing.

Demikianlah, kita mengenal beberapa keluarga menak terkenal di wilayah Priangan, seperti keluarga Kusumadinata di Sumedang, keluarga Kusumadinigrat di Galuh, Ciamis, keluarga Wiranatakusuma di Bandung, keluarga Wiratanudadar di Cianjur, keluarga Wiradaha di Sukapu-

ra, Tasikmalaya, dan keluarga Suryakarteleghawa di Limbangan, Garut. Mereka membentuk semacam dinasti, yang kekuasaannya tetap berlangsung ketika wilayah-wilayah tersebut berada di bawah kekuasaan VOC, dan selanjutnya pemerintah Belanda. Bahkan, dalam beberapa hal penting, kekuasaan politik kaum menak ini semakin kokoh menyusul kebijakan pemerintah kolonial Belanda yang menjadikan mereka sebagai kaki tangannya. Dalam hal ini, kaum menak menjadi kelompok elit yang bertindak sebagai penghubung bagi jalannya roda pemerintah kolonial dalam rangka penguasaan wilayah dan masyarakat Priangan.

Dalam posisi sosial demikianlah, terutama masa kolonial Belanda, kaum menak harus berhadapan dengan realitas sosiologis masyarakat Sunda. Ini melibatkan tidak saja masalah sosial-ekonomi, di mana mereka menjadi agen bagi penerapan secara efektif kebijakan ekonomi politik pemerintah kolonial, tetapi juga masalah sosial keagamaan, di mana masyarakat Sunda memeluk agama Islam. Dalam konteks inilah, sikap dan pandangan keagamaan kaum menak memiliki makna yang sangat penting, karena tidak saja menjadi bagian penting dari keberadaan kaum menak, tetapi dalam beberapa hal juga menjadi landasan atau bahkan alat legitimasi keagamaan bagi posisi yang disandanginya sebagai elit sosial dan politik.

Di samping keterlibatannya dalam sejumlah kegiatan keagamaan formal, sikap dan pandangan keagamaan kaum menak juga tampak pada gagasan mereka tentang kekuasaan. Dalam hal ini, selain mengklaim sebagai keturunan dari Prabu Siliwangi, raja Pajajaran, kaum menak pada saat yang sama mengedepankan konsep-konsep politik yang berakar dalam tradisi Islam. Mereka misalnya berpandangan bahwa menerima wahyu (nurbuat) merupakan salah satu prasyarat utama untuk naiknya seseorang menjadi raja, dan berarti menjadi menak. Oleh karena itu, dalam tradisi kaum menak, seorang pemimpin disyaratkan tidak saja memiliki kecakapan dan perilaku sosial yang baik, tapi juga taat dalam beragama. Kemampuan mengendalikan emosi (tara kajurung ku nafsu), beriman (kandel iman) adalah di antara syarat utama bagi seorang pemimpin.

Aspek penting lain dari keberagamaan kaum menak adalah kontribusinya yang penting dalam pengembangan tradisi pendidikan dan pemikiran Islam. Sebagian dari mereka tidak saja mendirikan lembaga pendidikan pesantren dan sekolah Islam, tapi juga menjadikan ulama sebagai tempat konsultasi, baik menyangkut masalah agama maupun masalah sosial-politik. Lebih dari itu, di antara kaum menak juga ada yang bertindak sebagai ulama, seperti Haji Hasan Mustafa misalnya, yang tidak hanya menjadi elit di birokrasi pemerintahan, sebagai Penghulu Agung, tetapi juga menjadi seorang ulama produktif sejumlah karya keagamaannya.

Nina Herlina Lubis

Religious Thoughts and Practices of the *Kaum Menak*: Strengthening Traditional Power

خلاصة: يطلق لقب ميناك (Menak) عند الطبقة الأرستقراطية عند قبائل سوندا (Sunda) على ما يماثله عند قبائل جاوه باسم برياي (Priyayi) أي طبقة النبلاء، وإذن فطبقة ميناك يحتلون من الناحية الاجتماعية والسياسية مكانة أعلى من عامة الناس، وليس ذلك في المستوى المادي فحسب وإنما على المستويين الاجتماعي والثقافي، ولهم رؤية للحياة تتمشى مع وعيهم بكونهم من أفراد المجتمع الذين يتمتعون بتلك المكانة العالية.

تتناول هذه المقالة تاريخ طبقة ميناك وآراءهم من خلال بحث يتركز موضوعه على مواقفهم الدينية وسلوكهم، بالإضافة إلى ذلك أيضا الأهمية الاجتماعية والسياسية التي يتمتعون بها والتي تحتل مكانة هامة بالنسبة لهم.

إن طبقة ميناك تمثل جزءا هاما في تاريخ المجتمعات بجاوه الغربية وخاصة في المناطق التي تعرف باسم بريانجان (Priangan)، ورغم أنه من المحتمل أن يكونوا قد وجدوا من قبل بزم طويل فإن سقوط المملكة السونداوية في القرن السادس عشر الميلادي تعد مرحلة هامة في نشأة هذه الطبقة الأرستقراطية، وكان هذا الوضع قد بدأ عندما تحولت المناطق التي كانت تخضع للمملكة سابقا إلى مناطق منفصلة ومستقلة خارجة عن مملكة باننين (Banten) وشيربون (Cirebon) إذ صارت هذه المناطق في تطورها خاضعة لبريانجان التي سيطر عليها أولئك الأرستقراطيون الذين يدعون أنهم من سلالة ملوك سوندا، وبما أن مملكة ماتارام (Mataram) لم يحكم سيطرتها في القرن السابع عشر على هذه المناطق فقد أدى ذلك إلى أن تنهيا الظروف لطبقة ميناك أن يكونوا ملوكا يفرضون حكمهم على تلك المناطق أبا عن جد.

وهكذا نجد عددا من أسرة ميناك مشهورا في بريانجان وذلك مثل أسرة كوسوماديناتا (Kusumadinata). مننطقة سوميدانج (Sumedang) وأسرة كوسومادينجرات (Kusumadinigrat). مننطقة جالوه (Galuh) وشيامس (Ciamis) وأسرة ويراناتا كوسوما (Wiranatakusuma) باندونج (Bandung)، وأسرة ويراتانوددار (Wiratanudadar) بشيانجور (Cianjur) وأسرة ويراداها بسوكافورا (Su-kapura) وتاسيكمالايا (Tasikmalaya) وأسرة سورياكارتيلاجوا (Suryakar-telegawa) بليمبانجان جاروت، فقد كونوا نوعا من الدولة التي بقي حكمها على تلك المناطق في ظل حكم الشركة الهولندية الشرقية VOC وما تلاها من حكم الاستعمار الهولندي، بل انه في حدود معينة ازاد نفوذهم عندما جعلهم الحكم الاستعماري عملاء له، وهنا يؤدون دور الوساطة من أجل فرض سيادة الحكم الاستعماري على مناطق بريانجان ومجتمعاتها.

وفي هذه الظروف بالذات وخاصة في عهود الاستعمار الهولندي تعرض طبقة ميناك لمواجهة مع الواقع الاجتماعي لقبائل سوندا، وليس ذلك من الناحية الاقتصادية فحسب حيث أهم عملاء في تطبيق السياسات الاقتصادية الاستعمارية بشكل فعال وإنما أيضا الجانب الديني حيث يدين المجتمعات بالإسلام، ومن هنا فإن موقفهم الديني وآراءهم يحتل مكانة لها أهميتها ليس فقط فيما يتعلق بوجودهم وإنما أيضا لكونها أساسا أو تبريرا دينيا للمكانة التي يحتلها كنخبة اجتماعية وسياسية.

فجانب علاقتهم بعدد من الأنشطة الدينية الرسمية فإن موقفهم يظهر أيضا فيما يقدمونه من أفكار حول الحكم والسلطة، وبهذا الصدد فإنهم بجانب ادعائهم بأهم سلالة ملوك فحاجاران (Pajajaran) فإنهم يقدمون في نفس الوقت نظريات سياسية تبنى على الرؤية الإسلامية، إذ يرون مثلا أنه من الشروط التي يجب أن يتوفر لكل من يتولى الملك أن يتلقى الوحي وبالتالي ليكون من طبقة ميناك، ولذلك فإن الحلكم في نظرهم لا يكفي أن يتمتع بالذكاء والسلوك الاجتماعي المستقيم وإنما يجب بجانب ذلك أن يكون ملتزما بالتعاليم الدينية، وكذلك من الشروط في ذلك أن يتمتع بالقدرة على التحكم في عواطفه ورسوخ الإيمان.

ومن الجوانب الهامة الأخرى عند طبقة ميناك إسهامهم في تطوير الفكر التعليمي الإسلامي، فلم يكن البعض منهم يهتمون فحسب بإنشاء مؤسسات تعليمية دينية والمدارس الإسلامية وإنما أيضا يجعلون الشيوخ موضع استشاراتهم سواء فيما يتعلق بالمسائل الدينية أم الأمور السياسية، وفوق ذلك كان منهم من يصير عالما وشيخا مثل الحاج حسن مصطفى الذي لم يكن يشغل منصب كبير الأئمة لدى مؤسسات الحكومة وإنما أيضا كان مؤلفا غريز الإنتاج في العلوم الدينية.

THE decline of the Sundanese kingdom in 1579 is seen to have had an important impact on the formation of traditional political elites. These elites came to be known as '*kaum menak*' or 'the aristocracy'. The territories of the kingdom developed as into united regencies within which the *kaum menak* held political independence. Indirect control from the Mataram Kingdom in Central Java over the area from 1620 provided the *kaum menak* with ample opportunities to strengthen their political power in their respective regencies, which later became dynasties. In this area, now known as West Java or Priangan, the *kaum menak* emerged as Sundanese political elites, similar in status to the *priyayi* in Javanese culture. The political power of the *kaum menak* became even more firmly established when the Priangan area was under the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) and then the Dutch government. They acted as the main agent for implementing the Dutch colonial policies on both economics and politics in West Java. , in terms of both economics and politics.

In Sumedang, the *menak* families can be identified as those bearing the name Kusumadinata. In Ciamis, the *menak* families are the Kusumadinigrat; in Bandung, they are called Wiranatakusuma, in Cianjur, Wiranatanudatar; while Wiradadaha and Suryakarta-legawa are the *menak* family names from Tasikmalaya and Limbangan in Garut respectively. They constituted an elite group, enjoying privileges, luxuries and extravagant lifestyles.

In this article, discussion will be directed to delineating the history of the *kaum menak*, placing emphasis on their religious thoughts and practices. Having been political elites, it is important to emphasize that the *kaum menak* had to adapt to changing circumstances, both in terms of religion and politics. The religious life of *kaum menak* had social and political significance, and owing to their position within the society, it formed an important part of their existence. As will be made apparent explained in this article, the religious thoughts and practices of the *kaum menak* functioned as sources of their authority and were closely related to their efforts of maintaining political power within society.

The Origins of the *Kaum Menak*

As mentioned above, the indirect control of Mataram over the Sunda region became one of the bases for the emergence of the *kaum menak*. This control gave political power to the *kaum menak*, the local political elites. The Mataram Kingdom ruled the Sunda

region from 1620, after Aria Suriadiwangsa I, King of Sumedanglarang and potential successor to the Sundanese throne, had surrendered to Sultan Agung of Mataram (Ekadjati, 1982: 257). Despite these events, Sultan Agung appointed Aria Suriadiwangsa I as Mataram's administrative ruler in the Sunda region, and gave him the title of Regional Prince Kusumadinata I or Rangga Gempol 1 (Van Rees, 1869: 15; Widjajakusumah, 1960: 65).

In the following months, the Sultan of Mataram divided Priangan into *kabupaten* or regencies, each of which were headed by a *bupati*. Rangga Gempol I was then appointed the *Wedana Bupati* or Chief Bupati (1620-1625), and made responsible for supervising and coordinating these *bupati*. This position was then held by Dipati Ukur (1625-1629) and finally by Prince Rangga Gempol II (1641-1656). However, the position was then removed and *bupati* became directly responsible to the Sultan of Mataram (Ekadjati, 1984: 106). It was through this system that the *bupati* became the political leaders in their respective areas, answerable only to the Sultan of Mataram. This system continued until the end of Mataram's rule over Priangan. This rule ended with the agreements between Mataram and the VOC, signed on October 20, 1677 and October 5, 1705. In this first agreement, it was stated that Mataram surrendered East Priangan to the VOC. In the second agreement Mataram also surrendered Central and West Priangan to the VOC. (De Haan, 1910: 38-39, 69; Raffles, 1982 : 192; Van Rees, 1869 : 50-55). The surrender of Priangan to the VOC was compensation for the VOC's assistance in suppressing a challenge for power in Mataram. On November 15, 1684, Commandant Jacob Couper and Captain Joachum Michiels, under the orders of Governor General Johannes Camphuijs, took control of Priangan (Van Rees, 1869: 79). The first *bupati* to be appointed by the VOC was Wangsatanu, who became the Bupati of Pamanukan on December 24, 1701 (Van Rees, 1869: 87).

In 1706, Prince Aria of Cirebon was appointed overseer of all the Priangan *bupati*, except for Krawang and Cianjur, which were considered part of Batavia. This position of overseer was strengthened by the February 9, 1706 Resolution. Prior to this, the Prince of Sumedang had requested to be appointed *Wedana Bupati* but this request was refused as the VOC felt that all Priangan *bupati* were of equal status and all directly served the VOC (Van Rees, 1869: 83).

After control shifted from the VOC to the Dutch Indies Government at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was further governmental reorganization of district administration. In

1808, Governor General H. W. Daendels divided Java into nine prefectures. Each prefecture was headed by a prefect (Van Rees, 1869: 110-113). When Daendels held his position, Priangan actually only consisted of five *kabupatens*: Cianjur, Bandung, Sumedang, Parakanmuncang, and Karawang. Under this new structure, the region also came to be known as *Prefectuur Preanger-Regentschap-pen*.

In 1871, *Preangerstelsel*, which had been in affect since 1677, was replaced with *Preanger Reorganisatie*. In accordance with this new regulation, Priangan was divided into nine *afdeeling*, each headed by an assistant resident. There was one *afdeeling* for each *kabupaten*, so in addition to an Indonesian leader, the *bupati*, there was also a Dutch Indies leader, the assistant resident. A number of these *afdeeling* were separate from *kabupaten*. In such cases, the head Indonesian position was known as a *patih afdeeling* (Natana-gara, 1937: 114).

In 1901, there was further restructuring. Cicalengka *Afdeeling* was disbanded, with a portion of it becoming part of Bandung *Adfeeling* and the remainder becoming part of Limbangan *Adfeeling*; Sukapura Kolot *Adfeeling* was disbanded, with a portion of it becoming part of Sukapura *Adfeeling* and the other portion becoming part of Limbangan *Adfeeling*; Tasikmalaya *Adfeeling* was disbanded, becoming part of Sukapura *Adfeeling*. The capital of Sukapura was moved from Manonjaya to Tasikmalaya. In 1913, Kabupaten Limbangan was renamed Kabupaten Garut, and Kabupaten Sukapura was renamed Kabupaten Tasikmalaya. In 1915, Kabupaten Galuh became part of Priangan and changed names to Kabupaten Ciamis. In 1921, Sukabumi *Adfeeling* became Kabupaten Sukabumi and in 1922, became part of Priangan.

These were the main administrative changes to the region from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, when it was known as Priangan. The political elite who governed the *kabupaten*, from the *bupati*, *patih*¹, *wedana*, and assistant *wedana*, to their relatives and families, were those who became known as the *kaum menak*.

The Concept of *Menak*

Who exactly were the *kaum menak*? C. van Vollenhoven, a traditional law scholar from the Netherlands, wrote that the term *menak* is used in Sundanese culture to refer to someone of high regard, including aristocracy and high-ranking officials. He also

wrote that the lower-level aristocracy (*kleinen adel*), who were also referred to as *santana*, were given the titles *asep*, *ujang*, and *agus*. These nobles and *santana* were descendants of Sundanese kings (Van Vollenhoven, 1918: 706). The terms *menak*, *santana*, and *cacah* (the common class) are also found in the list of definitions from the *Adatrechtbundel VIII*, published by *De Commissie voor Het Adatrecht* (Traditional Law Committee), on which Van Vollenhoven was the secretary and Snouck Hurgronje was the head (Van Vollenhoven, 1928/1987: 133-137). In this list, *menak* was defined as: (1) the upper class; (2) high aristocracy who are able to use the title *raden*; (3) those of the highest rank; and (4) those in a position of leadership. The *kaum menak* in Priangan, particularly the *bupati*, generally claimed to be direct descendants of the King of Sunda. These claims, however, were difficult to prove historically. Therefore, it is perhaps more accurate to say that the *kaum menak* are descendants of the Sundanese *bupati* who arose after the Sundanese Kingdom had fallen. These *bupati* are not royalty but their positions were similar to that of royalty. The *bupati* were initially appointed by the King of Mataram, and during VOC and Dutch Indies rule, by the Governor General. Irrespective of their origins, the *bupati* and their descendents became known as *menak*. This observation is supported by Coulbom (1956) who argued that individuals with a political role in a feudal society at the beginning of a struggle for power need not be of noble descent. Rather, these individuals will become nobles when they have gained power (Coulbom, 1956: 5).

Furthermore, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, a new phenomenon began to arise in traditional government circles, that being Indonesian officials were not always from the aristocracy. Through the western-style education, the general community could become civil servants, allowing them to join the *kaum menak*. This title would then be passed on to their descendents. Therefore, a distinction can be made between the old *menak*, who were directly related to the *bupati* (those whose families were already *menak* when the *kabupaten* were formed after the old Sundanese Kingdom had fallen), and the new *menak*, who became *menak* through the positions they held.

In addition to this distinction, the *menak* can also be classified into *menak gede* or *menak luhur* (high *menak*); *menak sedeng* (average *menak*); and *menak handap* or *menak leutik* (low *menak*). No clear basis for this classification has been found. Sastrahadiprawira

(1986: 157) believes that a person was considered *menak* if their house had a *pendopo*.² Therefore, those considered *menak luhur* were *wedana* or above, as it was generally only them who have houses with *pendopo*. Assistant chiefs *wedana* and below were considered *menak leutik*. However, classification was often relative. For example, in the eyes of a village head, a *chief wedana* should be considered a high *menak*, whereas in the eyes of an assistant *wedana*, a *wedana* was considered an average *menak*. In the eyes of all people, *bupati* were considered *menak pangluhurna* (the highest *menak*) (Ardiwinata 1916: 9). Alisjahbana (1964) grouped *menak* and *santana* as one class, and the common class (*cacah*) as the class below them. Furthermore, he felt that a person's position within the government structure was the main criterion as to whether someone was considered a *menak-santana* or not.

As a comparison, Palmier described Javanese *priyayi* as the feudal nobility, without distinguishing between those whose nobility was through blood and those whose was not. *Kaum menak*, like Javanese *priyayi*, also had feudal characteristics. The concept of 'nobility', however, is actually based on birth. As the claim to being *menak* can not be proven historically, that is whether someone is truly nobility or not, the concept of *menak* should be thought of as 'aristocracy', rather than 'nobility' (Kartodirdjo 1987: 48; 1990: 5; Sills, 1968: 26).

Pesantren* and the Islamization of the *Kaum Menak

Apart from the socio-political changes explained above, another factor that influenced the lives of the *kaum menak* was religion. Islam has had an important effect on the *kaum menak*. In addition to their genealogical claims of being direct descendants of the King of Sunda, the *kaum menak* also used Islam as a basis for legitimizing their social position within the Muslim community in West Java. As will be explained, elements of Islam seem to have influenced their social and political thoughts and practices. Although to differing degrees and intensity, Islam played an important role in the lives of the *kaum menak*. When the *kaum menak* converted to Islam does not need to be discussed in detail here. However, what is important to note is that the change in Indonesia's political landscape during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was an important step in the spread of Islam through the Sunda region, which eventually resulted in the *kaum menak* adopting Islam.

This political change began when Banten and Cirebon developed into influential Islamic kingdoms on Java's north coast. It was from these two kingdoms that the Islamization of the Sunda region began. Detailed data on those involved and the process itself does not exist. However, it can be assumed that the *'ulamâ'*³, through building *pesantren*⁴, were the ones largely responsible for the spread of Islam through the Sunda region. This process did not seem to meet with any significant political resistance. Rulers from the Kingdom of Mataram, who held power in the Sunda region during the seventeenth century, did not have effective political or religious control outside Mataram itself. This gave the *'ulamâ'* an ideal opportunity to spread Islam through the Sundanese community. This process continued to the point where Islam became the main religion in Sunda. During this time the *kaum menak* not only adopted Islam as a religion, but also adopted Islamic values into their social and political lives.

It has, therefore, been noted that the *kaum menak* were closely linked to the Islamic traditions based in the *pesantren*. A number of *bupati* even received their early education from *pesantren*. The son of Pangeran Sugih, the Bupati of Sumedang, Aom Sadeli, studied in the Asyrofudin Cipicung Pesantren, in Conggeang, Kabupaten Sumedang. It is no coincidence that the land on which this *pesantren* was built, was a donation from the wealthy Pangeran Sugih Prince Sugihyang. In addition, the Bupati of Sumedang also helped establish the Mulabarak Pesantren in Sumedang. Those studying in this *pesantren* were not simply Muslims, but the children of the *kaum menak*. This *pesantren* was also supported by the Bupati of Limbangan (Ekadjati 1986: 35). The Bupati of Sukapura, Raden Tumenggung Wiratanubaya (1828-1835) was also educated in a *pesantren* (Hermansoemantri, 1979: 494).

Children of the *kaum menak* also studied in *pesantren* outside Priangan. Raden Kusumaningrat, for example, who was the Bupati of Bandung from 1893 to 1918, when studying in Semarang around the 1860s, had the opportunity to visit *pesantren* in Tuban and Gresik. After becoming the Bupati of Bandung, Raden Kusumaningrat donated land for a mosque and *pesantren*. He also made frequent visits to *kiai*⁵ in several *pesantren*, such as the Ajengan Marzuki Pesantren in Cigondewah, as well as the Sadang Pesantren, Sindanglaya Pesantren, and Mahmud Pesantren. The *'ulamâ'* from the Mahmud Pesantren acted as advisors to the Bupati. He also had strong ties to the religious elite within the bureaucracy.

He had a close relationship with the Head Chief or *Hoofdpenghulu* of Bandung, Haji Hasan Mustapa (Rosidi, 1989: 63). He would also organize meetings with the '*ulamâ*' every Friday. When Aom Sadeli was the Bupati of Sumedang, he was very focused on religion. Apart from being active in celebrating important Islamic days such as Maulid Nabi, Idul Fitri, and Idul Adha, he also donated land for mosques and gave alms every month to the poor and their families. In addition, he paid for the schooling of children whose parents were unable to do so. His motto to life was: *haram ngada-har duit anu henteu kagawean sacukupna* (meaning: it is forbidden to receive money that has not been earned). Upon his death, he was given the nickname the Prince of Mecca as he passed away whilst completing the *hajj* (Kartadibrata, 1988: 29-31).

Menak-`Ulamâ':

Hasan Mustapa (1852-1930) and Muhammad Musa (1822-1886)

The person who perhaps best represented the link between Islam and the *kaum menak* was Haji Hasan Mustapa. Due to his position as *hoofdpenghulu*, he was clearly part of the *kaum menak*. However, at the same time he was also an '*ulamâ*', evident in his writings on a number of Islamic issues. Born in Cikajang, Limbangan, on June 3, 1852, Haji Hasan Mustapa claimed to be a descendent of Prabu Kian Santang, known as one of the people responsible for the spread of Islam through parts of West Java. Apparently, Prabu Kian Santang was a descendant of Prabu Siliwangi.

Hasan Mustapa's father was Mas Sastramanggala, Camat of Perkebunan Teh Cikajang. After returning from the *hajj*, his father took the name Haji Usman. His mother, Nyimas Salpah or Nyimas Emeh, daughter of Mas Kartapraja, also a Camat, and relative of Dalem Sunan Pagerjaya from Garut (Kartini et al. 1985: 13; Rosidi 1987: 49). Owing to his parents' status, Hasan Mustapa was considered a *santana*, the class between *menak* and *cacah*. When he was still a young child, Hasan Mustapa studied with *menak* children at the residence of K.F. Holle, when Holle was the Administrator of the Waspada Tea Plantation in Cikajang. However, he only studied with Holle for four months. At the age of nine, Hasan Mustapa was sent on the *hajj* to Mecca by his father.

Hasan Mustapa went to Mecca three times. These trips were not just to undertake the *hajj*, but also to study and deepen his knowledge of Islam. In total, he spent between 16 and 17 years studying there. On returning from Mecca, he was asked to study

under a number of *kiai*. His teachers in Indonesia included KH. Hasan Basri, KH. Yahya, and KH. Muhammad from Garut, Kiai Abdul Hasan from Sumedang, Muhammad Ijrai from Surabaya, and Kiyai Kahlil from Bangkalan, Madura. His teachers in Mecca included Syekh Muhammad, Syekh Abdulhamid Dagastani or Sarawani, Syekh Ali Rahbani, Syekh Umar Syami, Syekh Mustafa Al-Afifi, Sayid Abubakar Al-Satha, Hasbullah, and Syekh Nawawi Al-Bantani (who was from Banten).

It was during Hasan Mustapa's second trip to Mecca around 1884 that he first met Snouck Hurgronje (Van Koningsveld, 1987: 225). On returning home from Mecca, Hasan Mustapa married, but his wife died shortly after. He remarried and then moved with his new wife to Mecca for five years (Rosidi 1989: 49-51). In Mecca, Haji Hasan Mustapa became a resident *'ulamâ'* and was known as, Haji Hasan Mustapa Garut. He taught in the Haram Mosque, the main mosque in Mecca. On his return from Mecca in 1885, Haji Hasan Mustapa was asked by the Head Chief, or *Penghulu Kepala* of Limbangan, Raden Haji Muhammad Musa, to teach in the Great Garut Mosque.

Meanwhile in 1889, Snouck Hurgronje left for the Dutch Indies to study Islam for two years. While conducting his research throughout Java, Snouck Hurgronje invited his friend, Haji Hasan Mustapa, to accompany him as he felt that Haji Hasan had a vast knowledge of Islam as well as progressive ideas. They moved from one *pesantren* or *madrasah*⁶ to the next to collect material that would later be used when formulating the colonial policy on Islam. The friendship between the two became very close and Haji Hasan Mustapa referred to Snouck as "*dulur kaula, tur sili belaan salawasna keur deukeut keur jauh*" (my friend who supports me regardless of how far away he is).

In a letter dated October 10, 1892, the Governor of Aceh, General C. Deykerhoff asked Snouck to find a suitable *Penghulu Kepala* for Kutaraja and Snouck suggested Haji Hasan Mustapa as a candidate for the position (Gobee and Adrianse 1990: 195). The recommendation he gave to General Deykerhoff was a very strong one. He referred to Haji Hasan Mustapa as someone who had lived in Mecca for 13 years, who understood *sharî`ah* or Islamic law, and who was progressive. On August 25, 1893, Haji Hasan Mustapa was officially appointed to the position. His extensive knowledge of Islamic law helped him in his position as the Aceh-

nese community demanded that the position be held by someone who had a thorough understanding of Islamic law.

During his time as *Penghulu Kepala* in Kutaraja, Haji Hasan Mustapa learnt much about the people of Aceh. Within one year he could speak Acehnese and had earned the trust of the Acehnese community. His observations of the Acehnese people were set down in a book written in Malaysian entitled, *Kasfur Sarair Fihakikati Aceh wa Fidir* (Unmasking the Real Aceh and Pidi) (Rosidi 1989: 471). Haji Hasan Mustapa sent a letter a per week to Snouck discussing his work, his relationship with the community, officials and *'ulamâ'*, and the harsh treatment he received from the Dutch officials in Aceh. Snouck supported his friend by sending a letter to the Dutch Indies Governor General in Batavia dated March 8, 1896. In this letter he explained how Haji Hasan Mustapa, a man of respect, had been insulted by the officials in Aceh. The letter also explained that, after knowing Haji Hasan Mustapa for 12 years, Snouck knew him to be authoritative, possessing extensive knowledge, unwilling to work for profit, progressive, and eager to respect European regulations (often considered an annoyance by his fellow *'ulamâ'*). Snouck also wrote about Haji Hasan Mustapa's services when they traveled around Java. As a capable *'ulamâ'*, he was instrumental in collecting data on Islam in Java. He also explained how, thanks to his own personal influence, Snouck persuaded Haji Hasan Mustapa to become *Penghulu Kepala* of a troubled area like Aceh. He asked how General Deykerhoff could possibly demean Haji Hasan Mustapa, by asking for his removal from Aceh as he was thought to know nothing of Aceh, despite the fact he actually knew much more than the Dutch officials themselves (Gobee and Adrianse 1990: 195-197).

Hasan Mustapa wrote more than 10,000 *bait dangding* (traditional Sundanese poems) discussing mysticism, particularly in terms of the relationship between God and his followers. He depicted this relationship as a bamboo shoot with bamboo, which resulted in him being suspected of practicing *wahdatul-wujud*. Hasan Mustapa refuted these accusations by writing a document in Arabic entitled *Injâz al-wa'd, fi itfâ' al-ra'd* (meaning, flatly denying the claims while silencing the thunder). In a series of poems entitled, *Sifat 20*, Hasan Mustapa discussed the nature of Allah. He was truly an *'ulamâ'* and a writer as his poems were beautiful, their content filled with mystic ideas, but he never separated himself from the root of Sundanese culture.

Hasan Mustapa's works were never made into a book or published, but rather were disseminated through traditional means. Recently, however, there have been attempts to publish his writings. Luckily his secretary, Wangsaatmadja, diligently recorded Hasan Mustapa's statements and collected his correspondence with Kiai Kurdi in Singapore. During his time as *Penghulu Kepala* in Kutaraja, Hasan Mustapa also made notes on his appearances in court, which were then transliterated by his secretary. Ajip Rosidi managed to collect 71 of Hasan Mustapa's poems, including those that consisted of only a title. These included *Asmarandana nu Kami*, *Sinom Babaraning Purwa*, *Hariring nu Hudang Gering*, *Lebaran Jatnika Rasa*, and *Pambrihna Mu'min*. His prose works, including those that were printed, stenciled or simply mentioned in other works (despite the documents themselves not being found) total 23. These include *Bumi Pangapungan*, *Aji Saka*, *Syekh Nurjaman (144 Patakonan djeung Djawabna)*, *Tanya Jawab Aceh*, *Pusaka Kanaga Warna*, *Kasauran Panungtungan*, *Pamalaten*, *Wawarian*, *Gelaran Sasaka di kaIslam*, *Petikan Quran Katut Adab Padikana*, *Istilah*, *Martabat Tujuh*, *Basa Kolot*, *Gurinda Alam*, and *Babaran Ngeunaan Basa Sunda*. The only works published during Hasan Mustapa's lifetime were *Bale Bandung* (1925), and an ethnological piece entitled *Bab Adat-adat Urang Priangan djeung Lianna ti Eta* (1913) (Rosidi, 1989: 493-499; *Ensiklopedi Sunda*, 2000: 263-265).

Another bureaucratic elite from the *'ulamâ'* was Raden Haji Muhammad Musa. He was known as one of the leading writers of his time. From a genealogical point of view, Raden Haji Muhammad Musa was not a direct descendant of a *bupati*, but he was five times removed from the Bupati of Bogor. His father was Raden Rangga Suriadikusumah, a *patih*. During his childhood, his father took him to Mecca. After returning home from the *hajj*, he joined a *pesantren* in Purwakarta. His wife, R.A. Perbata Mirah was the daughter of the Bupati of Garut (Herlina, 1998: 279).

In 1855, he was appointed *Penghulu*, and in 1864 he became the *Hoofdpenghulu* of Limbangan. His social status increased when he successfully married off his four children to the four children of the Bupati of Garut, Raden Adipati Surianatakusumah (Raden Adipati Wira Tanu Datar VI). His close relationship with the Dutch Indies Government honorary advisor, K.F. Holle, further increased his image among the Priangan *kaum menak*, particularly after his sons and grand-sons were themselves appointed *bupati*. K.F. Holle unofficially sought his opinion on a regular basis whenever the

colonial government was planning on appointing an Indonesian official (Herlina, 1998:279-280).

In 1862, K.F. Holle published Muhamad Musa's poems written in Sundanese. This was a surprise to the *kaum menak* as since the Kingdom of Mataram had invaded Priangan in the 1620s, Javanese had been the official language, while Sundanese was increasingly being thought of as a lower language, to the point where it was almost no longer considered a language. Holle and Muhamad Musa then decided to differentiate and separate Sundanese characters from the Javanese alphabet (*ha, na, ca, ra, ka*). This came to be known as *cacarakan*. Possibly because of this friendship with K.F. Holle, Muhamad Musa became a pioneer of Western rationalism among Sundanese writers. This is reflected in his work *Wawacan Panji Wulung*. This piece explains how a person's strength is not obtained magically or through meditation in isolation, but through physical training. His other Western views were seen in his works on, for example, the importance of health, the dangers of gambling and prostitution, alcohol and drugs. Muhamad Musa wrote many *wawacan*, which at the time were seen as a measure of someone's ability (Rosidi, 1966). You were not a writer if you had not yet produced quality *wawacan*. Muhamad Musa wrote 11 *wawacan* and 33 prose pieces (including originals and translations). These included *Wawacan Raja Sudibya* (1862), *Wawacan Wulang Krama* (1863), *Wawacan Ali Mughtar* (1864), *Dongeng Pieunteungeun* (1867), and *Dongeng-dongeng Nu Araneh* (1884). His works were re-printed several times and became a compulsory text in schools, some of which were even translated into Javanese and Madurese (*Ensiklopedi Sunda*, 2000: 421-422)

It is since these efforts of K.F. Holle and Muhamad Musa that Sundanese as a language has continued to grow to this day (Rosidi, 1966: 11). Despite of the fact that Muhamad Musa was a *Hoofd-penghulu*, an '*ulamâ*' in the bureaucracy, he was better known for his work in literature in terms of re-establishing traditions. This shows that the main criteria for appointing someone as a *penghulu*, other than their current position, was not their religious credentials but their *menak* heritage. Muhamad Musa's father was a *patih*, his nobility was clear. His son also became a *penghulu*. Therefore, the requirements for becoming a *penghulu* were: an individual must be *menak*, have completed the *hajj*, and if possible, be a descendant of a *penghulu*.

Strengthening Traditional Power: Political Thoughts of the *Kaum Menak*

These two aristocratic *'ulamâ'*, particularly Haji Hasan Mustapa, embodied the extremes of the relationship between Islam and the *kaum menak*. Therefore, their story cannot represent the general trends in religious thoughts and practices of the *kaum menak*. However, considering the socio-political environment described above, the all *kaum menak* were required to make Islam a factor in their political thoughts and practices. Apart from claiming to be descendants of Prabu Siliwangi —King Pajajaran from the Hindu- Sunda Kingdom— the *kaum menak* also adopted elements of Islam as a basis for legitimizing their dominance. The *kaum menak* also claimed to be descendant from the Sultan of Pajang, particularly after the Sunda region fell under Mataram control. They, therefore, also claimed to be relatives of the Mataram kings.

However, the influence of Islam on the political tradition of the *kaum menak* was, above all else, found in the concept of power during the nineteenth century. Many historiographic sources refer to the concepts of *pulung* and *wahyu* as sources of power. *The History of Sukapura*, for example, states that someone can become a *bupati* if the previous *bupati* bestowed their abilities and power onto this person (Hermansoemantri 1979: 417). In the historical work, *Pangeran Kornel*, it is also mentioned that someone can come to power if they *katibanan nurbuat* or *nampi wahyu* (receive God's blessing) (Sastrahadiprawira 1986: 36, 91). The concept of *wahyu* is known in Javanese tradition as a blessing from God for the position of king that is often seen as a bright blue, green or white ball of light (Schrieke 1959: 8; Kartodirdjo 1988: 227-228). Sastrahadiprawira, in contrast, defines *nurbuat* and *wahyu* as a blessing from God but without any physical form like in Javanese tradition.

These concepts of *nurbuat* and *cahaya nurbuat* also highlight Islam's influence on the idea of power. In Sundanese, the word *nurbuat* means the same as "*kirata*" (an abbreviation meaning, 'hopefully this is close to reality'). The word itself is also thought to be an abbreviation of *nurut buat*, meaning "a baby is affected by its parents behavior when in the mother's womb" (LBSS 1985: 544). However, the Sundanese history novel *Pangeran Kornel* mentioned above, places the origin of the word *nurbuat* from the word *nubuat*, which comes from the Arabic, *al-nubuwwah*, meaning "those with high standing" or "having qualities of a prophet" (Dahlan 1996⁴: 1275). This first definition seems more appropriate. Thus, when someone becomes a *bu-*

pati, they are considered to become “of high standing”. The Concept of “*cahaya*” in Islam (“*nûr*” in Arabic) is found in in the Book of An-Nur, verse 35 of the Koran, which states,

*Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth;
Light upon light;
Allah guides to His light whom He pleases*

So, someone who receives *cahaya* is someone who receives a sign from God (Dewan Redaksi Ensiklopedi Islam 1994⁴: 46). Meanwhile, the concept of *wahyu*, which comes from an Arabic word, is contextually defined in the concept of traditional Javanese power as *pulung*. There is clearly confusion in several interpretations of the concept of power.

The concept of power in Islam is explicitly found in the Book of Ali Imran, verse 26 in the Koran, which states,

*O Allah, Master of the Kingdom!
Thou givest the kingdom to whomever Thou pleasest
And takest away the kingdom from whoever Thou pleasest,*

(Departemen Agama Republik Indonesia 1989: 79, 550).

It is very clear that the origin of power in Islam begins with Allah. Those who have been given power are those who are given God’s blessing. The concept of power in Islamic teaching is implicitly found in a letter from the *hoofddjaksa* of Garut to the Bupati of Sumedang in 1883; “... *salat ta’at salat hadjat, njaeta noe diteda, moega pantjer Oejoet Taloen, digandjar tjahja noerboeat...*”. So, a blessing from God in the form of *cahaya nurbuat* can be obtained through performing *sholat sunat*, or extra prayers used to obtain favor, such as *salat taat* and *salat hajat* (Danoeredja, 1929: 13). What is meant by *salat ta’at*, in this letter is not clear, but it could possibly refer to *sholat tahajjud*, which in Islamic teaching is performed at night after having first slept. Meanwhile, *sholat hajat* refers to *sholat sunat dua rakaat*, or an extra prayer in which the series of prostrations performed are repeated twice by someone who has a request that is recognized by Islamic law, in the hope that their request receives the approval of Allah the Almighty (Dewan Redaksi Ensiklopedi Islam, 1994: 223).

Based on this concept of power, the ideal *menak* did not just have universally good characteristics, but needed to be religiously devout. In a number of traditional sources, such as fictional works, historical works and even sayings and idioms, it is said that the ideal *menak* must have the following key characteristics: *titih rintih* (be disciplined), *tara kajurung ku nafsu* (not be lead by impulse), and *sering tirakat ambeh luhur derajat* (frequently exhibit self-discipline to improve one's standing). The ideal *menak* must also have a strong heart, evident in their one's self-confidence; strong convictions; obey the teachings of one's religious leader; be decisive; and be devout (*kandel iman*). The characteristics sought were universal, but the terms '*tirakat*' and '*kandel iman*' come specifically from Islamic teachings.

Knowledge and understanding of national and religious issues also affected the standing of a member of the *kaum menak*. A *raja pinandita*, or a *bupati* who was also a religious expert was held in higher regard than someone whose religious knowledge was still lacking. In *Sajarah Sukapura*, it is relayed how Raden Yudanagara, the oldest child of Dalem Baganjing, the Bupati of Sukapura, forfeited his rights to become a *bupati* to his younger brother, Raden Subamanggala. This was because Raden Subamanggala was seen to be more appropriate for the position. He was also his father's favorite child and become a pupil of Syekh Haji Abdulmuhyi, an esteemed figure in the Muslim community (Hermansoemantri 1979: 94). Raden Subamanggala was seen as being similar in status to a *wâlî*, or saint, and consequently increased the standing of the Wirawangsa family.

Divine Bupati

It must be understood, however, that the adoption of Islamic values into the political thinking of the *kaum menak* was done with their own political interests and political power in mind. This is evident in the perception that *bupati* were divine or holy people. For example, the Bupati of Sumedang, Pangeran Aria Soeriaatmadja (1886-1918) was referred to as the Prince of Mecca. In the eyes of the Sundanese people, his divinity was similar to that of a *wali* (Kartadibrata 1989: 30). Religion became linked with traditional beliefs. The *bupati*'s subjects, who appeared before him on Lebaran, hoped to receive his blessing due to his renowned holiness (Kartadibrata 1989: 31). This is in contrast to the colonial government, who saw him simply as a good civil servant, deserving of praise for his services (Kartadibrata 1988: 37).

The influence of traditional beliefs on people's perceptions were also seen in the fact that some *bupati* were believed to have special abilities. The Bupati of Sukapura, for example, was believed to be able to steal the hearts of women. Bupati R.A.A. Wiranatakusumah was also seen to have traditional healing powers and was apparently able to hypnotize people and make them do whatever he wanted (Soedarpo 1994: 9).

There was also a belief in the link between humans and magic. Haji Hasan Mustapa, apart from being known as a unique *menak* writer and '*ulamâ*', was thought to have magical powers, like being able to move from one place to another in the blink of an eye (Rosidi 1989: 493-499). In Ciamis, people believed that there were creatures known as *onom* that lived in swamps, that protected the Bupati of Galuh and their families. Therefore a special area was reserved in the *kabupaten* to provide food for the *onom*. P.A.A. Djajadiningrat, who married the Bupati of Galuh's daughter, testified to this. According to a local story, during the communist uprising of 1926, the *bupati* and one of his attendants had been surrounded by the communist rebels. Suddenly there were thousands of armed *onom* behind Bupati R.A.A. Sastrawinata and all the communists who had planned to kill the bupati. Bupati and his family ran in all directions. In Cianjur, Bupati Raden Aria Wira Tanu Datar was believed to have married the beautiful daughter of a spirit. They then gave birth to Raden Suriakancana, Nyai Raden Indangkancana, and Raden Andaka Wirusajagat. When these children were still quite young, they were being rocked in a cloth shawl. Suddenly they disappeared. Apparently, the three of them were taken by their mother.

To this day, Raden Suriakancana is believed to have become the spirit of Mount Gede Cianjur; Nyai Indangkancana the spirit of Mount Ciremai in Cirebon, and Raden Andaka the spirit of Mount Kumbang in Karawang. If the Bupati of Cianjur's family arranged a ceremonial feast, they were not allowed to ignore 'Grandfather' Suryakancana. A direct relative of the Bupati of Cianjur had to place offerings, including coffee, tea, cigars, chickens, and eggs, between the ceiling and the roof of the building where the feast was to be held by. If someone else placed the food in the roof, it was said something bad would happen. If the ceremony was a large one, for example the circumcision of the *bupati's* child, there was a procession with a riderless horse, complete with a saddle and huge umbrella for 'Grandfather' Suryakancana. If the horse started to sweat and becomes tired as if there is a large

weight on its back, this meant the spirit had come (Suryaningrat 1981: 34). It has also been told that once a descendant of the Bupati of Cianjur married their child to a descendant of the Bupati of Galuh. During the ceremony, both of the Bupati's' families paid homage to their respective spirits without wanting to be outdone by the other family. Apparently, the bride consequently disappeared during the wedding ceremony. The bride was found again after both families apologized to the respective spirits.

Other forms of magic appeared when *kaum menak* made devotional visits to places of worship to ask for protection and blessings during important events, for example, when children were circumcised outside of Ramadan. Thus the spirits of ancestors were honored as they were thought to be able to still provide protection. Paying respect to ancestors was often done through building grandiose graves, topped with domes. Another form of respect for *bupati* that have died is to add the word *suwargi* (the deceased) to the end of their name (Kartodirdjo, 1987 : 155).

Despite traditional beliefs and customs still being a part of the everyday lives of Sundanese aristocracy, the older generation still attempted to implement syariat Islam, particularly *emban*. Raden Haji Muhamad Musa reminded his grandson, who became the Bupati of Lebak, that to become a complete *bupati* he must always pray five times a day (Danoeredja, 1929: 12). When *bupati* attempted to strengthen their position, it was thought to be necessary to win over the *'ulamâ'*, particularly the non-bureaucratic *'ulamâ'*. The Bupati of Bandung, R.A.A. Martanagara, as has been mentioned, frequently visited *pesantren*. The Bupati of Tasikmalaya was the patron of the *Al-Imtisal* magazine, published by a group of *kiai* in Tasikmalaya in 1929 (*Poesaka Soenda*, VII, 1929). Tales of magic and the divinity of the *bupati* were believed by the community and these stories were indirectly used to strengthen the authority of the *bupati*, and the glory of the man himself along with his glory.

Religious Practices of the *Kaum Menak*:

A Number of Sample Cases Examples

Before discussing the religious practices of the *kaum menak*, it needs to be explained that the *kaum menak*'s socio-political and religious environment required them to represent both the colonial government and the Muslim community in the areas where they worked. Since the end of the nineteenth century, the Dutch Indies government appointed the *kaum menak*, particularly the *bu-*

pati, as the Islamic leaders in their *kabupaten*. However, this appointment was also designed to allow the *bupati* to monitor religious developments, particularly after there had been a number of riots since the beginning of the nineteenth century, that had been motivated by *kiai* from *pesantren* throughout the rural areas of Java.

This role as religious leader in the *kabupaten* was a burden for the *bupati*. They were faced with a dilemma. If they considered themselves devout Muslims, pious authorities, they would raise the suspicions of the government. However, by becoming less devoted to their faith, they would distance themselves from the community (Kartodirdjo 1987: 59). In the interests of safeguarding their positions (and pleasing the Dutch) the *kaum menak* were careful not to appear too fanatical. This meant they lost touch with the world of Islam (Benda 1985: 35). Despite these events, a number of *bupati* still completed the *hajj*. Throughout the nineteenth century, a number of lower *menak* and relatives of *bupati* were noted to have completed the *hajj*, the fifth pillar of Islam. After being promoted to religious leader in their *kabupaten*, the *bupati* had to organize religious ceremonies and other events. During Idul Fitri the *bupati* even usually wore an Arabic robe, intended to make them look more Islamic. However, having an outwardly Islamic appearance is not necessarily accompanied by having other religious qualities. In the case of marriage, for example, wives were often arbitrarily divorced. Taking dozens, even hundreds of concubines outside of marriage, as was the casemany *bupati* did, is clearly in conflict with the teachings of Islam.

Colonial policy on the appointment of religious officials, particularly *penghulu*, shows that it was not religious knowledge that was the main requisite, but rather family background. For example, the father of the *Hoofdpenghulu* of Limbangan, Haji Muhamad Musa, was a *penghulu*, and so was his son. Haji Muhamad Rusdi replaced Haji Hasan Mustapa as *Hoofdpenghulu* in Kutaraja as he was related to a leading prominent *penghulu* who was also a member of the *kaum menak* (Koningsveld 1989: 227). Family background was important because it was hoped the *penghulu*, as *'ulamâ'* in the bureaucracy, would have the same strong loyalty to the government as the general *menak* bureaucrats.

Bupati who were too obviously devout, regardless of their motivation, often raised suspicions and conflict. R.A.A. Wiranatakusumah, the only *bupati* in Priangan to be given the title Dalem Haji, was one

such case. Two Assistant Residents in Bandung gave him a negative evaluation in their *conduitestaat* and their *memorie van overgave*. According to his daughter, who accompanied him on his visits to the villages, he was popular because he would talk with and listen to his people. In his speeches, he would often quote the Koran. After completing the *haji* in 1924, his popularity with the community grew even further. However, despite this, he still had several wives, much like his predecessors. So, in this case, tradition won over religion. This shows that at the time the understanding and comprehension of Islam was still lacking. The *kaum menak*'s socio-political environment resulted in them having a number of religious practices that were often in conflict with the teachings of Islam.

Feudalism

There are a number of cases where the elite used religion to justify their actions. As elites, the *kaum menak* considered themselves differently to most people. However, as a result of Western-style education and social change, at the beginning of the twentieth century the masses (*cacah*) obtained work as officials and became bureaucrats in local government. They eventually received the title of aristocracy, *raden*, or at least *mas*, quite possibly by paying the *kabupaten*. The old *kaum menak* often abused these officials, often calling them "zebra menak". This ability for a *cacah* to become a *menak* was indeed hard for the old *kaum menak* to accept. R.A.A. Wiranatakusumah V, a Bupati of Bandung who had a Western education and was known as a progressive *bupati*, stated in a newspaper, "The same standing? It is not possible. It is impossible to compare the ordinary person with the aristocracy. This, as has been decided from above" (*Soerapati*, 5 September 1925). It is clear here how the fate of man according to Islam has been used as a justification for refusing change.

An Extravagant Lifestyle

Newspapers often ran strange stories on the lives of the *kaum menak*. For example, it was reported that one retired *wedana* enjoyed womanizing. To pay for this, he borrowed a large amount of money from a Haji. Consequently, each month he would have to turn over his pension to the Haji (*Soenda Berita*, 7 February 1904). Haji who operated as creditors, often called *Haji-woekeraar* (Van Vollenhoven, 1918: 706), were emergency sources of money for *kaum menak* in need. However, the consequences were often bad.

A *penghulu's* wage in 1909 was f. 40. His aides, *kalifah* and *naib*, were paid f. 30, and between f. 25, and f. 20 respectively. With these wages they could afford to live with two or more wives. If their money ran out, they could borrow from the *penghulu*, from his personal savings and from the mosque's funds. These loans were usually without interest, but some *penghulu* operated as creditors. For example, an assistant *penghulu* borrowed f. 100, and his salary was subsequently cut for one year, making the repayment several times the initial loan (*Medan Prijaji*, 1909). The mosque's funds were usually the responsibility of the *penghulu*, who could only spend this money with the approval of the *bupati*. However, sometimes this was not monitored and money was spent without restraint. Since 1933, mosque funds have become the responsibility of the Mosque Fund Committee.

Concubinage

The Priangan *kaum menak* generally practiced polygamy and concubinage. In addition to having an official wife, the *kaum menak* also had unofficial wives (to whom they had not been married). The official wife had the position of *garwa padmi*, similar to that of a king's consort. Wives that were not consorts were known as *garwa leutik* (Sastrahadiprawira, 1928: 122). Unofficial wives were known as *parekan* (concubines). Concubinage reflected to what extent Islamic law had become a part of the everyday lives of the Sundanese aristocracy at that time.

It was revealed after the son of the Bupati of Sumedang became *bupati* himself, that he had 31 wives and 94 sons. He was known as the Prince of Wealth as he was rich in wealth and rich in children (Kartadibrata, 1988: 10-14). He had four official wives, Raden Ayu Badedar, the daughter of the Bupati of Cianjur; Raden Ayu Rajapamerat, the daughter of the Bupati of Bandung; Raden Ayu Ratnaningrat, the daughter of the District Attorney of Sumedang; and Raden Ayu Mustikaningrat, the daughter of the Bupati of Ciamis. He also had 27 concubines from Sumedang, Tasikmalaya, Bogor, and other areas of Priangan. Of these 27 concubines, only one had the title *Raden*, the others were simply known as *Nyi Emas*, signifying a lower social status. There were even others who were from ordinary backgrounds, whose fathers had no title at all (Kartadibrata, 1988: 10-14). Another *bupati* who had many wives and concubines was the Bupati of Sukapura, Raden Adipati Wiradadaha (1864-1874). He had 30 children and his wives came

from Bandung, Garut, Tawang, Cibogo, and also Sukapura itself (Hermansoemantri, 1979 : 507). There was also the seventh Bupati of Bandung, Raden Adipati Wiranatakusumah II (1829-1846) who was known as Dalem Karanganyar (because he was buried in Karanganyar, Bandung). This *bupati* had many wives and concubines from both the aristocracy and the lower class. In *Wawacan Carios Munada*, it is told that because Dalem Bandung had so many concubines, when the Assistant Resident of Bandung, Nagel, asked for one, it was given without thought (Ekadjati, 1993: 14).

The initial union of a noble and a concubine was not always attended by the noble himself. For example, if Pangeran Sugih, who governed Sumedang in the middle of the nineteenth century, was interested in a woman, it was sufficient to send a *keris*, or traditional knife, through one of his aides as his replacement. If the woman's family accepted this *keris*, then the union was complete.

The third wife of the Bupati of Garut during the 1930s relayed the story of her marriage. The Bupati, accompanied by his Assistant *Wedana*, was making a visit to a weaving factory. There he noticed a young and beautiful female worker. He told the Assistant *Wedana* to go to this woman's parents' house. The girl could not refuse the wish of the Bupati to marry her. Several days later the woman and her family were asked to come to the *penghulu's* house. The Bupati of Garut then came to propose to the woman. He said that after their marriage, he would visit occasionally while doing his rounds, travelling through the area. On the wedding day, the bride and her family came to the *kecamatan* mosque. Soon afterwards the *penghulu* and an official from the mosque arrived, carrying the Bupati's *keris*. Throughout the marriage ceremony, the mosque official held the *keris* and it was the mosque official who took the marriage vows. The reason the Bupati sent his *keris* to represent him was actually not because of tradition or belief, but rather one of practicality. He did not want his *garwa padmi* to know of this new marriage.

The aristocracy took concubines for different reason to the kings, who used to marry for political reasons. One source stated that after being appointed as *bupati*, a man's first task is to look for a concubine (*Poesaka Soenda*, 1923). It is not surprising that the *bupati* often had a huge number of concubines. Thus, although the *kaum menak* were Muslim, in reality the traditions and customs of their predecessors were more influential than their religion. In the magazine, *Poesaka Soenda* (1923), there was an opinion piece

which stated that *kaum menak* only have had lots of wives and concubines for the sake of entertainment. This implies that the motivation for taking several wives and concubines was one of earthly pleasures. There is also the extreme opinion that the life of a *menak* was as a 'king of termites' whose role was only around trouble in the *kabupaten*, and included performing traditional dances and stage performances, and playing around with wives and concubines for their entertainment (*Poesaka Soenda*, 1923).

Having many wives and concubines also proved that the *kaum menak* (particularly the *bupati* and nobles) had power over everything and everyone. The tradition of *nyanggrah* or sleeping at people's houses, evidence of this power, was strong until the middle of the nineteenth century. Having many wives also showed that the *kaum menak* were not just anyone. Furthermore, by having many children to women from various areas, *menak* could broaden their families' reach, despite the purity of their bloodline becoming diluted by concubines of lower class. Marriage to daughters from prominent *menak* families, as was done by R.A.A. Wiranatakusumah V as well as the Bupati of Garut, Tasikmalaya, and Cianjur, seems to have been politically motivated. It was not to strengthen their power, but rather more towards broadening their influence or re-affirming their position.

Divorce among the *menak* was usually a one-sided affair. A husband could divorce his wife without worrying whether his wife also wanted to divorce. The wife's position was consequently very weak. Divorce could be a result of a number of factors. For example, because Bupati Wirahadiningrat wished to marry again, he was forced to divorce one of his *garwa leutik* so that the number of his wives did not exceed four and therefore come into conflict with Islamic law. The divorced wife was given a consolation gift compensation in that she was sent to Mecca to perform the *hajj*. She was then given a house on the outskirts of the *kabupaten* (Interview with R. Etty Sukati, 13th September 1996).

Marriages could, however, end with very painful consequences for the wife, as was the case with the wife of R.A.A. Wiranatakusumah V. On March 28, 1924, having just given birth two months ago to her third child, she returned home to her village in Bukittinggi, while the Bupati went on the *hajj* to Mecca. On April 17, 1924, Guru Nawawi, the woman's father, received a telegram from the Bupati, sent from his ship that was sailing between Colombo and Aden. In this telegram dated April 2, 1924 R.A.A. Wira-

natakusumah stated that she should not return to Bandung as she had been unable to adjust to *kabupaten* life, and this had caused many difficulties (Soedarpo, 1994 : 11).

Syncretism

Syncretism of Islamic and Hindu culture was obvious in the lives of the aristocracy. This could be seen in the maintenance of heirlooms. *Kaum menak*, particularly *menak luhur* (high aristocracy), usually had heirlooms that had been passed down many generations. These heirlooms included *keris*, spears, swords, books, shields, *gamelan*, puppets, betel nut containers, jewellery, umbrellas, and *kandaga*. Heirlooms were ordered directly from the person who made them, or given received as a gift from someone such as grandparents, relatives and friends. There were also heirlooms that were obtained after meditating for long periods. Most heirlooms were thought to possess magical powers, so they had to be stored in a well-guarded room. These heirlooms were often given offerings and incense was burned on particular nights (usually Monday and Thursday night). If the heirloom must had to be moved, the person responsible for moving it must pray to the spirits of the ancestors or previous owners who guarded the heirloom, to show their respect and request their permission for the object to be moved.

The heirlooms of the Bupati of Garut, a *keris* decorated with gold Arabic writing and an axe (apparently from the time of the VOC), were kept in one of his family member's houses. However, the whereabouts of his other heirlooms was unknown. The *kaum menak* washed their heirlooms every *Maulud* (the Islamic month in which the Prophet Muhammad was born). The heirlooms were usually washed by the family. However, in Kabupaten Ciamis, specifically in Nusa Gede which is in the middle of Lake Panjalu, the heirloom washing ceremony was particularly large. In this ceremony, known as *nyangku*, people who still believed in the holiness of these heirlooms tried to collect the leftover washing water. Some washed their face with this water while others drunk the water in the hope of being blessed.

The Sundanese aristocracy approached death the same way as all other Sundanese people did at that time. If someone died, there would be Koranic recitals (*tahlil*) for seven nights. Offerings would be made on the third day (known as *tiluna*), the seventh day (*tujuhna*), the fortieth day (*matang puluh*), the hundredth day (*natus*),

the first anniversary (*mendak taun*), and the thousandth day (*newu*) after the death. The aristocracy usually gave the biggest offerings on the seventh and fortieth day.

Art

A form of art enjoyed by the Sundanese aristocracy was *tayuban*. This dance performance of Javanese origin was referred to as *ib-ing tayub*. Initially, the dance, which was performed at weddings, circumcisions and other celebrations, always involved a dancing girl and alcohol. A Dutchman who witnessed a *tayuban* in 1922 at the Kabupaten Garut *pendopo* said that after the European guests left, the wives of the aristocrats vacate the dance arena. It is then that the unrestricted *tayuban* and drinking begin and continue until dawn (Van Dyck, 1922: 65-68). The *Ronggeng* or dancer could be told to do anything. People often see this as being close to prostitution. However, whether prostitution or not, *Ronggeng* and alcohol and obviously contradict Islamic law.

The Sundanese aristocracy, however, also enjoyed a form of art that promoted Islam, *wayang golek* or wooden puppets. Several *wayang golek* were usually displayed in the *kabupaten pendopo* or the hall of a rich *menak's* house, along side the *gamelan*. *Wayang golek*, created by Sunan Kudus in 1854, were first used to present the *Serat Menak* which promotes Amir Hamzah, the great Prophet Muhammad's uncle. At least in this form of art, there are tales which allow and encourage the audience to know about the important figures in Islam.

Conclusion

The religious lives of the Sundanese aristocracy between 1800 and 1942, as has been explained, reflected the essence of the era in which Hindu-Islam syncretism was an important part of their lives. Violations of Islamic law also reflected the limited understanding of *shari'ah* among the aristocracy. One factor for this was the colonial government's policy which was aimed at restricting, even suppressing the growth of Islam by limiting the movements of the *'ulamâ'* and supporting the policies of *bupati* that conflicted with *shari'ah*. The influence of Western culture that inundated the *kabupaten* bureaucrats undoubtedly played a role in diluting the Islamic elements in a number of *bupati's* lives. In addition to external factors, however, it seems internal factors within the Sundanese nobles themselves also determined how religious they were.

Endnotes

1. The position of *patih* was similar to vice-regent
2. A veranda or other open structure in front of a mansion that often serves as an audience hall
3. A scholar or teacher of Islam
4. A boarding school that teaches Koranic studies
5. The title used for highly respected scholars of Islam
6. An Islamic school

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