

THE POLITICS OF THE SUNDANESE KINGDOM ADMINISTRATION IN KAWALI-GALUH

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ABSTRACT

The focus of the study is the politics of the Sundanese Kingdom administration during a period when the power was centered in Kawali-Galuh. Astana Gede Kawali is a historical site that used to be the center of the Sundanese kingdom as solidly proven by the existence of a number of remaining historical plaques found in the site. The study employed a four-step historical method that involved heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The main concept underlying the study is Montesquieu's Division of Power, also known as the *Trias Politica*. In general, the politics of the Sundanese kingdom administration remained unchanged despite the shifts of the administrative center to Galuh, Kawali, and Pakuan. The Sundanese kingdoms actually adopted a unique concept called *Tri Tangtu di Buana*, according to which administrative power was distributed triadically among *Prebu*, *Rama*, and *Resi*. The concept of *Tri Tangtu Buana* is similar to that of Montesquieu's *Trias Politica*, which is commonly adopted by today's modern states.

Keywords: *Tri Tangtu di Buana*, Kawali-Galuh.

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini adalah tentang politik pemerintahan Kerajaan Sunda ketika kekuasaan berpusat di Kawali-Galuh. Astana Gede Kawali adalah salah satu situs peninggalan bersejarah yang merupakan bekas pusat pemerintahan Kerajaan Sunda Kawali-Galuh. Beberapa prasasti tentang Kerajaan Sunda yang ditemukan disana adalah bukti keras tentang itu. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah Metode Sejarah yang didalamnya terdapat empat tahapan yaitu Heuristik, Kritik, Interpretasi dan Historiografi. Konsep yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah Konsep Pembagian Kekuasaan Montesquieu yang terkenal dengan nama *Trias Politica*. Politik pemerintahan dalam kerajaan Sunda pada umumnya adalah sama walaupun pusat pemerintahannya berpindah pindah dari Galuh, Kawali dan Pakuan. Pemerintahan Kerajaan Sunda memiliki kekhasannya tersendiri dengan konsepnya *Tri Tangtu di Buana* yang didalamnya membagi kekuasaan pemerintahan dalam *Prebu-Rama-Resi*. *Tri Tangtu di Buana* ini memiliki kemiripan dengan pembagian kekuasaan yang terkenal dengan sebutan *Trias Politica* dari Montesquieu yang sekarang banyak digunakan dalam negara modern.

Kata Kunci: *Tri Tangtu di Buana*, Kawali-Galuh

INTRODUCTION

A modern state generally adopts Montesquieu's concept of *Trias Politica*, a strict separation between three independent power in every nation: for legislation, administration, and jurisdiction. Based on this model, the legislature is the law-making body, the executive is the law-implementing body, and the judiciary is the law-controlling body responsible for adjudicating the implementation of the law (Montesquieu, 2004).

A political system similar to Montesquieu's *Trias Politica* also once existed the Sundanese traditional kingdom. The Sundanese kingdom was one of the oldest kingdoms in Java. Historians believe that the Sundanese kingdom was the continuation of Tarumanagara kingdom, which was established in the 5th century in the present-day West Java. The center of the Sundanese kingdom underwent several shifts from around Galuh-Kawali in the present-day Ciamis Regency to, for example, Pakuan Pajajaran in the present-day Bogor Regency.

The existence of the Sundanese kingdom in West Java is proven among others by the Kebon Kopi plaque in Ciampela, Bogor. On the plaque is inscribed a statement in Old Malay that once there was a *Rakyan Juru Pangamat* who attempted to restore the power of the *haji* (Sundanese king) in the Saka year of 854 (Nastiti, 2012:248). The name of the Sundanese kingdom is also inscribed in the *Sang Hyang Tapak* plaque found around Pangcalikan and Bantarmuncang villages on the Cicatih river bank, Cibadak, Sukabumi Regency. Written in Old Javanese language and abugida alphabet, the plaque relates a narrative about a ruler of Sunda (*haji ri Sunda* or *parhajian Sunda*) named Maharaja Sri Jayabhupati Jayamanehen Wisnumurtti Samarawijaya Sakalabhuhana Mandales Waranindita Haro Gowardhana Wikramottungadewa (Nastiti, 2012:248). In addition to these plaques, there are also two old manuscripts, namely the *Sang Hyang Siksakanda Ng Karesian* and *Carita Parahyangan* manuscripts, in which the Sunda region is mentioned.

Three other manuscripts, *Pararaton*, *Kidung Sundayana*, and *Kidung Sunda*, also have references to the Sundanese kingdom (Nastiti, 2012:248). As further proofs of the existence of the Sundanese kingdom, a number of old manuscripts, for example *Amanat Galunggung*, *Kawih Paningkes*, *Jatiniskala*, *Ratu Pakuan*, *Sewaka Darma*, *Bujangga Manik*, and *Sri Ajnyana* left by the Sundanese kingdom elaborate on the philosophical concepts adopted in the Sundanese kingdom (Noorduyn & Teeuw, 2009). The Sundanese kingdom is also mentioned by Tomé Pires, a Portuguese explorer, who wrote about his expeditions in a famous book entitled *Suma Oriental* (Pires, 2015).

The center of the Sundanese kingdom underwent several shifts. From the above plaques and manuscripts, we can trace the shift from Galuh to Pakuan, Saunggalah, back to Pakuan again, then Kawali, and finally Pakuan (Nastiti, 2012:250).

RESEARCH METHOD

As a study in history, the research used a four-step historical method involving heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Kuntowijoyo, 2005:90 and Herlina 2011:15-16). Heuristics is a step in which data are sought and collected (Herlina, 2011: 15-17). The second step, criticism or verification, involves two types of criticism, namely internal and external criticism. Internal criticism is used to test the credibility of a source, while external criticism is a tool to test a source's authenticity based on its physical aspects (Herlina 2011:24-25 and Kuntowijoyo 2005: 100). The next step is interpretation, in which the data or sources are sequenced. In interpretation the data are elaborated and synthesized before conclusions can be drawn. The final step is historiography, which is the step where the results of a historical study is written. An important part of this final step is selecting, in which solid relevance and imagination are developed through a logically and chronologically narrative (Herlina, 2011: 55-60).

The study is based on Montesquieu's concept of separation of power, also known as the *Trias Politica*, according to which the power of a state is distributed among the Legislature, Executive, and Judiciary. The legislature is the law-making body, the executive is the law-implementing body, and the judiciary is the law-controlling body responsible for adjudicating the implementation of the law (Montesquieu, 2004).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Sundanese Kingdom in Kawali-Galuh

The Sundanese kingdom in Kawali-Galuh was the predecessor of the Pakuan Pajajaran kingdom, of which center resided in the Dayo area around the present Bogor City. Galuh Kingdom's administrative center was in the Karangmulyan site in the present-day Ciamis Regency. There is, though, another site in Ciamis Regency that used to be a part of the Galuh Kingdom. This site, Astana Gede, is located in Kawali Sub-district, Ciamis Regency.

Astana Gede had a significant importance in the history of the Sundanese kingdom. Both Kawali and Astana Gede sites used to be the center of the kingdom. This can be proven by a number of plaques found there. Only one king, Niskala Wastu Kencana, is mentioned to have reigned the kingdom.

The strongest evidence confirming that Astana Gede Kawali was the site of Niskala Wastu Kencana's kingdom is a plaque that firmly mentions the reign of a king named Wastu as follows.

*nihan tapa ka-
li nu siya mulia tapa bha-
gya parebu raja wa-
tu mangadeg di kuta kawa-
li nu mahayu na kadatuan
Surawisesa nu marigi sa-
kuliling dayeuh nu najur sagala
desa aya ma nu pandeuri pakena
gawe rahayu pakeun heubeul jaya
di na buana*

In the modern Indonesian rendition, the

above excerpt means approximately as follows.

This is a reminder Kawali; it is he who earns happiness through meditation; Prabu Raja Wastu, who reigns the city of Kawali, who adorns the Surawisesa palace, who fortifies the circumference of the entire capital with a defensive ditch, who brings prosperity to the entire region; may this ruler follow the path of righteousness so that he may rule long in this world (Lubis *et al.*, 2013: 238).

Historians believe that the name Prebu Raja Wastu mentioned in the plaque actually refers to Niskala Wastu Kencana, one of kings of the Sundanese kingdom in Galuh that is mentioned in *Carita Parahiyangan* (Lubis *et al.* 2013: 239; Lubis *et al.* 2003). Not all Galuh kings resided in Astana Gede Kawali. Only one king, Niskala Wastu Kencana, did. Most of the kings resided in Karang Kamulyan, another site in the present-day Ciamis Regency. The plaque thus proves that Astana Gede Kawali was, during Niskala Wastu Kencana's reign, the center of Galuh Kingdom.

Sundanese Kingdom Administration in Kawali-Galuh

The administration of Galuh was not different from that of any Sundanese kingdom in general. The administration was shared by three powers, *Prebu-Rama-Resi*. The three separate powers were the embodiment of the concept of *Tri Tangtu di Buana*. This division of power is interesting because it is similar to the triadic legislative-executive-judiciary system of modern states, which is known as the *Trias Politica*.

The old manuscript of *Sanghyang Siksakandang Ng Karesian* mentions as follows.

Ini ujar sang sadu basana mahayu drebyana. Ini tri-tangtu di bumi. Bayu kita pina/h/ ka prebu, sabda kita pina/h/ ka rama, h(e)dap kita pina/h/ka resi. Ya tri-tangtu di bumi, ya kangken pineguh ning

bwana ngara(n)na. Ini triwangsa di lamba, Wisnu kangken prabu, Brahma kangken rama, Isora kangken resi. Nya mana tritan (g)tu pineguh ning bwana, triwarga hurip ning jagat. Ya sinangguh tritan(g)tu di nu reya ngaranya (Danasasmita dkk,1987: 90)

Below is a modern rendition of the excerpt.

This is what the wise one says for his peace of mind. These are three things that shall prevail in this world. Our welfare is *rajaq*, our words are *rama*, our deeds are *resi*. These are the *tritangtu* of the world. It is these that strengthen the world, the *triwarga* that inspires all life in this world. Verily, it is *tritangtu*, which many people may call with different names (Danasasmita *et al.*, 1987:114-115)

A *prebu* was the primary legatee of administration, the embodiment of the executive or administrative function of a government. The *prebu* was none other than the King of Galuh, the royal power who abode in a palace at the center of the kingdom's capital as the center of administration. The second legatee of power was *Rama*. A *Rama* performed an advisory or legislative function, giving counsels and guidance. A *Rama* lived in a *Keramaan* or *Ke-bataraan* outside the kingdom's capital. The third legatee was the *Resi*. The *Resi* functioned as a judicial body or a court. Like a *Rama*, a *Resi* lived outside the capital in a place called *Karesian*. (Lubis *et al.*, 2013: 207). The three powers were the bodies that made up the *Tri Tangtu di Buana* administrative triangle of Galuh kingdom.

It is believed that during the period when Karangmulyan served as the center of government where the *Prebu* sat on his throne, the *Keramaan* was located in Galunggung and the *Karesian* in Denuh, Ciamis. Before it became Wastu Kencana's palace, Astana Gede had probably served as a *Kabuyutan* or *Balay Pamujan*, a shrine or place of worship (Kartakusuma, 2015). It is also believed that when Astana Gede Kawali became

Wastu Kencana's center of administration, the *Rama* remained in Galunggung, and the *Resi* in Denuh (Lubis *et al.*, 2013:207). Thus, the *Prebu* in Karangmulyan and Astanagede, the *Resi* in Denuh, and the *Rama* in Galunggung formed the *Tri Tangtu di Buanatriangle* of Galuh kingdom.

Kawali-Galuh Kingdom Bureaucracy

Not much is known about bureaucracy in Kawali-Galuh Kingdom. Generally, in a Sundanese kingdom, like in many other kingdoms, the king is the holder of the primary power. The king was the highest power in a kingdom. As already mentioned, according to the *Tri Tangtu di Buana* concept of Sundanese kingdom administration, the king was called the *Prabu*. He sat on a throne in a palace that served both as a presidential palace and center of administration.

In addition to the king, there was also usually a Royal Prince. A prince is a young man who were educated and prepared to succeed the power when the king in power passed away or resigned. In the Sundanese kingdom tradition, a prince should not always be a son of the reigning king. A son of a vassal king could also become a prince (Nastiti in *Indonesia dalam Arus SejarahII*, 2012: 254).

In his *Suma Oriental*, ToméPires mentions that the Sundanese kingdom was reigned by a King who ruled over the big city of Dayo, and port cities of Banten, Pontang, Cigede, Tangerang, and Sunda Kelapa. Cimanuk River was the border between the Sundanese and Javanese kingdoms. (Pires, 2015:232). In addition, Pires also mentions that the Sundanese king and the kingdom's officials were all Pagans. The king's son was to automatically succeed his father. In the absence of a legitimate heir, the kingdom was to run an election to vote the successor of the royal throne (Pires, 2015:233).

In running the administrative affairs, the king was assisted by people who were assigned to the following three positions. The first position was *Mangkubu-*

rior Minister of Home Affairs. Having his office in the kingdom's capital or center of administration, a *Mangkubumi* was the kingdom's treasurer. He also dealt directly with agrarian affairs. The second position was *Tumenggung Adipati*. A different region had its own *Tumenggung Adipati*. The third was called *Syahbandar*. A *syahbandar* was in charge of a port (Nastiti in *Indonesia dalam Arus Sejarah II*, 2012: 254).

A *Mangkubumi* was assisted by a number of *Nu Nanggana*. A *Nu Nanggana* was assisted by several officials called *Mantris*. A *Mantri* was also assisted by a number of *Wados*. It was *Wados* who directly dealt with people's matters. This organization is confirmed in *Siksananda Ng Karesian*, in which the following is written.

Nihan sinangguh dasa prebakti ngaranya. Anak bakti di bapa, ewe bakti di laki, hulun bakti di pacandaan, siswa bakti di guru, wang tani bakti di wado, wado bakti di mantra, mantra bakti di nu nangganan, nu nangganan bakti di mangkubumi, mangkubumi bakti di ratu, ratu bakti di dewata, dewata bakti di hyang. Ya ta sinangguh dasa prebakti ngara(n)na (Danasasmita et al., 1987: 74)

The modern rendition goes approximately as follows.

This is what is called *dasa prebakti*. Children obey fathers, wives their husbands, serfs obey masters, students obey teachers, farmers obey *wados*, *wados* obey *mantris*, *mantris* obey *nu nanggana*, *nu nanggana* obey the *mangkubumi*, the *mangkubumi* obeys the king, the king obeys the deities, the deities obey the Lord. Yes, this is what is called *dasa prebakti*. (Danasasmita, 1987: 96).

Furthermore, *Sanghyang Siksananda Ng Karesian* also mentions.

Ini na pamanggihkeuneun dina sakala, tangtu batara di bwana pakeun pageuh jadi manic sakurungan, pakeuneun teja sabumi. Hulun bakti di tohaan, ewe bakti di laki, anak bakti di bapa, siswa bakti di guru, mantra bakti di mangkubumi, mangkubumi

bakti ka ratu, ratu bakti di dewata.
(Danasasmita, 1987: 86)

Which translates approximately as follows.

This is what one is to find in the king's words of command: the Bhatara's law that should be observed by all in this world so it becomes a "diamond in a cage" that enlightens the world. Children obey fathers, wives their husbands, serfs obey masters, students obey teachers, farmers obey *wados*, *wados* obey *mantris*, *mantris* obey *nu nanggana*, *nu nanggana* obey the *mangkubumi*, the *mangkubumi* obeys the king, the king obeys the deities (Danasasmita, 1987: 110).

In running the administration at the regional level, the *Prebu* or king was assisted by vassal kings called *Tumenggung Adipati*. In carrying out their daily duties, vassal kings acted like kings of independent kingdoms while still recognizing the central king as their principal master. Ports were administered by *Syahbandars* who represented the king in matters related to trading at ports (Nastiti in *Indonesia dalam Arus Sejarah II*, 2012: 254).

There were also officials who were responsible for collecting taxes. The names of their positions depended on the types of taxes they collected. The *Sanghyang Siksananda Ng Karesian* referred to these tax officials as *pangurang*, *dasa*, *calagara*, *upeti panggeres reuma* (Danasasmita et al., 1987: 78).

Though generally called *Pangurang*, a tax collector was called by the type of tax collected. For example, *Dasa* was a tax on individual labor. *Calagara* was tax for collective labor. *Kapas Timbang*, or tribute, was a tax that consisted of 10 loads of cotton that had to be given to the local or central ruler. In addition, *Pare Dongdang* or *Panggeres Reuma* was a tax that consisted of the remaining crops that had to be given to the local/central ruler. There was also *Beya*, a kind of retribution collected by an officer at in a port, river estuary, or other crossing points. A collector of such a

tax was called a *Beya* (Nastiti in *Indonesia dalam Arus Sejarah II*, 2012: 255).

CONCLUSION

As a traditional kingdom that dated back from the 8th to the 14th century, the Sundanese kingdom had a complex bureaucratic structure. In the Sundanese kingdom, power was separated into three entities, a similar division found in the *Trias Politica* that modern states adopt. According to the *Tri Tangtu di Buana*, the Sundanese kingdom's triadic system of power, power was shared among three entities called *Prebu-Rama-Resi*. This division is similar to that of the *Trias Politica*, according to which power is divided into legislative, executive, and judicial powers. *Prebu*, *Rama*, and *Resi* ran the executive, legislative, and judicial functions.

A similar system was also adopted during the period when the Sundanese kingdom was centered in Galuh and Kawali. When the administration of the kingdom was centered in Galuh, the executive function was carried out by the *Prebu*, who resided in a palace in Kawali. At that time, *Rama*, who held the legislative function, was stationed in Galunggung. *Resi*, in whose hand the judicial power rested, lived in Denuh. The same system was also used when Astana Gede Kawali became the center of the kingdom during Wastu Kencana's reign. It is believed, though, that in this period, *Rama* and *Resi* remained in Galunggung and Denuh respectively. The Sundanese kingdom was a traditional kingdom. Interestingly, however, its administrative and bureaucratic system resembled that of a modern state.

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