

Ilir and Uluan: Polarization and Hierarchy of Socio-Political Leadership of Malay-Java in Palembang Sultanate in the 19th Century

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Abstract- The social stratification of society in Palembang appeared since the existence of Palembang Sultanate. Beside the native people in the 19th century, the population of Palembang consists of various ethnicities which have special existence of settlement, namely China, Arab, and the ethnic of Java-Malay Palembang but in this research, the discussion of social stratification focuses on the Java-Malay ethnic who are in the downstream and upstream area of Palembang as well as its role in each area of society. The historical method was used in this research and discourse analysis of data. The historical method has some stage, namely heuristic, critic, analysis, and historiography. The results of this research showed that the Palembang society especially in the downstream area, they are the Java-Malay ethnic, they have social stratification, and they have various noble rang or peerage in society which decide each area (Goo-gook). The peerage will lead or decide the future mate and the marriage relationship between the Java Malay ethnic in the downstream area and those who are in upstream are of Palembang.

Keywords--- *Social stratification, Society of Palembang, Palembang Sultanate, Java-Malay ethnic, Living Quran*

I. INTRODUCTION

Social stratification of a society if it is viewed historically, it began to exist since humans know that life together in a community organization. The more advanced technological developments of a society, the more complex the social layers in society. This is caused by the increase complexity in society or in other word, the more complexity the society is, the more the difference of position and role in society. Social stratification is formed as long as in society groups, they have a desire to appreciate difference and tolerance, and each community group has something to appreciate. This award can be measured from power, wealth, honor, science or piety. Palembang City is divided into two parts namely the ulu (Area Seberang Ulu or upstream area) and the ilir (Kawasan Ilir Ilir or downstream area) separated by the river Musi. According to Sevenhoven Musi River which divides the city into the lifeblood of the people of Palembang [1].

The area of Uluan Sumatera Selatan is very simple. Its social stratification consists only the traditional ruling class

and the common people (*mata-gawe*). This group is determined by the Sultan and can be likened to the Javanese elite groups. The leader election of this uluan area is still based on social status and his charismatic. The clan system which existed in this group of course cannot be separated from the influence of Palembang Sultanate.

Ilir or downstream area was the center of the Sultanate, it is natural that Palembang has more unique social stratification than the uluan area of South Sumatra. In Palembang, the population can be divided into two major groups, where each group has its own parts. The social class consists of the nobility group and the ordinary people. The nobility means the group of kingship and the nobility or elite group. The position of nobility group happens because of the birth or permission of the king generation [2]. In addition, besides those two groups, the Ulama or ustadz have their own place and do not belong to the groups above because they can be chosen from all groups in population and they are determined by the Sultan so that it should be considered as a royal employee.

After the collapse of the Sultanate of Palembang, this social stratification still remain in the life of the people in Palembang. In the Dutch East Indies period, its existence in the community were managed in such a way as to achieve Dutch objectives in accordance with Dutch colonial policy. It also still appeared in the period of Indonesian independence revolution, even coloring the life of Palembang society until now. This can be seen by the existence of Palembang people who wear special symbols and honorary noble titles which are appropriate to their class and there is still a group of Palembang people live in a certain location which only consists of one group only, for example Kemas group, Group of Raden and so on. Their function and role began to grow in accordance with the progress of the time caused by the progress of Palembang education and the acculturation of foreign cultures and the assimilation of inter-ethnic marriages and between layers in society.

II. METHOD

The History method (historical method) was used by researcher here in this research. According to Gottschalk say what is meant by the method of history is the process of critically testing and analyzing tapes and relics of the past [3]. Historical method in the general sense is an investigation or a problem by applying the way of solving it from historical perspective [4].

According to Garraghan in Abdurahman the method of history is defined as a set of systematic principles and rules intended to assist in the collection of historical sources, judging critically, and presenting a synthetic (generally written form) result. Meanwhile, according to Marzuki, Historical Method is a process to test determine the existence of opinions about the events. And the historical method also does not ignore the theory, even historical theories must be studied, as well as the historical methodology which also contains theories and approaches to bridge the methods of historical research [5]. The method used in historical research using qualitative research methods. According to Kartodirjo (1982), qualitative research methods often apply to the cultural sciences (*Geisteswissenschaften*) which includes humanities, history, and social sciences that aim to discover unique or individual (*ideographic*) phenomena rather than seeking general laws (*nomothetic*) as in the natural sciences (*Naturwissenschaften*). While the concept the authors use in this study is descriptive. According to Suryabrata (2003), the concept of descriptive research purposes is to make systematic, factual, and accurate about the facts and characteristics of a particular population or region [6].

Historical research steps are heuristics (data collection), source criticism, interpretation (*data analysis*), and historiography (historical writing). First, Heuristic. According to Renier, heuristics are techniques or ways of finding sources that can be obtained through literature studies, direct observation of the field (if possible) through interviews for contemporary history [7]. Second, the criticism source, according to Gottschalk based on the reading list and where the source is located, visiting library is a must. In addition to book search also the observations and interviews are conducted. According to Sjamsuddin criticism source is generally made against the first sources. This critique involves verifying the source of the truth or accuracy of the source. Third, Interpretation, (data analysis). The term of interpretation according to Kartodirjo (1992), the researcher engages in interpretation or interpretation of historical facts, which consists of (1) psychology, (2) social relations and (3) things. Fourth, historiography (historical writing) [8]. According to Gottschalk historiography is an imaginative reconstruction of the past based on data obtained by through processing this last stage, the authors try to present the results of research in the form of history as a story and it is accountability with the data obtained.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. *The Traditional Local Leadership of Palembang Sultanate*

Leadership is the way of leading. Whereas the local referred to place or space on a limited geographical area [9]. So, what is meant by the local leadership in Palembang is the way of leading in the area of Palembang Sultanate which covers the area of South Sumatera Province now.

In Palembang, traditional leadership is practiced based on trust and obedience that is willing to the hereditary leader [10]. The problem of leadership in traditional societies seems to be more problematic than leadership in modern society. In this traditional society leadership is rooted in a social structure based on wealth, status or birth [11]. In this case the formal leadership of the king, nobility and aristocracy in general, usually called the ruling class (political elite). The "elite" was used in the 17th century to refer to Merchandise that had special virtues, and that was then used to refer to high social groups, such as upper nobility [12]. Whereas the political elite according to Laswel encompasses all power holders in a polity building (*body polity*) of power holders including leadership and social formation from which leaders are typically produced and who accept responsibility in a particular pride.

Kartodirjo said that the scope of the political elite encompasses all members of government and high administrations, military leaders and in some respects family-exit of an influential aristocracy or royal court. In other words, this elite includes social formation. This elite holds government, administration and leads the war. Normally this class includes local rulers, bureaucracy, army, income and religious affairs.

The life of the aristocracy is separated from the people because it is not only because of differences in political position but also the differences in wealth and social status. This distinction is regarded as something that must be applicable and should not be denied because this distinction in traditional society is justified as an arrangement that God has desired. So it can be said that power is still based on diffuse status, its administrative function has not been separated from economic and political function.

The position of the ruler here cannot be separated from the authority possessed by the ruler. The position of the ruler is not based on one or two criteria but depends on the authority possessed by the ruler. As with power, authority can also be found everywhere, though it is not always the authority of power to be in one hand. The authority here means a right that belongs to a person or group of persons. A person who has authority to act as a leader or person who leads many people [13]. In this case in South Sumatra Palembang apply charismatic authority since the Sultanate of Palembang.

B. *The Social Stratification of Palembang Society in Sultanate Period*

The Palembang society during the period of Sultanate of Palembang divided into two big groups namely the nobility group and the common people. The nobility is the King generation or the nobility group. This position was earned

upon birth and earned an honorary noble title. This title was set by Sultan Abdurrahman according to the degree of mother who gave birth. This class consists of Prince, Raden and Masagus. Prince means a person who gave rule, given to someone who had a position. When a prince was married to the princess of the Prince, his son was given the honorary noble title "Raden" which means high (noble) or elected and if it were a woman, then she was given the honorary noble title "Raden Ayu" which means beautiful, elected and great. Masagus is given to a son who were born from a Raden or Prince's marriage to a woman who was from common people. Masagus means having a lot of money. From this marriage the woman is given the honorary noble title "Masayu" which means the beautiful and valuable [14].

The second group consists of "Kiai Mas", Kiai Mas Agus and the commoners. The term of Kiai is used by a man, while a woman in this group uses the term "Nyai". These terms were originally brought from Demak and the Sultanate who was made the title. Some honorary titles used by the people in Palembang society were Raden, Raden Ayu, Masagus, Masayu, Kemas, Nyimas, Kiagus and Nyayu which set by Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin Jayo Wikramo according to father's lineage (patrilineality). Since the existence of the provision of the use of such was in accordance with the title used by his father.

The use of this title was also set by Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin Jayo Wikramo according to the father lineage (patrilineality). This provision is not contrary to Islamic law because when it is viewed from the Hadith of Prophet Muhammad SAW who talked about the son of Fatimah, it is always written Fatimah Binti Muhammad. It means that a child has right to use the name of his Father. In addition, the customs of Palembang regulate the position of men which above the position of women. It can be seen in the marriage custom in Palembang which determine that men who provide the whole finance even if it is held by women. The honorary nobles/ titles are:

Men; a. Raden b. Masagus c. Kemas d. Kiagus

Women: a. Raden Ayu b. Masayu c. Nyimas d. Nyayu

The people who considered as commoners are divided into four groups, namely *miji*, *the senau*, *gadaian* and *hamba sahaya* (the slave). *Miji* people are under the care of one of the royal servants or nobles. These people have right to move from a master to another, from a noble to another, from a noble to a noble or vice versa. These people have an obligation to fulfill their master's wishes or what their master wants. Most people in this group are craftsmen, artisans and experts who are experts in various fields of art. To do their obligations, these people have a number of *alingan*. The *alingan* help him in doing their work which given by his master. The *alingan* means family, but the member of *alingan* is not only from their own famil but it can also from non-family because these people are the one who defend their rights and give them help if they need them.

Alingan were mobilized during war or expert (including craftsmen) in peace time. The *alingan* were

sheltered and protected by the group of experts and group of nobles. Their obligations to their guardians are to produce commodities in accordance with their skills and ability to obtain income with their guardians. *Miji* and *Ray* have the right to move to other protectors who guarantee their lives [15]. The position of *senans* are in the lower class if it is compared with *miji* people. This group should not be employed by anyone but by the king. The obligation that they have to do is doing easy work. In addition, they made paddle and repaired the king's boats or repaired their houses. Neither the *miji* people nor the *Senans* were free from obligation to pay taxes. The other group of commoners were pawn *gadaian* people and slave-servants. The *gadaian* people had obligation to work for those who lend them money during the time of their own fathers' debts which unpaid. While a slave had obligation to work for a person who had owned him for a certain period of time before his master is released [16].

According Hanafiah, Among their protectors, *alingan*, *miji*, professions, professions, production and their place, they are all as chain system which called *guguk*. *Guguk* usually have professions and specialized production products such as iron, copper, wicker work and etc. The characteristics of its production does not specifically meet its own needs but fulfills the needs of the Sultanate. The area where this group exist usually referred to skill or result of production, for example (1) *Pelampitan* which is the area of craftsman (*lampit* craftsmen), (2) *Sayangan* was the bronze area, (3) Brass is area of brass expert, (4) *Palengan* was the area of oil experts, and (4) *Kepandean* belong to the iron expert (Hanafiah, 1989: 83). The slaves are the poorest. Their function is as commodity. Slave was a servant or merely slave but this cannot be happened to a person to be a slave merely because of the involuntary debt or unpaid debt [15].

In addition, besides the groups above, scholars/ *ustadz/ulama* have their own place and are not included in any of the population. They were determined by the king and therefore regarded as a government staff (Sevenhoven, 2015: 28). This is possible because the system of the sultanate are regulated and governed by Islamic law and the application of custom law is based on the law of *syara* '. In the environment of Sultanate's palace, the position of the *ulama/ustadz* is much honored and they play important role as Sultan's adviser [17].

Besides the native people in Palembang, there are also foreigners. They are Chinese, Arabic, Indian and others. These people get the same treatment as other people. Among them are those who marry Palembang women and become *alingan* of *miji*. Some Chinese who were Muslim were sometimes they were given honorary noble title. Tin mining administrators are mostly religious people. They get a *dungeon* title. The Arabs also received the Prince of glory such as Prince Umar.

C. *Goo-Gook as a symbol between groups in the community of Palembang*

The Palembang community also has the tendency to live together with their close family. This family group is created by *Goo-gook*. The *goo-gook* begins with the *bako*, which is a

reference to a person especially a man who decreases the tribe or race. This bako then created clumps which then called as goo-look. Goo-look in Palembang included *goo-look Depaten, Purban, Kedipan, Pemulo, Moral Demang, Masigit, Kyai Syekh Azhari, Rank Wiro Sentik, Demang Darpo Terayo, Kyai Pedatukan, Kyai Merogan, Prince Perdano Menteri, Pangeran Mangku and Prince Pabil* (Personal Profile of Almarhum RM Husein, 1992).

In a goo-look, it is usually inhabited by certain layers, for example goo-look of Demang Darpo Terayo which consists of *Kemas* group only. In their life, they just associate with people in their own goo-look only or associate with certain goo-looks. This makes their association very limited and it can be said that they are like frogs in the shell, they only know their own life around them. In marriage, they only got their couple in their own goo-look too [Interview Abdulrahman, May 5, 2017].

The dedication in a goo-look is very powerful. The relationship between the family and the other families in goo-look is very familiar. Instead their attitude toward the person who does not belong to their group because he or she does not have an honorary noble title [18].

Their behavior or attitude is caused by the *bako* of them were the noble group or royal or king's generation of the Sultanate of Palembang. It indicates that the position of goo-look is high during the Sultanate period. This position remains to be maintained despite the sultanate Palembang has collapse. It is called "Past Power Syndrome" i.e. the attitude of wanting to be powerful despite not having power anymore. They want to remain highly regarded despite the fact that the situation has changed (Interview Abdul Rahman, May 5, 2017). In addition, beside *goo-look* is a family group, there are also goo-look which is a social economic institution. Goo-look here is form of feudal bond or customary bond, as an organized economic organization consisting of power and obedience links arising from the powers of kings and nobles and leaders who belong to the kings and nobles neighborhood [19]. The feudal bond in the goo-look is horizontally a feudal obedience bearing brotherhood. These goo-looks have sectoral areas guided by a *priyayi* (nobility group) or a *mantri*. In such goo-look, it consists of *miji* and their *alingan* which have production based on the working relationship, not by contract or wage/ salary. The characteristics of its production does not specifically meet its own needs but also meets the needs of the Sultanate. Areas where these goo-looks lived called as skills or results of their production, for example *Pelampitan* is an area of craftsman, *sayangan* was the area of copper, *brass* is an area of the expert of brass, *Pelengan* is an oil-producing area, and *kepandean* is area of iron expert.

Unlike the goo-look which was a family group that remained in the colonial period even during the independence period, the goo-look which was a social economic institution was abolished. Goo-looks were broken down and replaced with other socio-economic institutions. In accordance with the needs of the colonial government then formed a *Wijik* or village guided by a village leader. The society which was

collective society which was in groups or originally given numbers now commonly referred to Kelurahan [15]. The existence of these titles and the goo-look's life persisted until the period of independence, although they still remain now but unlike the previous period.

D. The influence of social stratification on the social interaction of Ilir and Uluan people of Palembang

Categorizing the Palembang community based the social stratification influence their behavioral patterns. The nobility group tends to have behavioral patterns like the Javanese, while the commoners are more likely to have behavior like the Malays. This is influenced by the scope of their association. The scope of the nobility group was in the aristocrats group only, as we know that the origin of them was the Javanese. The Javanese tradition of course applied in their life and continues on their generation. It causes their behavioral patterns was same with the Javanese. On the other hand, the people who associated with the Malays who did trading in Palembang then their behavior patterns were like the Malays.

According Hanafiah, each outside marriages of the palace with a woman who were from palace were given the right to their children to hold the honorary noble title from their mother's lineage (matrilineal). When the mother or the wife was "*Raden Ayu*" and she got married to non-noble/non-royal men, her son could be given a *Raden* title to boy or "*Raden Ayu*" to girl. With this marriage institution the Malay-line has become the Malay-Javanese noble. This social stratification only applied in the capital city of Palembang. While outside the capital did not know such layer in their society, the area of this society was still very simple and consisted of the ruling class and ordinary people. The rulers were the tribal leaders. During the Palembang's sultanate, the head of the tribe was appointed by Sultan as the ruler with noble title "*Prince or pangeran*". In addition, there were also some noble people given the Dusun or Marga/clan then became the leader in the Dusun or the Marga [15]. These leaders can be likened to the elite in Java. The leader is also the representative of the Sultan in the area of uluan. The ordinary people or commoners were the subjects who must obey and have the obligation the leaders [9].

Among the residents of Palembang with the native people of the uluan area was prohibited the Sultan to marry. This right was determined by Sultan in the Limbangan Charter addressed to the Prince of the Coast Guard and the head of Dipati in 1964. In its principal there was a ban on the Dusun population who prohibited to marry the Palembang people. This provision was made on the basis to protect the inland people from outside people because of its strong economic capital and the other protecting the monopoly of the land by king [20].

The use of the title or noble which determined since the period of sultanate of Palembang continued in the period of the Dutch East Indies. The difference lies in the role of the title. In the period of the Sultanate of Palembang, the people wearing the title were the people who belonged to the upper classes or the ilir (Malay-Javanese) communities. While in the Dutch East Indies society was good because of the ordinary people/

commoners or the group which was determined by the Dutch.

The use of the noble title which set according to this father's lineage leads to the tendency of Palembang women to marry Palembang men only, especially those who had noble titles. For Palembang people, getting a man who had a noble title was a pride. In addition, because of this provision, the Palembang women cannot maintain the noble title to her son so that the only one of the ways to keep the title was to get married with a man with a noble title. On the contrary, when the woman was married to a common man, the noble title was worthless.

Relevant with the above explanation, the regulations which set at the period of the Sultanate stated that it was forbidden for the Palembang (Malay-Javanese) living in ilir areas got married to Uluan areas and continued despite the Palembang sultanate had collapsed. The people of Palembang still appreciated this ban as a matter of adherence. "If there were still Palembang people get marry with the uluan people, they just look at one eye in society, not infrequently the person is ostracized. In everyday social intercourse, the marriage with the person from the uluan was always in doubt, it stated in the pantun intercourse as follow: "Kapal api masuk Palembang, Banyu tenang, Jadi gelombang, ai mak mano hati dak bimbang-Gadis ulu Bujang Palembang". ("The fire ships entered Palembang, Banyu was calm, So the waves, ai mak mano heart do not hesitate - girl of ulu Bujang Palembang") In addition there were also people of Palembang who were very fanatical with the noble he wore. He did not want his name to be called without his title. Someone even returned an invitation given to him if it were not listed as a supposed title. For example, it should be written on the invitation of the "Kemas Dungik" but only written there as Dungik, then the invitation would be returned to the person who invited (Personal Notes of the late R.M. Husein, 1992) However, this social stratification faded along with the advancement of education in the Palembang Society. Opening the opportunity to get education exploited by the people of Palembang. Many of them are successful and get jobs and positions in government.

In addition, many farmers' children from the uluan area occupied the position of the government. With the education touches all layers in society, the social stratification in society which was based on birth and title or nobles fades and is replaced by social stratification which based on the level of education. Similarly, in the Palembang community, the existing of social stratification is fading now. The people of Palembang today, they tend to appreciate a person more with his education than the noble titles he has. This award will be even higher if the person has a certain position in government agencies.

IV. CONCLUSION

The existence of social stratification in Palembang community, especially the Malay-Javanese tribe influenced the existing of leadership pattern in South Sumatra area since the period of Palembang Sultanate. At the period of the Palembang Sultanate, Palembang was divided into two major groups of the nobility which consists of Prince, Radon, and Masagus. While another group consists of *Kemas*, *Kiagus* and

commoners who are miji, senan people, gadai people or slaves. Outside these two mayor groups, there is a group of scholars/ *ulama/ ustadz* who got their own place. This social layer in society colored the life of the people in Palembang with the use of their honorary noble/ title according to the Goo-gook area. Whereas in the interaction relationships in social stratification has influence between the iliran (downstream area) community with the uluan (upstream area) in terms of finding a mate or spouse. However, it did not happen so long because the social stratification of Palembang society faded along with the progress of education in the community of Palembang itself.

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