

KEY

A	BANTEN	1	Serang
B	BATAVIA	2	Batavia
C	PRIANGAN	3	Bandung
D	CIREBON	4	Cirebon
E	PASISIR	5	Demak
F	KEJAWÈN	6	Yogyakarta
G	MADURA	7	Surakarta
H	UJUNG TIMUR	8	Malang
		9	Surabaya
		10	Bondowoso
		11	Sumenep

NOTES ON JAVA'S REGENT FAMILIES*

Part I**

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The Dutch in Java always tried to exercise their control "through the native chiefs." The merchant adventurers of the VOC (Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie, United East India Company, 1602-1799) found manipulation of local political interests to be both cheap and reasonably effective in providing them with the produce and power they sought; in any case, they had no alternative. As the Company became more involved in Javanese affairs, it consolidated its relationship with local native authorities, whom it termed "Regents," simplifying the disparate hierarchies of court officials and local chiefs into a somewhat more orderly network of loosely-controlled headmen and agents.¹

Subsequent administrations and colonial theorists made a virtue of necessity, elevating the Company's pragmatic accommodations into a colonial philosophy, and finding new political benefits in old institutions. This use of existing elites and structures was most obvious in the four indirectly ruled Principalities (Vorstenlanden) of Central Java, but it was also characteristic of the "government lands." Here, too, Batavia tended to recruit its native officials from the established *priyayi* (aristocratic, administrative) class, so that traditional *priyayi* authority would serve Dutch interests.

* This essay is based on material collected during dissertation research in the Netherlands and Java during 1969 and 1970. I would like to express my appreciation of the help given me by the heads and staff of the archives of the former Ministerie van Koloniën and the Algemeen Rijksarchief, both in The Hague; the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden; the Tropen Instituut, Amsterdam; and the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, Museum Pusat and Departemen Dalam Negeri, all of Jakarta. Many individuals in Java also earned my sincere gratitude by their willingness to share their family history with me. I have not done justice to their kindness, as each family and each region really requires a full study of its own, but I hope these notes may help stimulate such studies. I am also grateful to Ben Anderson for his careful reading of an earlier draft of this article. None of the above, of course, bear any responsibility for the following pages.

** This is the first part of a two-part article. The second part with an index of names will appear in the April 1974 issue.

1. For useful summaries, see B. J. O. Schrieke, "The Native Rulers" in his Indonesian Sociological Studies (The Hague: van Hoeve, 1955), pp. 169-221; Leslie H. Palmier, "The Javanese Nobility under the Dutch," Comparative Studies in Society and History, II, No. 2 (January 1960), pp. 197-227.

There were two separate civil services in these directly ruled areas of Java, with the Dutch BB (Binnenlands Bestuur, Interior Administration) supervising the native Pangrèh Praja ("Rulers of the Realm"). Both corps had a central axis of officials with generalized powers and wide responsibilities, each governing his own territorial unit and overseeing the administration of smaller component areas. Three European Governors (after 1926) were at the apex of the regional civil services; below them were about twenty Residents and seventy Assistant Residents (also Dutch). The native hierarchy comprised seventy-odd Regents (Bupati), in charge of Regencies or Kabupatèn, about four hundred Wedana or District Chiefs and some twelve hundred Assistant Wedana (later Camat) governing Sub-Districts.² These Assistant Wedana were the lowest Pangrèh Praja officials with territorial responsibility. Below them were the villagers under their own, non-professional administrations. Besides this axis of officials there were also members of the BB and Pangrèh Praja with more limited functions. The European Controleur was, in theory, merely the "eyes and ears" of the senior BB, although in practice he often assumed wider powers and worked closely with the Wedana, while certain Pangrèh Praja men either served as clerks or subordinate Mantri (minor functionaries) before becoming Assistant Wedana or spent some time in such specialized jobs as those of Sub-Collector (tax official), Djaksa (Prosecutor) or official attached to police units.

Of all these positions it was that of Regent which had the closest connection with traditional forms and styles of administration. The Regencies were usually based on political entities which had long histories either as units within a larger state or, more typically, as semi-autonomous regions with their own particular identity. The Bupati themselves were regarded as the direct heirs to the chiefs and vassal rulers of pre-colonial days, and the Netherlands Parliament gave legal form to this belief by ensuring, under the 1854 constitution, the hereditary appointment of Regents providing certain minimal standards were met. No other officials had such rights. It was typical of Dutch conceptions of the Bupati's role that they were not made subordinate to the Assistant Resident, but were expected to function as his trusted advisers in a kind of fraternal relationship. Accordingly, despite the usual physical coincidence of the Assistant Resident's Division (Afdeeling) and the Regent's Kabupatèn, there was no sharp delimitation of powers and responsibilities. Both officials were charged with maintaining general security and welfare in the same area, although there were differences in emphasis and some separation of specific duties. Hence, although in practice the Assistant Residents often ordered the Regents around, the Bupati were, strictly speaking, subordinate only to the Residents.

Because of the hereditary principle and the peculiar status accorded the Bupati during the colonial period there was a strong tendency for the Regents to form a special, aristocratic class which became the major embodiment of traditional elite culture and the chief focus for rural popular political sentiments. Although there was some mobility into the Regent group, it remained on the whole exclusive, marrying within its own circle and extremely conscious of its elevated

2. This description reflects the general situation in the late nineteen-twenties; for an account of Pangrèh Praja development see Heather Sutherland, "Pangrèh Pradja. Java's Indigenous Administrative Corps and its Role in the Last Decades of Dutch Colonial Rule" (Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1973).

status. Given colonial preferences for the upper classes and for officials of proven loyalty, it is not surprising that Regent families enjoyed both the established perquisites of high office, and also relatively easy access to the benefits of Dutch rule, especially Western education. One result of this was that a rather high proportion of independent Indonesia's professional and administrative elite was drawn from the Bupati's extended families, despite the fact that they had been a prime target for nationalist opposition.

The Regents are an especially interesting group in Javanese history: they were closely identified with indigenous political traditions and early states, yet they were also intensely affected by European interference. Since shifts in local society, changing political attitudes and colonial policies were all reflected in fluctuations in the Bupati's administrative involvement and social standing, greater knowledge of the fortunes of this group would add to our understanding of colonial Java's internal dynamics. Since the Regents' primary function was to link regions and centers in Java, developments in Bupati status cannot be discussed simply from the capitals' perspective, but must take local attitudes and sources into account.

This essay is a very tentative description of some of Java's main Regent families. It is written in the hope that those with greater knowledge will be moved to correct the mistakes of fact, interpretation and emphasis which are undoubtedly present. It is obviously presumptuous for an outsider, lacking intimate knowledge of and sensitivity to family detail, to begin to write the internal history of Java's Regent class. My own awareness of this fact is all the more acute because of my indebtedness to those in Java who were willing to spend hours showing me their genealogies and answering questions about their grandfathers. This essay does not do justice to their generosity, but if it encourages them to write their own, more complete accounts, I will be content.

Since indigenous society, levels of political development and the impact of colonial rule differed so widely throughout Java, this paper takes as its framework eight regions: Banten, Cirebon, Priangan, the Batavia area, Pasisir (the north coast), Ujung Timur (the extreme east), Kejawèn (the outer areas of the old kingdom of Mataram) and Madura.³ The Principalities of Surakarta, Jogjakarta, Mangkunegaran and Pakualaman are not included, as they developed along their own separate path within both independent Mataram and the colonial state. These eight areas had a reasonable degree of internal cultural homogeneity, although each comprised many separate regions, and they also had a history of mutual interaction. Any really detailed account of priyayi history would have to focus closely on one of these areas or its parts. All that is intended here is a general description of dominant families, indicating the differences between regions, and focusing upon the colonial period.

Regents, by definition, were involved in relationships to both higher and lower levels in the socio-political hierarchy: up to the superior power in the center and down to the people in the Regency. They were also linked by a network of ties to people of more or less equivalent status, and their overall position was determined by the

3. See map. The regions Kejawèn and Madura will be the subject of Part II of this article.

ways in which these complex relationships balanced themselves out and adjusted to circumstances. The connection between Regent and center was particularly important, since the fluctuations in their relative strength determined where the initiative lay, how far a subordinate chief could assert his independence and to what extent the center could actually rule its territories. In the last analysis this relationship was inseparable from the ties linking Bupati to other groups in the society, but it is useful to isolate it analytically since not only is it the most accessible for research (to attempt a valid analysis of the historical links between Regents and people one would need a group of micro-historians working on limited areas), but, more importantly, it was the ultimate expression of accumulating shifts in power and status on both regional and central levels.

Several broad categories of Regents can be distinguished according to their relationships with their respective centers; such categories would range from utterly subservient petty chiefs and officials to virtually independent local rulers. The position of an individual, a family or a given region's chiefs was not constant: circumstances changed, political situations were fluid, kingdoms and families rose and fell. Nevertheless to some extent a pattern does emerge. Some Regencies tended to have strong chiefs, others to have weak ones. The major factors encouraging this limited trend were the basic geo-political realities and the custom of hereditary allocation of office. Certain places, because of their geography, were wealthy and powerful or remote and inaccessible, and so were treated with respect or left alone. Or it may have been strategically essential for the center to dominate particular areas, while others were always peripheral, tactically irrelevant or economically worthless. Some areas, too, were noted for the military prowess of their inhabitants, and so were treated carefully. And if a family had been in power for a long time, its popularity reinforced by the traditions and respect which had grown up around it, and its position strengthened by marriage and friendship with other aristocratic families, it was often left in office simply because it would be too risky to remove it.

Most Regents established their original hold on a Kabupatèn in one of the following ways. They could have been outsiders sent in by the center to take over the administration of an area which had recently been conquered or newly opened up, or to replace a Regent who had just been dismissed, transferred or had died leaving no acceptable heir. They might have been locals, already so strongly entrenched in an area that the center, when it established control, was forced to accept their status. Again they might be from an existing family of sub-Regent position which reached Bupati level either by having its own area raised to become a Regency or by replacing a Regent family which was out of favor. A man might also collect some followers, clear some land and found his own settlement which eventually would become a Kabupatèn. Finally, there were many variations on the theme of inheritance, with distant cousins or sons-in-law succeeding ostensibly on grounds of family ties, although in fact there might be other candidates with greater claims on the position. (Of course, marriage connections might be a way of recognizing a candidate who was likely to win appointment; for example, an old Regent might marry off his daughter to the ambitious and bright young Wedana who was obviously earmarked for higher things, as a way of ensuring that his own family remained in the Kabupatèn.) Various combinations of these circumstances were also common.

For this account of Regent family history the main sources are family genealogies and traditions, standard published works and a scattering of references in the Dutch archives. In common with other indigenous sources these family accounts must be treated with caution. Their functions were much the same as those of, for example, Mataram's *babad* (chronicles): to put forward a special view of past events, to stress continuity with the past, to justify, glorify and legitimize.⁴ But since we are less concerned here with establishing precise facts than with giving a general account, such subjectivity and narrow focus on the elite have certain advantages. Nevertheless, several cautionary points should be stressed.

Priyayi genealogies were very selective, and families were large. A Bupati might have several wives, a number of concubines and various casual liaisons, and hence numerous children. Often only those children whose careers and marriages brought credit to the family would be recorded, while the common abbreviated genealogies concentrated on showing the line of succession, thereby giving a false impression of direct and inevitable continuity. In fact the heir could well have been chosen from among a dozen or so sons by various mothers of differing status and background.

Mistakes or deliberate re-interpretations also took place, particularly with reference to the more distant generations. Breaks in family continuity were not shown: nephews, sons-in-law or more distant relatives might appear as sons; higher titles were recorded than those actually used; and, inevitably, the ultimate ancestors were of suitably high status, famous figures from Javanese history and mythology. Legends and anecdotes which reinforced the claim to high status occurred and recurred in the family traditions in the same way that they did in *kraton* (palace) chronicles. Similar stories of miraculous feats, spiritual potency and divine intervention added to the prestige of individual Regents and their families. In short, much the same methods of legitimation were used to justify occupation of the *Kabupaten* building as of the *kraton*.

Stories emphasizing the Regent's relationship to supra-human forces were neither mere pretense, nor elaborate bluffs to impress a gullible people, as some foreigners may have thought, nor were they a curious but finally irrelevant superstructure of superstition. On the contrary, such stories reflected Javanese beliefs concerning the nature of power and the relationship between the political, social, and divine orders. They served to reinforce the relevant Bupati's authority by demonstrating his harmonious relationship with supernatural forces, and hence his rightful possession of power.⁵ Such apparently non-rational and irrelevant dimensions of the Regent's role were in fact central to his political position, and so were at the very least as "real" as the treaties and regulations which theoretically defined the Regent's status from the Dutch point of view.

Selective reinterpretation of the past was not a Javanese monopoly. The colonial powers, too, were interested in building and main-

4. B. J. O. Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm in Early Java," in his Indonesian Sociological Studies, II, pp. 1-267.

5. Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture," in Claire Holt (ed.), Culture and Politics in Indonesia (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972), pp. 1-69.

taining myths, as can be seen in their convenient and subjective understanding of treaties and obligations, in their outraged accounts of native misrule (which so often forced the humanitarian VOC, willy nilly, to annex territory) and in the takeover of ports and trade as "surety for the payment of a native ruler's debts."⁶ Such versions of events bore little resemblance to reality as it was perceived by most Javanese and, one suspects, many Europeans. But since the form of these myths is familiar, they seem more "realistic" to Western readers. In this essay both Dutch and indigenous materials are used. It is not always possible to evaluate the accuracy of such sources, and therefore in some cases non-factual details may be included. In all cases, however, the sources are identified. We may now turn to a region by region summary of Bupati family history, with particular focus upon the extent of family succession and the way in which a family member first came to be appointed Regent.

Banten

Banten was one of Java's two dominant states in the seventeenth century, the other being Mataram. But unlike Mataram, Banten was a maritime, Islamic state, typical of the north Java littoral, although it was set apart by its local cultural traditions (in music, etc.) and by its particularly strong adherence to the Muslim religion. Hasanuddin, son of the great religious leader Sunan Gunung Djati, had conquered Banten for Islam in 1527, and the new religion soon struck deep roots in local society. The *penghulu* (religious officials) and *ulama* (Islamic teachers and scholars) rapidly became very influential. The Dutch used to say that the people of Banten were distinguished from their neighbors by their hardness, factionalism, contentiousness and tendency to rebellion as well as by the fanatic zeal of their convictions. During the first decades of this century the stock phrase used for Banten was "the Atjeh of Java," so hostile did it seem to many colonial officials.

Within Banten there were clear differences between the north and south. In Serang Regency, north Banten, the inhabitants were said to be descendants of sixteenth-century Javanese colonists, and they spoke a Bantenese dialect of Javanese. The population of the three southern Regencies (Caringin, often called Menes after its capital, abolished in 1906; Lebak; Pandeglang) was mainly Sundanese in origin and dialect. These distinctions in background were reflected in appearance and culture: the north Bantenese in particular were extremely Islamic. In the mountainous regions to the south the aboriginal inhabitants, the Badui, were a focus for traditions concerning the pre-Islamic past.⁷

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6. These are recurring themes in, e.g., E. B. Kielstra, De Vestiging van het Nederlandsche Gezag in den Indischen Archipel (Haarlem: De Erven F. Bohn, 1920).
 7. On Banten, see Sartono Kartodirdjo, The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888: its conditions, course and sequel (The Hague: De Nederlandsche Boek- en Steendrukkerij, 1966); R. van Sandick, Leed en Lief uit Banten (Zutphen, 1892). See also the following material from the Colonial Archives, The Hague, particularly the memoriën van overgave (transfer memoranda), the comprehensive reports compiled by outgoing officials for the benefit of their successors, hereafter referred to as MvO., which were sometimes included in the standard bundles of documents known as verbalen, abbreviated Vb. Each verbaal was identified by a date and a number,

Banten's rulers first used the title Sultan when Banten emerged as a major power in the early seventeenth century, about a hundred years after the founding of their state. But during the period of VOC expansion Bantenese trade suffered and, in the eighteenth century, the Company progressively reduced Banten's independence until in 1752 the Sultan formally acknowledged its suzerainty. Then in 1808, H. W. Daendels, the Governor-General, declared Banten to be part of the government domain, introduced various reforms and placed the Sultan and his administration under close control. Since the preceding decade had seen a war of succession and much internal strife, the Sultan was in no position to resist. With the extension of Dutch control, the local nobility faced a loss of their perquisites as well as the unhappy prospect of infidel masters, and their opposition made the next few years difficult for Batavia. In an effort to tighten control, Raffles, the British Lieutenant-Governor of Java, abolished the political power of the Sultanate in 1813 and made Banten a Residency, although the Sultan retained his title and received valuable gifts and allowances. But the intricate feuds and machinations of palace politics continued, and in 1832, after a particularly unpleasant episode, the Sultan was sent to Surabaya a prisoner.⁸ The palace was then demolished and the royal *pusaka* (sacred objects, heirlooms) and the collection of Arabic manuscripts were removed to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.⁹ (This was similar to the razing of the palace in Bangkalan, Madura, in 1891 done, according to the colonial authorities, because the building was decrepit, but seen by the ruling family as a deliberate attempt to reduce their authority by destroying their status-enhancing and spiritually potent possessions.¹⁰) In spite of all this, the legacy of the Sultanate remained a powerful force in Bantenese politics and society. The nobility, who were related to the rulers and had been the mainstay of the royal administration, supported by popular memories of the independent past, hampered Dutch efforts to convert Banten into an orderly Residency.

The abolition of the Sultanate made it necessary to establish a colonial administration along the lines of those elsewhere in Java. The first Dutch-appointed Regents seem to have been chosen from among the *punggawa* (lesser officials) of the Sultanate. According to the

and could include material from files covering many years: MvO. of F. K. Overduyn (Resident of Banten, 1906-11) in Vb. 9-2-1912, no. 15; MvO. of H. L. C. B. van Vleuten (Resident of Banten, 1913-16) in Vb. 28-8-1916, no. 38; MvO. of J. Hardeman (Resident of Banten, 1895-1906) in Vb. 16-6-1907, no. 30. On Islam in Banten, see "Nota over de positie de Penghulu," by the Adviser for Native Affairs (1937-42) G. F. Pijper, in the mailrapport (hereafter Mr., file in the Colonial Archives) no. 252/39, and MvO. of C. W. A. van Rinsum (Resident of Banten, 1911-13), Vb. 28-6-1913, no. 34. Details on the population for 1930 are given in the census, Volkstelling 1930, III, Imheemsche Bevolking van West Java (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1935). Serang was then 61.27% Javanese, 38.17% Sundanese; Lebak 98.63% Sundanese; Pandeglang (which had absorbed most of Caringin in 1906) 92.94% Sundanese.

8. Sartono, The Peasants' Revolt, pp. 70-74; L. W. C. van den Berg, De Inlandsche Rangen en Titels op Java en Madoera (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1887), pp. 61-64.
9. Van den Berg, Rangen en Titels, pp. 61-64.
10. Zainalfattah, Sedjarah tjaranja pemerintahan di daerah-daerah di kepulauan Madura dengan hubungannya (Pamekasan: n.p., n.d. [1951?]), p. 168.

list of Bupati compiled by Resident F. K. Overduyn (1906-11), the first Regent of Serang (North Banten), Pangéran Moelapar (?-1819), and of Lebak (South Banten), Pangéran Sanedjaja (1813-37; until 1813 Lebak was still subject to the Sultan), were both ex-punggawa. They had probably been rather humble officials, as the term punggawa could refer to district heads, petty officials and overseers of the pepper trade. Moreover, in Banten the title of Pangéran could be conferred upon favored district chiefs and did not denote high hereditary status as was the case elsewhere.

The third Regency, Caringin (West Banten), had as its first Bupati R.A. Mandura Radja Djaja Negara,¹¹ a man apparently of high birth (possibly, given the Radja in his name, from Cirebon?). In 1839, he was transferred to Serang. This Bupati was married to Ratu Siti Aissah, daughter of Pangéran Chalzie, a high-ranking official of the Sultanate and a descendant of Sultans. This marital link to the royal family was even stronger insofar as Ratu Siti Aissah was the ex-wife of Sultan Muhammed. In 1848, a fourth Banten Regency was created, Pandéglang. The first Regent appointed was R.A.A. Tjondronegoro, a Javanese from Kaliwungu, Semarang, who had come to Banten as the protégé of a Resident. In 1849, Tjondronegoro was transferred to Serang, where he remained until 1874. He also had married into the Bantenese nobility; his wife Ratu Siti Aminah was a granddaughter of Pangéran Chalzie.¹²

Many of the early officials were drawn from the old nobility, as Banten was so prone to rebellion that it was considered necessary to placate the established upper class and to use their prestige to win popular acceptance of colonial domination. But in the interests of efficiency a number of humbly-born officials were recruited locally or introduced from neighboring regions, particularly Priangan. So it is said that some Regents in Banten were men of no position, but were appointed Bupati merely because they pleased the Dutch: one was supposed to have been a former grass-cutter, others were descended from a cook and a village headman--although the latter was redeemed by noble Badui connections.¹³

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11. Initials used before names refer to titles. The most usual Bupati titles were as follows (in roughly ascending order) R.T.--Radèn Tumenggung; R.A.--Radèn Ario or Radèn Adipati; R.A.A.--Radèn Adipati Ario or Radèn Ario Adipati; P.--Pangéran. The title R.M.--Radèn Mas--indicated high birth rather than rank, but was included in rank-derived titles, e.g., R.M.T.--Radèn Mas Tumenggung.
 12. MvO. of F. K. Overduyn includes an appendix listing all Banten Bupati up to 1911 and showing their relationships. He does not, however, include the names of three Serang Regents (Ratu Bagus Dipaningrat, R.A. Adisantika, R.T. Pringantaka) mentioned in Sartono, The Peasants' Revolt, p. 38, note 43 (see also pp. 82-92). Overduyn describes Tjondronegoro's Javanese origins, as does A. Djajadiningrat, Herinneringen van Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat (Batavia: G. Kolff & Co., 1936), p. 40. See also R. T. Djajadiningrat, "Aanteekening nopens het voormalige Regentschap Tjaringin," Bestuursgids voor Inlandsche Ambtenaaren, III (1928), pp. 7-13, based on notes by the Bupati of Serang (1894-99), R.T. Djajadiningrat, father of the well-known Achmad. Van den Berg, Rangen en Titels, p. 73, notes that sons of the Cirebon Sultans used Radja as a title.
 13. "Regenten van geringe opkomst," Indische Gids (1891-92), pp. 1679-80; Sartono, The Peasants' Revolt, pp. 75-77.

The line between the new officials and the old nobility quickly became blurred. It was in the interests of both to effect a fusion, and intermarriage was therefore very common. The result was the emergence of a closely-knit elite, linked to the Sultans through marriage with the nobility but including new blood through the incorporation of commoner and outsider officials. The Bupati of Serang and Pandeglang tended to be drawn from the descendants of Pangéran Chalzie, via his daughters Ratu Siti Aissah and Ratu Chalsum. Seven of Serang's ten Regents between 1819 and 1942, and six of Pandeglang's ten Regents between 1848 and 1942 were drawn from this family complex. The well-known Djajadiningrat family of Serang was also linked to it by a nineteenth-century marriage. The later Regents of Caringin and Lebak did not interlock so closely with the Serang/Pandeglang Regents. Lebak had no strong aristocratic class comparable to that of Serang, seat of the Sultanate, and the eight Lebak Bupati between 1819 and 1944 were drawn from several sources: the last two from the Banten elite, three others from Priangan (including two from the Haji Mohd. Moesa family of Garut, see below), and three "officials," including the humbly-born R.T. Soeta Angoen Angoen (1876-80). Caringin showed a similar diffuse pattern in the origins of its eight Regents up to 1906.¹⁴

Despite the existence of a closely-interrelated elite in Banten, there were no Bupati dynasties comparable to those found in some other Regencies, such as in Priangan. Direct hereditary succession was rare and transfers between Kabupatèn common. There was also a lingering awareness, despite all the intermarriage, of various levels of nobility, so that some families, although related to the governing class, were regarded as of somewhat lower status. Humbly-born Bupati, anxious to win acceptance, not only strove to marry into the established elite but also adopted admired modes of behavior. If in central Java this meant playing the refined priyayi role to the hilt, in Banten it involved devotion to Islam and ostentatious piety: Soeta Angoen Angoen, for example, spoke regularly in the mosque. But although there were divisions within the governing elite, it nevertheless formed a tight circle against those outsiders whom it did not absorb. There was not the same strong identification of a given Regency with a single family that occurred elsewhere in Java, but there was general insistence that Bupati be, firstly, Bantenese, and, secondly, part of the elite.

The tendency for the priyayi to form "family circles" was anathema to the Dutch authorities, as it fostered nepotism and complicated both the dismissal of unsuitable officials and the introduction of fresh talent, although it could be argued that colonial realities fostered the development of such protective groupings. Since the quality of native officials in Banten was very low and most priyayi were poorly educated, the importation of officials from the outside was, as we have seen, fairly common. In some cases they succeeded in establishing themselves in Bantenese society, but in others they did not. R.A. Karta Nata Negara (Bupati of Lebak, 1837-65), the wicked Regent of *Max Havelaar*, was extremely popular and honored in his Regency, and seems to have been quite Bantenized despite his Bogor origins, while R.A.A. Soeria Nata Negara (Regent of Lebak, 1880-1908), a Sundanese from

14. Details on family relationships and appointments were collected from the annual *Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij), II; *Personalialia*, and the *Koloniale Verslagen*, as well as from interviews, scattered references in archival and published material and in Overduyn's MvO. See also the genealogy in Sartono, *The Peasants' Revolt*, p. 331.

Priangan, after ten years in office was still known as Dalem Wétan, the Regent from the East.¹⁵

Administrative morale was, generally speaking, very poor in Banten. Once its trade was taken over by the Company and its port superseded by Batavia, it became a remote backwater. There was little left to interest the colonial government or attract ambitious officials. European economic involvement there was minimal. Banten was known as a "difficult" place, with almost no European social life (particularly after the garrisons declined) and an often hostile population; hence it became a dumping-ground for inadequate European officials and those who could pull no strings to avoid assignment there. But, as sometimes occurred in the least congenial postings, a few exceptional men found it deeply rewarding. Resident J. A. Hardeman, for example, refused appointment to the Raad van Indië (the prestigious Council of the Indies, advisory body to the Governor-General) so that he could stay on in Banten and managed to extend his term to an exceptional eleven years (1895-1906). As a rule, however, Banten was unpopular and the turnover of European officials was rapid.¹⁶

The position of the Pangrèh Praja officials was also often difficult, especially after the demands for a "modern" administration began to catch up with Banten. The relations of the Pangrèh Praja with other local social groups appears to have been strained. The Islamic teachers despised and distrusted the servants of the infidel, the *jawara* "criminal" bands hated them and used to kill their horses to show their feelings, while the lingering prestige of the Sultans and the old nobility further complicated matters. When officials were dismissed for inefficiency or corruption they joined the forces making life difficult for their ex-colleagues. Many villages had their resentful *wedana lepas* (ex-Wedana). Indeed there were so many former government priyayi in Banten that they formed their own association, the Sarékat Stori. Native officials in Banten were often isolated and unable to provide that bond between people and alien regime which was their *raison d'être*. Dutch reports frequently noted that the Banten government priyayi were distrusted by the people, who would usually prefer to go straight to the European officials with their problems. At least in the late nineteenth century, however, many of the Europeans in Banten seem to have been so intimately involved in the family intrigues of the high priyayi that their objectivity must have been open to grave doubt.¹⁷

15. Sartono, The Peasants' Revolt, pp. 87-90; van Sandick, Leed en Lief, pp. 17-18, 207, 203-4.

16. Sartono, The Peasants' Revolt, pp. 99-101; Harry J. Benda and Ruth T. McVey (eds.), The Communist Uprisings of 1926-1927 in Indonesia: Key Documents (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1960), pp. 33-34; MvO. of B. L. van Bijlevelt (Resident of Banten, 1916-18), Vb. 13-3-1919, no. 44.

17. On society in Banten, see Sartono, The Peasants' Revolt, chapter II and *passim*; Benda and McVey, The Communist Uprisings, pp. 19-20; and the MvO. cited in note 7 above. Like many areas of Java, Banten had its own local elites and cultural traditions, such as men with the title Entol who traced themselves from a prince of Majapahit who fled west after the overthrow of that last great Indianized kingdom: see van den Berg, Rangen en Titels, p. 15, note 2. This is a rather similar ancestry to that claimed by the "Ponorogo nobility," who were often peasants who believed themselves to be descended from a Majapahit prince, often

Cirebon

Cirebon's situation was in many ways similar to that of Banten. Both regions had mixed Javanese and Sundanese populations¹⁸ and both were strongly Islamic pasisir areas with their own dialects and cultural characteristics.¹⁹ Both were pre-colonial Sultanates which were first weakened by VOC intervention, and later deprived of their remaining political power by the British. But the rulers of Cirebon were never as independently powerful as the trade-rich Bantenese Sultans, although they had great religious authority and prestige as the blood-descendants and spiritual heirs of the famous *wali* (religious teacher, bringer of Islam to Java) Sunan Gunung Djati.²⁰

The power of the Cirebon rulers was limited. The territorial extent of their control was originally confined to the coastal stretches of Indramayu and Cirebon. Moreover, the royal family itself underwent various schisms and divisions in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, resulting in the emergence, by 1773, of three distinct but related courts with their own spheres of control: the Kasepuhan (senior), Kanoman (junior) and Kacirebonan (Cirebon). The rulers bore various titles: Pangéran, then Panembahan and Sultan.²¹

During the VOC period the area known as Cirebon, however, encompassed a large area covering much of the eastern Priangan, extending south to the sea, and including Galuh (Ciamis), Sukapura (Tasikmalaya), and Limbangan (Garut). In 1810, however, Daendels transferred these last two Regencies to Priangan, leaving Galuh somewhat artificially part of Cirebon. It was not until 1915 that the geographical, ethnic,

identified with the local hero Batara Katong. It is tempting to speculate about the relationship between such traditions, possible abangan (syncretist, nominal Muslim) orientations, and the existence of violent yet respected anti-social groups--jawara in Banten, and the warok of Ponorogo. There were many scandals about the behavior of the local European officials in Banten, and one Regent's wife, a granddaughter of Pangéran Chalzie, was reputed to be the mistress of the late nineteenth-century Resident van der Palm. Such liaisons were by no means unknown elsewhere in Java.

18. Volkstelling 1930, III, Imheemsche Bevolking van West Java: Cirebon Regency was 70.26% Javanese and 29.66% Sundanese; Indramayu was 95.10% Javanese and 4.75% Sundanese; Majalengka was 91.5% Sundanese and 8.36% Javanese; and Kuningan was 99.43% Sundanese.
19. For example, one recalls Cirebon's contributions to topèng masked performances, the development of her characteristic batik styles, language, legal system, literature, etc., and her role as the dominant religious center of both Cirebon and Priangan.
20. P. J. Veth, Java, geografisch, ethnologisch, historisch, vols. I and II (Haarlem: De Erven F. Bohn, 1896), I, pp. 321-22, II, pp. 38-39; van den Berg, Rangen en Titels, p. 60.
21. F. de Haan, Priangan. De Preanger-regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch bestuur tot 1811 (Batavia: Kolff, 1910-12), III, pp. 30-41; van den Berg, Rangen en Titels, pp. 65-73; Veth, Java, II, pp. 279, 270-72; Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië (The Hague and Leiden: Nijhoff, 1917-40), entry "Cheribon"; MvO. of G. J. Oudemans (Resident of Cirebon, 1908-11), Vb. 19-2-1916, no. 15, pp. 33-38.

linguistic and cultural bonds linking Galuh more closely to Sunda were allowed to assert themselves and the Regency became part of the Preanger Residency. In any case, that part of Priangan had been governed by Sundanese Regents under the general supervision of Cirebon and had not had such close ties with the courts as had the core Cirebon area of Indramayu, Cirebon, Majalengka and Kuningan.²²

Before the introduction of direct foreign rule in 1813 there had been three administrations in Cirebon, as each of the rulers had his own Patih (Rijksbestuurder, chief minister) supervising the highest territorial chiefs, known as Mantri Gedé, and the district and local chiefs, Demang and Ngabèhi.²³ As in the case of Banten, the colonial authorities drew mainly on this existing organization to man the "new" administration. According to a list made by the official Adviser for Native Affairs, R. Kern, the first Regents of Cirebon, R.T. Natadiningrat (1814-16), and of Majalengka, Kandjeng Kiyahi Soeradiningrat (1819-39; then Regent of Cirebon, 1839-56), were both former *abdi dalem* (court officials) of the Kasepuhan. We know less of the origins of Kuningan's first Bupati, R.T. Wargodirdjo, as he is identified in the Kern list only as a "Kuningan Sundanese."²⁴

The Bupati of these three areas tended to belong to one extended family and transfers between Regencies were very common. Initially, this was particularly true of Cirebon and Majalengka, as the first four Regents of Kuningan--all from one family--seem to have been somewhat outside the mainstream. But the fifth Kuningan Bupati, R.A.A. Soeriadiredja, a descendant of Wargodirdjo, married a daughter of the Kandjeng Kiyahi of Cirebon and from then on Kuningan was closely involved in the exchanges of Regents within Cirebon Residency.

Indramayu, the fourth Regency, remained outside. According to one account, the Bupati of Indramayu were not descended from court circles but stemmed from a *lurah* (village headman) from the Plumbon district in Cirebon, who was raised in rank when the Regency was created out of Kasepuhan lands.²⁵ Mid-nineteenth century Indramayu was in fact still governed by a *rangga*, a Bupati of the third class (although, strictly speaking, this level had been abolished in 1824) and so was of somewhat humbler standing than the other Regencies.²⁶ Indramayu was also set apart from the other Cirebon Regencies by its overwhelmingly Javanese population.

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22. Encyclopaedie, "Cheribon"; L. Pronk, De Bestuursreorganisatie-Mullemeister op Java en en Madoera en haar Beteekenis voor het Heden (Leiden: M. Dubbeldeman, 1929), p. 5. Ciamis (Galuh) was cut off from the rest of Cirebon by the Kendeng mountains; her population, according to Volkstelling 1930, I, was 99.4% Sundanese and, as the site of the ancient capital of Galuh, she had had an important role in Sundanese history.
23. Van den Berg, Rangen en Titels, pp. 45-46.
24. The Kern Collection is held in the KITLV (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Royal Institute for Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology), Leiden. The Cirebon Regent list is document no. 67 in the collection. Kern was acting Adviser for Native Affairs from 1920-22, and Adviser from 1923-26.
25. Interview with Dr. Agus of Cirebon, in Jakarta, 1970.
26. Pronk, De Bestuursreorganisatie, p. 11.

From a genealogy showing the relationships between most of the Residency's Regents it seems that seven of Cirebon's nine prewar Bupati, eleven of Kuningan's thirteen and all of Majalengka's seven were related to each other, while no Indramayu Regent appears. This does not necessarily mean that there were absolutely no family ties, but certainly they were much less important in Indramayu's case than in the other three Regencies.

Another striking feature of the incidence of relationships among the Cirebon Bupati is the decrease in family appointments in the nineteen twenties. Although all of Majalengka's Bupati continued to be drawn from the extended family until the end of the colonial era, in the other Regencies changes occurred. In Cirebon, R.A.A. Salmon Salam Soerjadinigrat, very much a man of the Cirebon ruling elite (son of the famous mid-nineteenth century Bupati, R.T. Bahu Denda, descended from the Kacirebonan, Regent of Majalengka from 1894-1902 and of Cirebon from 1902-20) was succeeded by his brother-in-law R.M.A. Pandji Ariodinoto (1920-28), son of a Rembang Bupati (R. Pandji Kartowinoto, 1880-89) and himself ex-Regent of Pematang (1908-20), and so really linked to Cirebon only by marriage. On his own request Ariodinoto was succeeded by his cousin, Pangéran Soeriadi (1928-42, earlier Regent of Purworejo from 1923-28). Soeriadi, who was very Central Javanese (for Kabupatèn celebrations he always sent for a *gamelan* orchestra and *wayang wong* theatrical group from the Mangkunegaran) and who had married a Pontianak Javanese, felt very out of place in Cirebon.²⁷ In Kuningan two relative outsiders were appointed. R.A.A. Mohammed Achmad (1923-39), a son of the Patih of Menes (Caringin) and hence related to the Djajadinigrat family, was more Banten than Cirebon, and his successor, R.T. Oemar Said (1939-44), came from Sukabumi.²⁸ The last Regents of Indramayu were also drawn from further afield: R.A.A. Sosrowerdojo (1917-33) and R.A.A. Mohd. Sediono (1933-44) were both East Javanese from the Madiun area.²⁹

Priangan

The abolition of the Banten and Cirebon Sultanates was a clear indication of the early nineteenth-century intensification of foreign control which brought with it new criteria for allocating political and administrative power and new sources of status. Even though considerable accommodation took place between the colonial and indigenous systems, and fusion between established and new elites, there was nevertheless an unmistakable break with the past. In Priangan, however, there was no such break. Here continuity was the keynote, both in the patterns of settlement which underlay old towns and colonial Regencies, and in the history of the Bupati families.

Priangan Regents remained in a uniquely high position until the end of the colonial period. Under the Preangerstelsel (Priangan

27. Regeeringsalmanak and Koloniale Verslag from the relevant years; archival and interview material, particularly interviews with Soeriadi's daughter, R.A. Soeriadi, in Jakarta, 1969, and son, R. Sudiono, in Bandung, 1970.

28. Interviews with Mohammed Achmad's daughter, Mr. Maria Ulfah Subadio, in Jakarta, 1969, and with R.T. Oemar Said, in Bandung, 1970.

29. Interviews with R.A. Mohd. Sediono, widow of the Regent, in Surabaya, 1970.

system) the Dutch continued to exploit the coffee gardens of the Sundaese mountains in the old VOC style. Since forced cultivation was continued, various nineteenth-century reforms did not apply to Priangan and the development of individual economic activity was inhibited. Just as the period of the forced cultivation system (c. 1830-70) had resulted in an overall strengthening of the Bupati's position, so its prolongation in Priangan helped to perpetuate the local Regents' great prestige and their ability to live in the grand style. Even after the abolition of the Preangerstelsel in 1871, percentages from coffee production gave the Priangan Bupati a high income (in the late nineteenth century some earned twenty thousand guilders a year, compared to an average of twelve thousand for the rest of Java), while the legacy of their earlier freedom and special privileges was apparent in their dominance of local society.³⁰ Both the exploitative and paternalistic aspects of the Bupati-peasantry relationship were well developed in Priangan, and the strength of patron-client ties was such that early twentieth-century Dutch observers spoke of a special *ngawula* (service) system in Priangan.³¹

Although many of the late nineteenth-century names for Priangan Regencies were relatively new, in almost all cases the Regencies were centered on earlier political units. Van den Berg remarks that the existence of settlements at Galuh (the later Ciamis), Sukapura (Tasikmalaya), Sumedang, Bandung (earlier Timbanganten), Cianjur, and Krawang (the old Segala Herang) had been known "since time immemorial."³² The ancient Hindu-Sundaese empire of Pajajaran is said to have recognized three major divisions in the realm: Cicalengka or Sukapura, consisting of the smaller Sumedang, Krawang, Cianjur and Sunda Kelapa (Jakarta); Galuh or Cikundul, comprising Garut, Ciamis, Cirebon and Cilacap; and finally Pakuan or Bogor, with Bogor (Dutch: Buitenzorg), Banten Girang, Banten Hilir and Wahanten.³³ Under the VOC the Priangan Regencies were also grouped into three. The "Preanger lands" covered the area of the later Bandung, Sumedang and Krawang, including the then existing Regencies of Batu Layang, Bandung, Parakan Muncang, Sumedang, and Pamanukan with Pegaden, Ciasem, Krawang and Adiarsa. The Batavian Uplands, the second VOC region, included the west Sunda areas of Cianjur, Sukabumi, and part of Bogor, as well as the Regency of Tangerang, lying west of the Dutch capital of Batavia. The Eastern Priangan was under Cirebon's supervision and consisted of the three Kabupatèn of Galuh, Sukapura and Limbangan (Garut).³⁴

30. Encyclopaedie, "Preangerstelsel," "Bestuur"; de Haan, Priangan, passim. The Priangan Regents had had rights to levy certain taxes under the Preangerstelsel. Until 1825 they had their own incomes and paid their own staff. They appointed their own Wedana until 1840 and retained police and legal powers until 1848. On the life of nineteenth-century Bupati in Cianjur, see C. M. F. Stockhausen (trans.), "Inlandsche verhalen van den regent van Tjiandjur," BKI [Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde], X (1863), pp. 291-313.

31. Encyclopaedie, "Preangerstelsel."

32. Van den Berg, Rangen en Titels, p. 43.

33. R. Musmen Karhiwikarta, The History of Pasundan, Sunda Kelapa (Jakarta: n.p., 1964).

34. Veth, Java, II, p. 242.

A series of reorganizations by Daendels between 1808 and 1810 united the three Priangan groups into a single Prefecture, which was basically the same as the later Residency (or Residencies).³⁵ Before 1901, Priangan consisted of five Regencies under Bupati (Cianjur, Bandung, Sumedang, Limbangan, Sukapura) and four divisions (Afdeelingen) which had no Regent but were governed by a Patih with similar powers but less prestige. The four divisions were reckoned to form part of a Regency, but general administrative responsibility was in the hands of the Patih.³⁶ The divisions were Sukabumi, in Cianjur Regency; Cicalengka, in Bandung; Tasikmalaya, in Sumedang and Sukapura Kolot in Sukapura. It was decided to simplify this arrangement by reducing the nine units to six; this was done in 1901 by dividing Cicalengka between Bandung and Garut, merging Sukapura Kolot with Sukapura, and having the resulting enlarged Sukapura absorb most of Tasikmalaya. The town Tasikmalaya replaced Manonjaja as the Sukapura capital and in 1913 the Regency took the name of its new capital. In 1915, Ciamis was detached from Cirebon and became part of Priangan. When Sukabumi became a full Regency in 1921, Priangan comprised seven--or, if Krawang and Bogor are counted, nine--Regencies.³⁷

Once it would have been correct to include these two Regencies in Priangan, but, largely as a result of Dutch activity, by the nineteenth century they were as much oriented to Batavia as to the old centers (though the large Javanese element in Krawang's population derived mainly from Mataram's mid-seventeenth century strategic plantation of Javanese). The ambiguous location of Krawang between the centers of Batavia, Cirebon and Priangan was reflected in the colonial authorities' vacillation over its identity. It was divided up in various ways, tacked on to other units, and made self-sufficient seven or eight times in the nineteenth century alone. But perhaps the most important event in determining its character was the sale of extensive tracts to private individuals (particularly by Raffles) which resulted in much of the area being in Chinese (the Tegalwaru lands) and English (Pamanukan and Ciasem) hands.³⁸

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35. *Ibid.*, pp. 272, 290. In 1925 Priangan was divided into three Residencies as part of an administrative reform: West Priangan included Sukabumi and Cianjur; Central Priangan, Bandung and Sumedang; East Priangan, Garut, Tasikmalaya and Ciamis. In 1931, West Priangan was added to Buitenzorg Residency and in 1932 the central and eastern areas became Priangan Residency. This pattern lasted until the end of Dutch rule.
36. These Patih were to some extent a colonial continuation of the old institution of Sub-Regents, such as Ngabèhi. There were eleven such "Patih outside the Regency capital" in the nineteenth century (in Anyer, Cicalengka, Sukabumi, Tasikmalaya, Jombang, Sukapura Kolot, Salatiga, Kraksaan, Lumajang, Bawean and Jember); gradually these areas were either reduced to districts under Wedana or raised to Regencies so that there were no more such Patihships after the nineteen twenties. Pronk, *De Bestuursreorganisatie*, pp. 10, 127-28. A different category of "Independent Patih" (*zelfstandige patih*) was higher than these Patih, but they were found only in Batavia, Meester Cornelis and Buitenzorg. Such Independent Patih were not under a Regent's supervision.
37. *Encyclopaedie*, "Preanger Regentschappen."
38. *Volkstelling 1930, I, Inheemsche Bevolking van West Java*. Krawang's population then was 14.55% Javanese. At various stages Krawang was also included among the pasisir areas; see, e.g., Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," pp. 194-95. See also

Bogor's character, too, was largely shaped by the sale of lands, as Governor-General G. W. Baron van Imhoff (1743-50) took over part of Kampong Baru and called it Buitenzorg (it eventually became the mountain home of the Governors-General). Daendels sold much of the surrounding land at considerable personal profit, so that eventually almost the entire area was privately owned. The whole ethos and system of administration in these *particuliere landerijen* (Private Lands) was quite different from those in the usual government lands. The Private Lands were governed by Demang or *mandur* (overseers) appointed by and subordinate to the owner and subject to minimal government supervision; consequently there was no real priyayi group or ethic in these areas. There was a Bogor Regency until 1864; although it was recreated in 1925, the position of its later Regents was naturally somewhat different from that of the Priangan Regents proper.³⁹

Priangan was governed by Bupati drawn from a related complex of very old families, of which the Sumedang, Galuh and Cianjur lines were particularly important. The Sumedang Regents' central role was reflected in their titles: they were usually Pangéran or sometimes even Panembahan or Pangéran Adipati, while most of the other Regents were Tumenggung, Adipati or, in smaller areas, Ngabèhi or Demang.⁴⁰ The Regents of Sumedang were Mataram's chief Priangan Bupati, and although they lost this preeminent position during a period of particular dependence on the VOC after 1677, they eventually reasserted themselves, and the fame of the great nineteenth-century Sumedang Pangéran, Tumenggung Surianegara alias Pangéran Kornel (1791-1828), Soeria Koesoema Adinata alias Pangéran Sugih (1836-82), and Soeria Atmadja alias Pangéran Sempurna (1882-1919) was known throughout Priangan.⁴¹ Apart from a period of some twenty years between 1773 and 1791, when Sumedang was under Regents of the Parakan Muncang Bupati family, there was an unbroken succession in the Sumedang Kabupatèn for over three and a half centuries, dating from the rule of Pucuk Umum, identified in one source as Kusumaadinata I (1570-89).⁴²

Pucuk Umum, according to one particularly complete genealogy, could be placed in the center of an extremely impressive network of

Encyclopaedie, "Krawang." Resident A. Sangster of Krawang (1929-31) in his MvO., Mr. 188/32 gives a listing of the Regents of Galuh from whom the original Krawang Bupati family sprang. See also R. Dr. D. Asikin, "De stichting van het Regentschap Krawang en Krawangs eerste Regent," TBG [Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Bataviaasch Genootschap], LXXVII (1937), pp. 178-205, notes the founding of the Regency by Sultan Agung of Mataram (1613-45).

39. Encyclopaedie, "Buitenzorg"; Pronk, De Bestuursreorganisatie, p. 128.
40. Van den Berg, Rangen en Titels, p. 44.
41. Ibid.; Veth, Java, II, p. 78. On Pangéran Sempurna, see MvO. of G. J. Oudemans (Resident, Preanger Regentschappen, 1911-12) in Vb., 19-6-1913, no. 26; "Pangeran Aria Soeria Atmadja, Regent van Sumedang," Reflector, IV (1919), p. 321; and "Tanda Peringatan (Lingga) kepada marhoem Pangeran Aria Soeria Atmadja," Pandji Poestaka, IV (1926), pp. 1413-16. A Sundanese novel written about T. Surianegara is R. M. Sastrahadiprawira's Pangeran Kornel (Weltevreden: Bale Poestaka, 1930).
42. Genealogies in the possession of R.A.A. Soeria Nata Atmadja of Bandung; the Oudemans (Preanger) MvO. is based on de Haan's standard work, Priangan, and critical notations on that book by the then Regent of Bandung, R.A.A. Marta Negara (1893-1920).

relationships. He was a direct descendant of Lembu Amiluhur of Galuh via two lines, those of the kings of Pajajaran and the rulers of Sumedang Larang. The left hand part of the genealogy traces the connections of this central complex with the kings of Singosari, Campa, Majapahit, Demak and Mataram, while on the right hand are depicted the links with the rulers of Mesir (Egypt) down through Sunan Gunung Djati to Cirebon and Banten as well as the line of Sunan Geusan Ulun (presumably the Sumedang Regent who first had contact with the VOC) which branched out into the West Java Bupati houses of Krawang, Banten, Bandung, Limbangan, Cianjur, Panjalu and Ciamis. And indeed, the genealogies of the Regents of Ciamis and Cianjur stem from Pucuk Umum, and so share his illustrious connections.⁴³

The Ciamis Bupati's genealogy identifies their forebears of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries as rulers of Galuh, and those of the seventeenth and eighteenth as being of Imbanegara (situated in Ciamis), where they ruled with the title of Kiyahi. Here again one sees a consistent identification of family with area.⁴⁴ According to the family traditions of the Cianjur Regents they also were very much part of the Priangan ruling complex. Van den Berg notes, however, that they were exceptional in that they were *not* descended from the rulers of Pajajaran but rather from a Cirebon family that took over the area in 1604, and that in 1813, moreover, a Lebak Regent stemming from the Banten Sultans began almost a century of control by his descendants. The two accounts are not irreconcilable by any means, given determination, large families and useful marriages. The family's history notes the accession of a "relative" in 1813 (after two centuries of descent in the direct male line), and so continuity is seen to be preserved.⁴⁵ The Limbangan (Garut) Regents were also descended from the Sumedang family--naturally enough, since until 1706 Garut was not an independent Regency but rather a subordinate area in Sumedang's territory.⁴⁶

Tasikmalaya's ruling family governed from around 1640 until 1948. The origins of their founder were quite local; he was an Umbul (district chief) from the Sukaraja area of Tasikmalaya who commanded a contingent of Sundanese in Mataram's army during the campaigns against Sumedang and Ukur.⁴⁷ This man, Radèn Wira Wangsa, was rewarded for

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43. Soeria Nata Atmadja genealogy. On Geusan Ulun, see Oudemans (Preanger) MvO. and Veth, Java, I, p. 323.
44. Soeria Nata Atmadja genealogies; Oudemans (Preanger) MvO.
45. Van den Berg, Rangen en Titels, p. 17. The Cianjur account used here is from the "Sadjarah Regen Tjiandjur," a Javanese document in the Museum Pusat, Jakarta, no. 514. I am grateful to Mrs. Soeprapto for her translation. The Cianjur account records that the "kingdom" was founded in 1604 by Wira Tanu Datar. Soeria Nata Atmadja's genealogies also show Cianjur's close links with the other families. In West Java, inheritance was said to be less bilateral and more in the male line. Cf. van den Berg, Rangen en Titels, pp. 23, 34.
46. Oudemans (Preanger) MvO.; de Haan, Priangan, II, p. 89.
47. Oudemans (Preanger) MvO., pp. 48-49; ASNA [Abas Soeria Nata Atmadja?], "Het Jubileum van R.A. Wira Tanoe Ningrat, Regent van Tasikmalaja," Bestuursgids (published by the Regents' Association Sedio Moelio), I (1933), pp. 88-95; de Haan, Priangan, III, p. 85.

his services by appointment as Bupati, so founding the Wiradedaha line. According to one story, the hold of these Regents on their area was too strong for even the "Thundering Marshal" (Daendels') and Raffles. The Regent, R. Dg. Djajaanggadirdja (later Wiradedaha VIII, 1807-11, 1815-37--these dates differ from other versions), resisted Daendel's pressure to plant indigo as he feared a famine. Consequently he was dismissed in 1811 and his Regency was absorbed by Parakan Muncang. The English recreated his Regency but appointed as Bupati the "trouble-shooter" R.A.A. Suria Laga (son of a Bupati of Sumedang, he was Regent of Kampong Baru/Bogor 1801-11, of Krawang 1811-13, of Tasikmalaya 1813-14 and, according to one account, also of Indramayu). But it was beyond the powers even of the "Fighting Sun" (Suria Laga) to function properly in a Tasikmalaya which remained devoted to its own Bupati, and he requested release, only to be succeeded by an Imbangan Regent who also came to grief. In 1815, the government finally bowed to necessity and reappointed Wiradedaha VIII.⁴⁸ This interlude of about four years was the only break in Tasikmalaya's continuous family rule.

Bandung's origins lay in Timbanganten (later a district in the Cicalengka area), which was administered by a Demang till 1681, when the Dutch raised both area and chief to the Regency level. The closer ancestors of this Demang, Kiyahi Dalem Demang Anggaradja, are given as various *ratu* (a title indicating noble birth),⁴⁹ then Siliwangi, ruler of Pajajaran, who is preceded by Pucuk Umum and so back to the ultimate ancestors Nabi Adam and Nabi Sis.⁵⁰ From this first Regent until 1893 succession to the Bandung Kabupatèn was within the family in the male line. In that year, since the heir was very young when his father died, a relative, R.A.A. Marta Negara (of the Sumedang family, 1893-1920), was appointed Regent. The old family returned after his retirement with the accession of R.A.A. Wiranatakusuma (Regent of Cianjur, 1912-20, of Bandung, 1920-31, then member of the Volksraad [People's Council] until his return to Bandung in 1935).⁵¹

Sukabumi Regency was formed in 1921, when it was split off from Cianjur (it had previously been under a Patih). A twentieth-century creation, its increase in significance was very much a result of its position on the Buitenzorg-Bandung railway. Nevertheless, Sukabumi's chiefs were drawn from the old families: the late nineteenth-century Patih were offshoots of the Cianjur Wiratanudatar and the twentieth-century Regents were drawn from the Sumedang family.⁵²

Despite the impressive display of continuous government by Bupati families, in Priangan, as elsewhere in Java, there were always those

48. ASNA, "Het Jubileum." Oudemans (Preanger) MvO. gives a different version and dates. His years for this Regent are 1807-11 and 1814-28. See also the genealogies of Soeria Nata Atmadja; interview with Suleiman Soeriawidjaja, descendant of Suria Laga, Jakarta, 1969.

49. Van den Berg, Rangen en Titels, p. 2.

50. "Sadjarah Bandung," Kern Collection no. 93, KITLV, Leiden. Oudemans (Preanger) MvO., p. 45, notes that this Demang was appointed to replace Wira Angon Angon who allied himself with Banten in its struggle against the VOC.

51. Oudemans (Preanger) MvO. R.A.A. Wiranatakusuma, Mijn Reis naar Mekka (Bandung: N. V. Mij. Vorkink, 1925).

52. Oudemans (Preanger) MvO.; Soeria Nata Atmadja's genealogies.

who drew distinctions between the really old dynasties and the relatively new families who had married into them. It was sometimes said, for example, that the modern Garut Regents, the Suria Karta Legawa family (R.A.A. Suria Karta Legawa, 1915-29; R.A.A. Mohamed Musa Suria Karta Legawa, 1929-44) in Priangan terms were mere *homines novi* who owed their prominence to their famous forebear Hadji Mohamed Musa, the chief penghulu of Garut, a recognized authority on Sundanese affairs who had had close ties with the influential and learned planter K. F. Holle. All the chief penghulu's sixteen children either became high Pangrèh Praja officials or married them, and some said this was because of connections rather than their reputed cleverness. But as usual, it turned out that the family could show blood ties with the established families--the chief penghulu was the great-grandson of an eighteenth-century Bupati of Buitenzorg (R.T. Nata Negara, 1769-88) via three Patih.⁵³ So the question of how new the Karta Legawa blood was depended on one's individual perspective: some members of very old families, possibly resentful of the Karta Legawa's rise, regarded them as upstarts with no real roots in the areas they governed, while to others such fine distinctions were of mere academic interest. Even so, the twentieth-century prominence of the Karta Legawa, like the history of the Cianjur Regents mentioned above, indicates how even in the most traditional and aristocratic priyayi circles limited social mobility was a fact of life; yet that also genealogical scholarship, carefully planned marriages, cultural accommodation and the charisma of office ensured that any new arrivals in the upper circle were soon almost indistinguishable from their fellows.

Batavia

The situation in the Batavia Regencies of Meester Cornelis and Batavia itself was very different from that in Priangan: it represented an extreme version of the particuliere landerijen pattern noted above. Dutch involvement in the area had been so intense over such a long period that a unique Batavian population and culture had grown up around the dominant European settlement. In the town itself administration tended to be through the heads of the various ethnic communities and urban *kampung* (villages, urban wards), while the surrounding countryside was almost all privately owned. In 1908, an administrative reform placed a Patih at the head of a Batavian native administration comprising four commandants and thirteen Demang. In 1922, it was decided to make Batavia a Regency, and in 1924 Achmad Djajadiningrat was appointed as the first Bupati (1924-27). His successors, like himself, were men deemed capable of administering a cosmopolitan city, and there was no attempt to establish a Batavia Regent dynasty. The situation in Meester Cornelis, an old European settlement and military center, was very similar. It was governed by Patih until the appointment of R.A.A. Abdoerrachman as Bupati in 1925.⁵⁴

53. Encyclopaedie, "Holle (Karel Frederik)"; Soeria Nata Atmadja, interviews (Bandung, 1969) and genealogies. Comments of a rather disparaging kind occurred in the aftermath of the Garut affair of 1918. See Vb., 11-10-1918, no. 27; 8-1-1920, no. 4.

54. On Batavia, see Lance Castles, "The Ethnic Profile of Djakarta," Indonesia, No. 3 (October 1967), pp. 155-62; on administration, J. H. Heslinga, Het Inlandsche Bestuur en zijn Reorganisatie in Nederlandsch-Indië (The Hague: Transvalia,

Pasisir

After the overthrow of Majapahit, the last great Hindu-Buddhist Javanese state, the center of power swung to the north coast ports of Pasisir. These Islamic maritime states dominated Javanese development during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but were then themselves reduced during the following hundred years, first by the expansionist activities of the Central Javanese state of Mataram, and then by the VOC's quest for commercial and political ascendancy.

Although the initial military conquests by Mataram were the most dramatic events in this process of reduction, they were only the beginning; the search for a suitable administrative harness to control the territories still remained. And it was essential that they be controlled, for the port-towns and kingdoms of the north coast were the economic and military gateways to Central Java.⁵⁵ The center of gravity of Pasisir, considered as a whole, lay round the north-thrusting horn of the Semarang-Japara-Rembang area which, with its rice-fields, fisheries, teak-forests and harbors was a long-established and flourishing center. The area to the west, stretching as far as Brebes's Pemali river (though Indramayu and even Krawang were at times considered part of Pasisir), remained relatively thinly populated even during the seventeenth century, although development resulted in the surpassing of the original center, Pemalang, by bustling Tegal and Pekalongan. In the east, the Surabaya-centered cluster of Regencies formed their own distinct region.⁵⁶

Mataram, in fact, only had about fifty years to try to develop a working administration with which to guarantee its interests. During that period various arrangements were tried with mixed success. The main problem was to find acceptable regional overlords for the larger centers and to keep them in line once installed. Immediate removal of the old ruling families was not always feasible. Around 1615 it was still possible for the Dutch to write of the "Kings" of Japara, Wirasaba, Tuban, Pasuruan, Surabaya, Arosbaya (in West Madura) and Sumenep, and for some time even after the conquest, Pati and Demak, at least,

1920), pp. 82-83; MvO. of Resident of Batavia P. de Roo de la Faille (1916-19), Mr. 1495/19 and file Mr. 1166/22. On Mr. Cornelis and Batavia, interviews with Paramita Abdoerrachman, Jakarta, 1969-70.

55. Soemarsaid Moertono, State and Statecraft in Old Java. A Study of the Later Mataram Period, 16th to 19th Century (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1968), p. 103. H. J. de Graaf, De Regering van Sultan Agung, Vorst van Mataram 1613-1645 en die van zijn Voorganger Panembahan Séda-ing-Krapjak 1601-1613 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1958).
56. Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," pp. 27, 199; Suputro, Tegal dari masa ke masa (Jakarta: Kementerian Pendidikan, Pengadjaran dan Kebudayaan, Djawatan Kebudayaan, Bagian Bahasa, 1959), pp. 40-41. Several old centers declined in the Surabaya region too. Sedayu, near Surabaya, which was associated with the wali Sunan Dradjat, was sometimes drawn into the central pasisir orbit, while at other times it looked more to Madura and Surabaya in the east. Lasem, east of Rembang, was an ancient town, known as an appanage land of Majapahit. Populated mainly by Chinese, it was once famous for its teak-working and boat-building, but by the nineteenth century it was surpassed by Rembang and in decline. Ben Anderson has pointed out that kain laseman was a particular pasisir, Chinese-influenced style of batik.

were under the old Pangéran.⁵⁷

Mataram's Pasisir government was of several types. There were the important port-states under powerful lords, sometimes resident in their own towns and sometimes at court, who were responsible for the work of several subordinate chiefs and were in turn supervised by top central officials. There were also smaller units under Ngabèhi or chiefs of similar rank who were directly under the central administration and not part of a larger regional chief's domain. Contemporary VOC accounts record the existence of Strandgouverneurs (Governors of the coast), who were sometimes the Syahbandar (port-administrator) of the great towns, handling trade and relations with such foreign powers as the Company. At some stages, at least, the territories lying behind such ports were ruled by different men, so-called "land Regents." This occurred, for example, in Japara, Surabaya, Semarang, Juana and Demak.⁵⁸ In some cases, when the governors were lords living at court, they were locally represented by officials called *kiyahi lurah*. Since the central administration occasionally sent its own *kiyahi lurah* to keep an eye on local affairs there could be parallel "dual" authorities. According to van Goens such double representation existed in Surabaya, Tuban, Demak and Pemalang, and it is known to have occurred in Madura. Areas which were at some stages under Ngabèhi directly subordinate to the center were Pekalongan, Batang, Krawang, Lasem, Tegal, Pemalang, Kaliwungu, Brebes and Gresik.⁵⁹

The dominant centers of early seventeenth-century pasisir and the bases of the Strandgouverneurs were Tegal, Kendal, Japara and Demak. By 1653 the most important center was Pati (which included Juana). Kendal had been replaced by Semarang (a relatively new city),⁶⁰ while Japara and Demak retained their significance. Twenty-five years later the pattern was much the same: Juana, Semarang, Japara, and Demak. In 1676 there is the first mention of a clear division of Pasisir into eastern and western halves, an arrangement which was to persist for some time. But already Mataram was losing the coast to the Company: in 1677 the VOC was granted the right to build and man military fortifications at Japara.⁶¹

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57. De Graaf, Sultan Agung, p. 38; Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," p. 192; on p. 370, note 373, Schrieke suggests that the title Arya may have been used to indicate rulers from the old nobility, e.g., Arya Pemalang, Arya Kertasana (Kertasana was between Nganjuk and Jombang).
58. Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," p. 202; H. J. de Graaf, De Regering van Sunan Mangku-Rat I Tegal-Wangi, Vorst van Mataram 1646-1677 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1961-62), I, pp. 19-20, 88-89, 91-92, 176-77.
59. Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," pp. 190, 199, and 370, note 381. The situation described here did not necessarily exist at any one time. There was continual adjustment and reorganization.
60. Anonymous Dutch typescript, said to be based on Javanese sources, "De Regenten van Semarang," in the possession of K.R.M.A.A. Tjondronegoro, Salatiga, describes the founding of Semarang and gives a history of its Regents. Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," p. 107, notes shifts in the dominant cities.
61. Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," pp. 104, 190-206; de Graaf, Mangku-Rat I, I, p. 19. The dividing line between east and west Pasisir was the Serang (or Tedunan) river flowing between Kudus and Demak. A general, varying, division between

Mataram's need to control the pasisir chiefs after the conquest had sometimes called forth harsh measures. Sultan Agung (1613-46) destroyed the governing house of Pati and most of the Madurese ruling family. Amangkurat I (Tegal Wangi, 1646-77) killed off the Regents of Surabaya, Semarang, Pati and Japara--all chiefs of areas so strategic and wealthy that their resources made them dangerous.⁶² Although the VOC chroniclers were shocked at such barbarities, in fact the Company, too, resorted to assassinations during its own early eighteenth-century struggle to protect its interests in eastern Pasisir in the face of challenges from the rulers of Surabaya and Sampang (west Madura).

During that convoluted struggle which the Dutch called the "first Javanese war of succession," most north-coast Regents supported the VOC and Sunan Puger (later Paku Buwana I, 1705-19) against Sunan Mas (Amangkurat III, 1703-5) and his ally Surapati.⁶³ After the victory of the Sunan Puger faction the Dutch were free to begin reducing the power of the coastal chiefs. Panembahan Tjakraningrat (according to the family genealogy, Tjakraningrat II, 1648-1707) of west Madura had won from Paku Buwana I the title of "great governor of the eastern coastal districts" and had appropriated the bearing and attributes of an independent king with elephants and gongs in his train. He had also appointed his own men as Regents in Gresik, Sedayu, Tuban and Pati and ensured a supply of loyal manpower by moving Madurese settlers into Java. But he died in 1707 and the Company cut back his domain: west Madura was divided between three chiefs of the Panembahan's family and "reliable Javanese" were placed as Regents in Japan (Mojokerto), Tuban, Lasem and Juana while the old Regents of Gresik and Sedayu were reappointed. The Madurese settlements were reduced.⁶⁴

Unfortunately, from the Company's point of view, Djajengrana, the Adipati of Surabaya (?1705-9) was in good health and not about to die. Like Tjakraningrat, he had been a major ally of the Dutch in the war, and his maneuverings had left him in a strong position: too strong indeed for the VOC's liking. In 1709, accompanied by a retinue of over a thousand men, he came to a meeting with the Company representatives and was pressured by them to give up his control of Wirasaba (Jombang) and Japan (Mojokerto) and to have his brothers renounce their claims on Sedayu and Jipang (Bojonegoro). This he did, but the Dutch still did not feel safe and so arranged for his assassination in 1709. Surabaya was also weakened by its division between two Regents, who founded the Kasepuhan and Kanoman lines which governed there until 1821.⁶⁵

the two pasisir regions had probably been known much earlier. On the Dutch advances, see Veth, Java, I, pp. 333-35, 353-54.

62. Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," p. 218; Veth, Java, II, pp. 14-15; de Graaf, Sultan Agung and Mangku-Rat I, passim.
63. See, e.g., Veth, Java, II, pp. 97-115.
64. Zainalfattah, Sedjarah, p. 125; the Tjakraningrat will be discussed in some detail in Part II.
65. Veth, Java, II, pp. 112-15; R. Moh. Ali, S.S., Perjuangan Feodal Indonesia (Bandung/Jakarta: Ganaco, 1963), pp. 159-72. See also the genealogies of the Surabaya and related Bupati families prepared by R.M. Abdul Wahab Surjoadingrat, S.H., of Jakarta who has recently published Warta I.K.G.R. Nomor Khusus. Satu Windu Ikatan Keluarga Gotong Royong. 11 Maret 1965-1973, which also

The year 1709 in fact saw the VOC in a position strong enough to settle Pasisir into a mold more suited to their needs. The complex system of various levels of regional chiefs with differing relations with and obligations to the center was simplified into forty-three Regencies all directly under the Sunan (and hence more readily accessible to the Company). According to Dutch theory the pasisir Regents had certain economic and political obligations to the VOC--mainly the duty to provide *contingenten en verplichte leveringen* (contingents and compulsory deliveries). The contingents were said to be small annual dues owed to the Company as a sign of political allegiance, while the compulsory deliveries were rice and produce sold in agreed quantities to the VOC. But though in theory the former involved rather nominal amounts and the latter was meant to be an equitable economic arrangement, in practice both contingents and compulsory deliveries were large-scale tributes delivered to Company merchants against minimal payment. The Regents were in reality agents of the Dutch, extracting maximum produce and labor from the population of their areas.⁶⁶

It is harder to locate the old ruling families in Pasisir than it is in West or Central Java. The coast, with its trading connections and international Islamic orientation, was inevitably more open to the outside world. Some of the most powerful chiefs were of foreign origin: around 1618 the Governor of Japara, Kodja Ulubalang, was a non-Javanese, probably a Gujerati or a Persian, while the Governor of Tegal and his brother, Kiyahi Rangga, were "Turkish" (i.e., Arab), and had come to central Pasisir after their expulsion from Banten. In the Islamic courts of Banten and Cirebon Arab teachers and men regarded as descendants of the Prophet were usually honored and hence were frequent guests, even though they were often more adventurers than aristocrats. Indeed, since most of the wali were of Arab or partly Arab origins, many pasisir Regent families had Arab blood, usually said to be that of the Prophet Muhammed.⁶⁷ A knowledge of the worlds of Islam or trade was valued in the port-states of Pasisir, and many a foreign syahbandar or wandering scholar climbed to power and left his children as part of the Javanese elite. Wealthy merchants of various nationalities also married into the nobility: there were Regents of Chinese background, such as Mas Tumenggung Astrawidjaja, an early eighteenth-century Regent of Semarang, among many others. Since the coastal aristocracy was itself involved in trade, there was ample opportunity for arranging such matches.⁶⁸

includes "Asal-Usul Para Anggota Ikatan Keluarga Gotong-Royong" by Raden Aryo Mr. Abdul Wahab Surjoadingrat, pp. 6-34. Unfortunately I did not receive the copy of this book which he most kindly sent me in time to use it while preparing this essay. The Company also paid for the murder of the Bupati of Sumenep. See A. K. A. G. Hodenpijl, "De vermoording van den Regent van Soemenep (25 Augustus 1707," BKI, LXXII (1916), pp. 555-89.

66. Clive Day, The Policy and the Administration of the Dutch in Java (1st ed., 1904; Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 62-66.
67. Veth, Java, I, pp. 229-32; Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," p. 371, note 391; de Graaf, Sultan Agung, p. 119; on the title "Kodja," see J. C. van Leur, Indonesian Trade and Society (The Hague and Bandung: van Hoeve, 1955), p. 293, note 4, and on the north coast, passim.
68. Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," pp. 238-41; on trade, see van Leur, Indonesian Trade, p. 207; "De Regenten van Semarang." De Graaf, Sultan Agung, pp. 215-16,

The more diverse origins of the pasisir Regents, however, is not the most important factor complicating the tracing of their backgrounds: the greater intervention by both Mataram and the VOC in local politics on the coast meant that there was, as a rule, less family continuity in government. Since complete Dutch dominance began there at least a hundred years earlier than it did in most of the rest of Java, Pasisir was deeply affected by the ill-informed and arbitrary approach of the Company to native affairs. The VOC paid scant attention to such matters as Javanese titulature and aristocratic genealogies. Birth was frequently less important than purchase price in the appointment of Bupati. The use of noble titles on the coast was often unjustified, with Regents of common origins using titles. Such pretenses were said to be more common in Pasisir than anywhere else in Java.⁶⁹

It is probably safe to say that the proportion of "new men" was higher in the coastal areas (and the extreme east) than in Priangan and Central Java. There were some famous and long-established families, including those of Blora and Tegal,⁷⁰ but few had direct and

notes the presence of Muslim Chinese chiefs in East Java, especially in Gresik, Tuban and Surabaya. See below on Chinese in the extreme east. The presence of such "alien" Bupati was often hard to detect, as they would usually adopt Javanese names and convert to Islam, so the number was probably higher than is apparent.

69. See van den Berg, Rangen en Titels, on titles. His own book was part of a government effort to sort out the confusion (see the Introduction).
70. The Blora Regent family of Tjokronegoro governed for seven generations, until 1939, when the Patih of Grobogan was appointed (R.T. Moerjono Djojodikdo, 1939-43), although there had been breaks in the direct line of succession (e.g., R.T.A. Said, Bupati 1913-26, came from Bojonegoro, but was related to the Tjokronegoro family). This dynasty was said to be descended from a Mbak Blora who cleared the land and founded the settlement. The marriage of Tjokronegoro I with a daughter of K.G.P.A.H. Koesoemo Joedo, son of the late eighteenth-century ruler Paku Buwana IV, gave the family noble Solonese connections. No dates for the founding of the area are known, but it would be typical if generations of local headmen had governed there before growing wealth and perhaps strategic interests dictated the royal marriage, the adoption of a suitably elevated name (Tjokronegoro) and a rise in status to the Bupati rank. From MvO. of L. Fraenkel (Resident of Rembang, 1901-7), Vb., 5-3-1908, no. 36; genealogy in the possession of R.M. Koensoehardjito of Salatiga.

Until 1937 the Tegal Bupati were drawn from the Reksonegoro family (in fact they returned in 1949-50, when the former Regent R.M.T. Soesmono Reksonegoro, or Reksonegoro XI, 1929-37, returned as Deputy Recomba [high official under Dutch protection after the war]). According to Suputro, Tegal, pp. 40-41, Tegal was originally a village, Tetegal, which in the early sixteenth century was part of Pemasang Kabupatèn and hence under the ruler of Pajang. This village was enlarged by Kyai Gedé Sebaju, a descendant of the Demak Sultans, and made into a town in the mid-sixteenth century. His grandson became the first Reksonegoro Regent of Tegal, replacing the leading west pasisir Tegal-based Regent, Adipati Martalaja, who died in 1678. Reksonegoro VI married a daughter of Mangkunegara I, and the family had close Mangkunegaran ties. Reksonegoro X married Kartini's sister Kardinah. See Suputro, Tegal; H. G. Baron van Nahuys van Burgst, De Pangerangs Aria Reksa Negara en Adie Widjojo (The Hague: ?, 1851); R.M. Ng. Soemahatmaka, Pratelan para darah dalem soewargi Kandjeng Goesti Pangeran Adipati Arja Mangkunegara I hing Soerakarta Hadiningrat (Surakarta: n.p., n.d. [193?]), I (Asalsilah).

simple continuity in a single Kabupatèn. The way in which even a long-established family was subject to political fluctuations is well illustrated by the case of Semarang.

According to Javanese sources there were twenty-eight Regents of Semarang between the founding of the Kabupatèn in 1575 and the Japanese conquest of 1942.⁷¹ At first the Bupati, more or less independent, were drawn from the founding family, descendants of Pangéran Kiyahi Pandanaran of Demak who first opened the area for settlement. But in 1657 Amangkurat I asserted Mataram's suzerainty by dismissing the Regent and appointing a royal favorite in his place. This Mas Tumenggung Tambi was Bupati for a mere two years, however, and the Sunan's next choice lasted only seven. And between 1666 and his death Amangkurat appointed and dismissed five Bupati of Semarang. After he died in 1677, the situation stabilized with the return of the old family until 1713 when Sunan Paku Buwana I dismissed Regent Soeminingrat and appointed a Chinese successor (the above-mentioned Astrawidjaja). He lost his position in the aftermath of the Chinese war and the VOC intervened to restore Soeminingrat under the title of Soerahadimenggala.

Once again the original family had returned to govern Semarang, but not for long. Soerahadimenggala V was banished by the English, and a new family appeared, the Bustaman, descendants of the famous Kiyahi Bustam who rose in the employ of the VOC at the time of the "third Javanese war of succession" or *perang Mangkubumi*.⁷² This new Regent complicated matters by taking the name Soerahadimenggala.⁷³ But although the Bustaman family is commonly associated with Semarang, in fact they provided only three Regents there (the other two between 1861 and 1881), for in 1822 the original family was again reinstated--for the last time--and remained in office until 1841. After 1841 there was no extended family rule: twenty years of Bustaman, forty-five of a father and son from the Demak Tjondronegaran--R.M.A.A. Poerboningrat, 1881 (or according to some sources 1883)-1897, R.M.A.A. Poerbohadiningrat, 1897-1927--who were succeeded by a cousin, R.M.A.A. Amin Soejitno

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71. "De Regenten van Semarang"; dates checked against Regeeringsalmanak and corrected where necessary.
72. R.A.A. Kartadiningrat, "Salsilah Bestaman oleh Boepati Madjalengka Raden Adipati Aria Kartadiningrat," TBG, XLII (1900), pp. 134-43.
73. This Regent, who governed until 1822, was greatly admired by Raffles. See T. S. Raffles, The History of Java (London: Black, Parbury & Allen, 1817), I, note on p. 273; on p. 271 Raffles notes that a Regent of Semarang "purchased" his appointment with a payment of 50,000 dollars. Such purchasing of office did not necessarily imply the easy appointment of outsiders: often only Bupati families could afford the price, which they raised from their regions. Soekanto, Dua Raden Saleh. Dua Nasionalis dalam Abad ke 19 (Jakarta: N. V. Poesaka Aseli, n.d. [1951?]), discusses the careers of the painter Radèn Saleh Sjarief Bestaman, and R.A. Notodiningrat, the son of Soerahadimenggala, who became Regent of Probolinggo (the list of Probolinggo Regents in the Kern Collection dates him 1818-21). The Baud Collection, no. 502 in the Algemeen Rijksarchief (General Government Archive), The Hague, includes a marvelous letter in English from this Regent, in which he defends his family against charges of low origin and casts grave aspersions on the birth of his critics. It was quite common for a new Regent to try to take the name of the established Bupati dynasty (going through genealogical contortions to establish fictive kin-relationships) as the famous local name was a potent means of legitimation.

(1927-42).⁷⁴ But since thirteen of the twenty-one Bupati before 1841 had come from the original family, Semarang could claim a venerable Regent family strongly identified with the Kabupatèn. The Bustaman line was more widely spread: in addition to providing three Regents in Semarang, there were also three in Lasem, Batang, and Grobogan, two in Purworejo and one each in Demak, Salatiga, Blora, Cirebon, Majalengka and Gajihan (?). At least seven female descendants of Kiyahi Bustam married Bupati.⁷⁵

Another well-known pasisir Bupati family, the Pringgodigdan, like the Bustaman, reached prominence by distinguishing themselves in Dutch service. The Pringgodigdo are most closely identified with Tuban, where they were Regents between 1892 and 1927, having been moved in to eliminate the opium-smuggling which flourished there, apparently under the protection of Regent R.A.A. Tjitrosomo (1879-92). The Djojoadingrat of Rembang were also from the Pringgodigdan, so that the north-east stretch of the coast was very much under the family in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, although their ancestors were Regents in the Madiun area and, ultimately, the kings of Mataram.⁷⁶

Two of the most famous pasisir Regent families were the Tjitrosoman and the Tjondronegaran. Both took their names from renowned early Bupati, and in both families--as was fairly common in governing families with a high degree of continuity--the name was used by successive descendants after their appointment as Regent, rather like a title. Tjitrosomo I, also known as Radèn Ragil Djiwosuto, traced his descent from Dewa Agung, Raja of Bali, via rulers of Blambangan and Sedayu.⁷⁷ He was appointed to Japara by Sultan Agung, who granted him 1,000 *jung* of local land for his support.⁷⁸ Of his forty-seven children nine were Bupati: two of Japara, two of Magetan (one later moved to Demak), the others of Blora, Surabaya, Juana, Ponorogo and Grobogan. One of his daughters, Njai Adjeng Bos, was apparently married to a Dutchman. There were seven Tjitrosomo Regents of Japara; not all the dates are

74. "De Regenten van Semarang," passim.

75. Soemahatmaka genealogy book.

76. The more recent Pringgodigdan Regents were usually descendants of the able Patih of Blitar, Djojodikdo, son of a Javanese lieutenant in the Dutch army, a well-born Yogyakarta from Diponegoro's forces who had chosen service with the Netherlands troops in Sumatra over captivity. Djojodikdo's wife was the daughter of R.M.T. Pringgodigdo (Bupati of Berbek, later called Nganjuk, 1852-66). His descendants tended to use the Pringgodigdo name, although the family was sometimes referred to as the Djojodikdan. From the genealogy "Stamboom Familie Pringgodigdo," dated 1937, held by Suleiman Pringgodigdo, Jakarta; interview with Abdul Gafar Pringgodigdo, S.H., Surabaya, 1970. On opium, see MvO. of L. Ch. E. Fraenkel (Resident of Rembang, 1901-7), Vb., 5-3-1908, no. 36, and the Koloniaal Verslag for the relevant years. The Bupati of Rembang, R.A.A. Djojoadingrat (1889-1912), a son of Djojodikdo, was also appointed to clear up the opium traffic there which was said to enjoy the protection of the former Regent R.P. Kartowinoto (1880-89); see the Fraenkel MvO.

77. Raja Agung was the usual title of the rulers of Klungkung, but in the roneoed genealogy of the Tjitrosoman, no further identification was provided other than the title; genealogy "Silsilah Tjitrosomo," in the possession of R. Rachmat Suronegoro, Jakarta.

78. One *jung* equals four *bahu*; one *bahu* is 7096.5 square meters.

known, but Tjitrosomo VI retired in 1836. Various male Tjitrosomo served as Regents in Tuban, Kudus, Pati, Batang, Rembang and Lamongan while female descendants married into these and other Regent families.⁷⁹

Like most Bupati the Tjitrosomo had large families. Even in the later colonial period, when they no longer could boast such a concentration of power as they had had in the seventeenth century, they were still an extensive Pangrèh Praja family. Of the twenty-nine children of R.T. Tjitrosomo VII (of Japara) four daughters married Regents (of Tuban, Pati and two of Batang), two married Patih (of Pati and Batang) while six sons were Assistant Wedana and others were Mantri.⁸⁰

In the late nineteenth century the Tjitrosoman no longer provided the Regents of Japara. After the death of R.T. Ario Tjitrowikromo (1857-80), who was a brother-in-law of Tjitrosomo VII (he also had Tjondronegoro connections), his relative R.M.A.A. Sosroningrat (1880-1905) was appointed. A very well-known man, Sosroningrat was a son of Pangéran Ario Tjondronegoro IV (in 1836 Regent of Kudus, of Demak 1850-66), a brother of R.M.A.A. Poerbodiningrat (Semarang, 1881-83 [see above], earlier Demak, 1866-81), of R.M.A. Tjondronegoro V (Regent of Kudus, Brebes; published his travels as "Poerwolelana" in 1866) and of Pangéran Ario Hadiningrat (Bupati of Demak, 1881-1915). Sosroningrat was also the father of R.A. Kartini, the Indonesian feminist heroine, and belonged to what was arguably the best-known colonial Regent family--at least in Dutch circles.⁸¹ The Tjondronegoro stemmed from the line of Anggadajaja, a seventeenth-century Regent of Pasuruan (hence ultimately from Brawidjaja V, King of Majapahit from 1447 to 1478), and so belonged to a related complex of families which included the Tjakraningrat of Madura, the Tjokronegaran of Surabaya, the Kramadjaman of Surabaya, Lamongan and Mojokerto and, more distantly, the Nitiadiningratan of Pasuruan.⁸² But before considering some of the ramifications of this complex, more should be said of the Tjondronegoro in particular.

The geographical distribution of the Tjondronegoro Regents was rather similar to that of the Tjitrosoman: both were centered in the northern horn, but whereas the Tjitrosoman were based in Japara the Tjondronegaran came more from the Semarang-Demak-Kudus area. Both, however, ranged widely--there were Tjitrosoman Bupati in Magetan and Ponorogo, while R.M.T. Sosroboesono of Ngawi (1905-43) was a son of Sosroningrat; Brebes and Tegal also had Tjondronegaran Regents. But, generally speaking, both were great families of central Pasisir which emerged onto the historical stage in the seventeenth century. In the twenties and thirties of this century the Regents of Demak and Kudus were no longer from the Tjondronegaran (1915 in Demak and 1924 in Kudus saw the appointment of unrelated officials), while Sosroningrat was

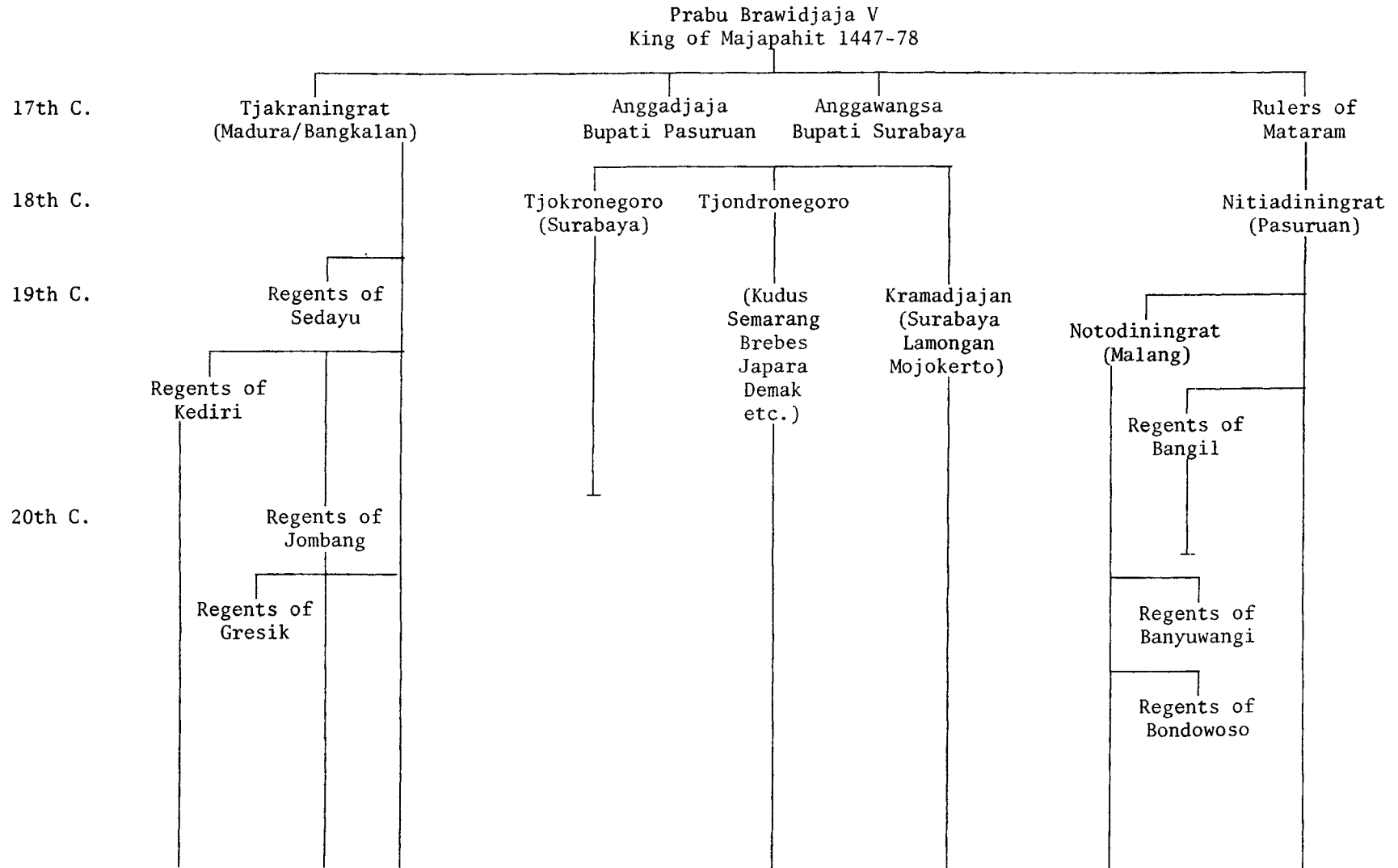
79. "Silsilah Tjitrosomo"; genealogy of the Tjondronegoro, held by K.R.M.A.A. Tjondronegoro, Salatiga.

80. "Silsilah Tjitrosomo."

81. Tjondronegoro genealogy; Regeeringsalmanak. On the Tjondronegoro, see Sutherland, "Pangrèh Pradja," pp. 183-86.

82. See the accompanying chart for a broad sketch of family relationships. A more detailed genealogy covering most of these families will appear in Part II of this article to be published in April 1974.

Diagram Showing the Relationship Between Some Major Regent Families of East Java
 (based on genealogies provided by R.M. Abdul Wahab Surjoadingrat, S.H.)



succeeded in Japara by an unconnected but also famous regent, R.M.A.A. Koesoemo Oetojo (Regent of Ngawi, 1902-5, and of Japara, 1905-26; son of a Patih of Pekalongan, grandson of a Bupati of Kutoarjo).⁸³ Demak had been the leader in the coastal cities' struggle against Majapahit; her ruler Radèn Patah had led the Muslim forces, and under famous subsequent princes, such as Panembahan Djimbun, Pangéran Sabrang Lor and Pangéran Trenggana, Demak remained independent of Mataram until the beginning of the seventeenth century. Even after the conquest, the authority of the old family remained strong, although by the mid-nineteenth century there was no stress on Regent ties with the old princes.

Another deeply-rooted Demak family was that of the local chiefs of the Kadilangu (or Adilangu, Ngadilangu) village complex. These chiefs had had full freedom in governing Kadilangu. According to one genealogy they traced themselves back to an Arab, one Baginda Abas from Mecca, through the ancient rulers of Tuban and Majapahit nobles. But their special position derived from a more immediate ancestor, the wali Sunan Kalidjaga of Demak, who was buried at Kadilangu. His descendants had ruled the area under various titles--Panembahan Agung, Pangéran Penghulu, Pangéran Khatib--which often reflected the religious aspect of their power, until they finally settled on the designation Pangéran Widjil. They retained political and financial control of Kadilangu until 1883, when the Dutch abolished their special police powers, leaving them only with the income from their specific villages, and hence with similar status to other "owners" of *perdikan desa* (tax-exempt villages). At least one Bupati of Demak, R.T. Mertonegoro (dates unknown) was said to be of Kadilangu descent, as were the Soewondo Regents of Pati, while various unrelated Demak Regents found that the refusal of Kadilangu to recognize their authority was a continual source of worry and irritation.⁸⁴

A rather similar enclave was that of Giri, near Gresik on the coast north of Surabaya. Giri was the seat of the so-called "priest-kings" who exercised considerable authority in Java during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Radèn Paku, the first Sunan Giri and one of the most famous of Java's wali, built his house and mosque on the hill Giri and was later buried there. His descendants preserved their independence and were acknowledged spiritual leaders of kings and commoners alike, although their own territorial power was limited (they had originally controlled Gresik, but later lost it to Surabaya). In 1635, Sultan Agung began his campaigns against the defiant "priest-kings," but they maintained their freedom until 1680 when the last Sunan Giri and most of his family were killed on

83. "Silsilah Tjitrosomò"; Tjondronegoro genealogy; on Koesoemo Oetojo, see Sutherland, "Pangrèh Pradja," pp. 188-89 and *passim*; see also his typescript autobiography, "Riwayat Hidup: R.M.A.A. Koesoemo Oetojo," in the possession of his daughter, Ibu Soediman, Bandung.

84. "Geslacht register van den present Pangeran Widjil Regent te Kadilangu," early nineteenth-century manuscript genealogy signed by C. J. Krijzman, Government Translator, from the Algemeen Rijksarchief, Baud Collection no. 1033; E. L. K. Schmulling, "Mededeelingen uit de afdeelingen Kebumen en Demak omtrent de opheffing van 'vrije' en Gouvernements dessoas en de mogelijke gunstige gevolgen daarvan," *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, VI (1917), pp. 1298-1305; *Encyclopaedie*, "Demak"; van den Berg, *Rangen en Titels*, pp. 73-76.

Mataram's orders. Later Regents of Tulungagung, Trenggalek and Madura traced themselves back to the Sunan of Giri.⁸⁵

Surabaya was the natural major center for the region between Tuban and Pasuruan. Here the great Solo and Brantas (or Mas) rivers flowed into the sea, linking much of east-central Java to the early centers of Sedayu, Gresik, Giri, Jaratan and Surabaya. There were close connections, too, with Madura, as the west Madurese port of Kamal faced Surabaya across the narrow strait, while ethnic and cultural bonds existed between mainland and island Madurese and family ties connected the priyayi. Djajengrana of Surabaya (d. 1709) whose fate was described above, was the son-in-law of his ally, the Panembahan of Madura. He was also descended from the old "kings" of Surabaya and was the son of Anggawangsa, Regent of Surabaya (1677-1705?), brother of the Anggadajaja of Pasuruan who was the Tjondronegoro ancestor.⁸⁶

By the time of Anggawangsa, however, Surabaya, once a considerable independent power, was already subordinate to Mataram. In the mid-seventeenth century, in an effort to administer Surabaya without allowing its resources to provide a base for rebellion, Mataram had tried to establish a collegiate authority there, using eleven chiefs. This experiment was ended by the successful local usurpation of Trunadajaja; when Mataram regained control Anggawangsa was appointed. He had been granted his title by Amangkurat II: indeed, it seems that both he and his brother had made their way in the somewhat perilous service of the Sunan.⁸⁷ But although his son and successor, Djajengrana, seemed able, from a position of strength, to face the Sunan, he was unable to survive the VOC's displeasure, and Surabaya was divided into two.

The division of Surabaya between the two Regent lines of Kasepuhan and Kanoman did not end dynastic government, though it limited the power of the ruling clique. The Kasepuhan in particular remained in the family, though there were interruptions with some appointments of outsiders. In the mid-eighteenth century two sons of Anggadajaja, it is said, were appointed as Bupati Kasepuhan (Tjondronegoro) and Kanoman (Djojodirono). Tjondronegoro's son, Kiyahi Tumenggung Tjakranegara (1763-85), also a Kasepuhan Bupati, was the founder of the Tjakranegaran branch of the Anggadajajan. At much the same time the Patih of the Surabaya Kanoman was Kiyahi Ngabèhi Kramawidjaja, founder of the Kramadjajan line which alternated with the Tjakranegaran in providing the Regents of a reunified Surabaya between 1821 and 1912, after which a series of sons-in-law were appointed who monopolized the position until the end of the colonial era. According to genealogies, the Patih Kanoman was the son of a Wedana Mantri in the Kanoman, and a

85. Encyclopaedie, "Giri"; de Graaf, Sultan Agung, pp. 205-23; Veth, Java, I, pp. 236, 304-5, 352.

86. Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," pp. 151, 370, note 378. Genealogies from Abdul Wahab Surjoadingrat.

87. "Punika pandjenengan ing kabupaten Surapringga," or the "Sadjarah Regen Surabaya," Museum Pusat, Jakarta, manuscript collection no. BR 474. I am indebted to Ibu Soeprapto for her translation. Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," p. 204, notes that at the time of Anggawangsa Surabaya was ruled by four Tumenggung who were succeeded by an Adipati Urawan who was then followed by Ngabèhi later Adipati Djajengrana.

descendant of the Dermojudo Bupati of Pasuruan. But a mid-nineteenth century Dutch account says the Patih's father was a villager of low birth; the boy was adopted by the Bupati Kanoman, Mas Adipati Pandji Djojodirono, and married the Regent's daughter. The success of the family was due, says this version, to the favor of Baron van Lawick van Pabst.⁸⁸

The Kramadjajan family provided many of the nineteenth-century Bupati of Lamongan and Mojokerto, regions which had been within Surabaya's ambit for centuries. R.T. Kramadjajadirana III, Regent of Surabaya from 1859 to 1862, was subsequently moved to Lamongan (1863-66). From then on until 1937 his direct male descendants were Bupati there.⁸⁹ His son, Kramadjajaadinegara III, was appointed Regent in Mojokerto (1866-94) and so was governing there at the time his brother was Bupati of Lamongan. He, too, was succeeded by a son and grandson in the Kabupaten, and the family remained in office until 1935. A girl from this family, the daughter of Kramadjajaadinegara IV (1894-1916), married Surjawinata II (Bupati of Gresik, 1917-35, and of Surabaya 1935-37); her son-in-law was the last Dutch-appointed Regent of Surabaya (R.T. Musono, 1937-45, from Tulungagung) so maintaining the network of family connections until the end of the colonial era.⁹⁰ There were also ties with the Bupati of Bangil and Malang growing out of the links between the Surabaya families and the neighboring chiefs of Pasuruan.

The history of Pasuruan's chiefs reflects closely the pattern of successive rulers of the coastal areas. According to tradition the Pasuruan/Malang area was the center of the ancient kingdoms of Tumapel and Singosari; thereafter the region came under first Majapahit's and then Demak's dominance. Subsequently it entered the Madurese sphere of influence before being conquered by Mataram. In 1685, it became the center of the rebel Surapati's kingdom. He ruled there as Wironegoro until 1707, when Pasuruan fell to the Dutch. The Company built itself a fort and "in the name of the Susuhunan" reorganized the administration.⁹¹ It was then, according to one genealogy, that the first of the three Dermojudo Regents was appointed.⁹²

Surapati's sons and supporters, meanwhile, continued the struggle in Malang. Around 1740, the Patih of Malang, Wongso Negro, left the

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88. Abdul Wahab Surjoadingrat genealogies; G. S. Schonck, "Statistiek overzicht der Residentie Soerabaya 1853," manuscript in the Museum Pusat, Jakarta. Van Lawick van Pabst, an ex-Resident of Rembang, was Hoofdambtenaar (Chief Official) of the extreme east. See also "Bijdragen tot de kennis van de Residentie Soerabaja," *TNI [Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië]*, XX (1858), pp. 85-104; XXI (1859), pp. 17-34, 105-28.
89. Details on the Kramadjajan from the Abdul Wahab Surjoadingrat genealogies, and from a genealogy in the possession of R.M. Iksan Natahamidjaja, S.H., Jakarta. De Graaf, *Sultan Agung*, pp. 12-18, describes the old kingdom of Surabaya as including Lamongan, Kediri and Wirasaba/Jombang as its outer areas. Until 1881 Jombang was part of Mojokerto; *Encyclopaedie*, "Djombang."
90. As in preceding note; see also Vb., 8-1-1917, no. 12, on the appointment of R. Ng. Kramaadinegara as Regent of Mojokerto.
91. *Encyclopaedie*, "Pasoeroean"; Veth, *Java*, II, pp. 107-8.
92. Abdul Wahab Surjoadingrat genealogies.

rebels and allied himself with the VOC. He was appointed Regent of Pasuruan with the name T. Mertonegoro (later Kiyahi T. Nitinegoro). On the advice of the Sunan, it is said, he chose as his wife a woman from the priestly family descended from the wali Sunan Dradjat; hence his children bore the title Radèn. From this man stemmed the Nitiadiningrat Bupati who governed Pasuruan from 1751 (when the founder's son, an important military ally of the Company, was appointed) until 1887; the Notodiningrat of Malang, who ruled from 1820 till 1898 when Notodiningrat III was succeeded by his Nitiadiningrat-descended son-in-law R.A. Soerioadiningrat (1898-1934); the Regents of Bangil who were in power in 1825-72 and 1888-1902 (an outsider was appointed from 1872 to 1888, and in 1902 a Kramadjajan was appointed till 1915); and miscellaneous other Bupati: of Probolinggo (R.T.A. Soerjaningrat, 1879-88), Bondowoso (R.T. Notodiningrat, 1929-35), Banyuwangi (R.T. Notodiningrat, 1913-18) and Surabaya (R.A.A. Nitiadiningrat, 1912-35). There were also ties with Blitar Regents.⁹³

In 1887 a new Bupati family came to the Pasuruan Kabupatèn: the Soegondho line, descended from the Mangkunegaran and so from all the ancient kings of Java. The first Regent, R.M.A.A. Soegondho (1887-1903) was succeeded by two sons (R.M.A.A. Darso Soegondho, 1903-14, and R.M.T. Pandji Darto Soegondho, 1928-32) and a son-in-law, R.A.A. Soejono (son of a Regent of Tulungagung, he himself was Bupati of Pasuruan, 1915-28, and active in priyayi associations and the Volksraad).⁹⁴ Darto Soegondho's was the last family appointment in Pasuruan; the remaining Regents were chosen for administrative reasons.⁹⁵

Ujung Timur

The extreme east of Java, beyond Pasuruan, is said to have been a settled and flourishing area in ancient times. But for various reasons it experienced a heavy loss of population, and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a number of campaigns and expeditions which destroyed crops and shifted people.⁹⁶ After this a period of develop-

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93. Ibid. This differs in dating from S. van Deventer Jsz., Eene Javaansche Plegtigheid. Het verlaten van den ouden Dalm der Regenten van Pasoeroean en het overgaan naar een tijdelijke woning, op den 19den Maart, 1898 (Surabaya: Chs. Kocken, 1868), which is followed here. See also the genealogy of Pangéran Koesoemo Joedo Soemiodo, in the possession of his son, Koesoemo Joedo, The Hague; genealogy of Pasuruan Regents in the Arsip Dalam Negeri (Home Ministry Archives), Jakarta, file CD 56/41.
94. Soemahatmaka genealogy; Arsip Dalam Negeri file CD 56/41; Mr. 331^x/32 and 1057/15 on the appointment of Pasuruan Bupati, Colonial Archives. On Soejono, see Sutherland, "Pangrèh Pradja," pp. 197-98 and passim.
95. The later Regents were R.T. Kartohadiprodjo or Bawadiman (1932-37), R.T. Hoepodio Siswodiprodjo (1937-?), and, during 1935, a caretaker Regent R.A.A. Harsono; these men did not come from old Bupati families. See Sutherland, "Pangrèh Pradja," pp. 420-21.
96. The extreme east had been the site of the old Sivaite kingdom of Blambangan, under strong Balinese influence, which was only finally conquered by the Dutch in the late eighteenth century. Before and during the time of Majapahit there were powerful princes in the east, such as the Rangga of Besuki, and the kingdom

ment evidently began, following the enforcement of the Pax Neerlandica. But this development was carried out by Chinese rather than by Dutchmen. During the second half of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century the remarkable *peranakan* (locally born, of mixed blood or heavily acculturated) Han family opened up, populated and ruled much of the Ujung Timur.

It was around 1742, at the time of the massacres of Chinese in much of Java, that an East Javanese Chinese, Han Hin Song, afraid for his life, became a Muslim. He married the daughter of the Regent of Rajakwesi (later Bojonegoro) and brought up three of their sons as Chinese (Han Tju Sing, Han Hing Sing and Han Bui Sing) and two as Muslims: Djajeng Tirtonoto and Soeropernollo. The "Chinese" brothers became great renters of land in Panarukan and Besuki, while Soeropernollo entered the employ of Hendrik Breton, Opperhoofd (lit. Upper Head) of the Oosthoek (Extreme East). He became Breton's right-hand man, acting as chief of police for Panarukan (1768-76), and eventually his heir. His connection with Breton gave him the wealth and influence to ensure his family's future. One of his sons, Baba Midun also known as Soeroadiwikromo, was the Rangga of Besuki (in 1776) and then (in 1794) Tumenggung of Puger (later Jember) and Besuki; he married a daughter of Notokusumo, Pangéran of Sumenep, and so was brother-in-law to the Sultan Pakunataningrat of Sumenep (1812-54) and had a family connection with Walter Markus Stuart, Resident of Sumenep (who married the ex-wife of one of the Sumenep Pangéran's sons).

The second son of Soeropernollo was Baba Sam. As Soemodiwirjo he was Rangga of Besuki (1772-76); as Ngabèhi Soeroadiwidjojo he was Tumenggung of Bangil (1776-88), later holding the same position as Tumenggung Soeroadinegoro (1788-1809). Subsequently, he became, as Adipati Soeroadinegoro, Regent of Malang and then of Tuban and Sedayu (1810-18). His children were a formidable force in the administration. Baba Panderman, as Poerwo Adiwidjojo, succeeded his uncle as Rangga of Besuki (1794-1804) and then became Tumenggung of Bondowoso and Probolinggo (1813-18). His brothers were Regents of Tuban (T. Soerio Adiwidjojo) and of Bangil (Adipati Prawiroadhinegoro), and Patih of Bangil, Pasuruan, Tuban and Malang--all with aristocratic Javanese names--and one was also a Collector (tax-official) of Probolinggo. The "Chinese" branch of the family also rose in wealth and power. They no longer merely rented lands, but, thanks to the policy of Daendels and Raffles, were able to purchase it outright. Two grandsons of Han Hing Song owned much of the extreme east for a few years: Han Tjan Pit, Surabaya Captain of Chinese, bought Panarukan and Besuki from his debtor Daendels. In 1811, his brother Han Tik Ko bought Probolinggo, which at that stage included Lumajang and Kraksaan. The Regent of Probolinggo, R.T. Djojoadingrat (1808-10) was transferred to Sedayu, and Han Tik Ko established himself as "Baba Tumenggung" in a fine new Kabupatèn. Not for long, however: he was enjoying a convivial drinking session with some

of Puger (Jember region) was said to have covered a wide area. The Ujung Timur often bore the character of a border zone, pulled towards Bali to the east, Mataram to the west and Madura to the north. See the books by de Graaf; Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," p. 152; J. Brandes, "Verslag over een Babad Balamangan," *TBG*, XXXVII (1894), pp. 325-65; C. J. Bosch, "Aanteekening over de afdeeling Bondowoso (residentie Bezoeki)," *TBG*, VI (1857), pp. 469-508; Th. Pigeaud, "Aanteekening betreffende den Javaanschen Oosthoek," *TBG*, LXXII (1932), pp. 215-313; interview with Prajudi Atmosoedirdjo, Jakarta, 1970.

English officers during the British interregnum when news came of a revolt, led by disaffected and financially-deprived relatives of the ex-Regent. Fired by false courage, the officers and the Tumenggung set off to quell the disturbance, but instead lost their lives. Raffles took this opportunity to repurchase the lands and they reverted to the government in 1813. Although the Regencies were now government lands, the Han family continued to administer them, as the Javanized members of the family continued in power as Bupati until 1818.

The year 1818 saw a complete purge of the Sino-Javanese Regents and officials from East Java. It appears that there was an alliance of Javanese and Dutchmen who, on vague and insufficient grounds, combined to drive the descendants of Han Hin Song back to the cities. After weighing up the evidence, Hageman, writing in 1864, concluded that envy and jealousy, combined with the credulity of the government, brought down this proud (sometimes, says Hageman, offensively arrogant) family. It does indeed seem to have been a somewhat unsavory affair of trumped-up charges. The new Bupati of Besuki, Radèn Soetik (1818-43), had remote family ties with the Han family, as he was the illegitimate son of Resident Stuart of Sumenep, and had been adopted and brought up by a brother of the Sultan of Sumenep and eventually married the Sultan's daughter.⁹⁷ In Probolinggo R.T.A. Notodiningrat of the Bustaman was appointed.⁹⁸

After this interlude the Ujung Timur--Probolinggo, Besuki, Kraksaan, Panarukan, Bondowoso, Lumajang, Jember and Banyuwangi--settled into a more normal existence. Raffles compared the status of the Regents in the "eastern districts" to that of the Sundanese Bupati: in both areas, he remarked, a Regent "assumes the state of a petty sovereign, and is the fountain of honour."⁹⁹ Originally there were few Bupati in the extreme east. Increased administrative differentiation was a response to nineteenth and twentieth century economic developments. Panarukan and Bondowoso were created as Regencies in 1850, Jember was made a Patih-ship in 1883 and a Regency in 1928, and Lumajang and Kraksaan became Kabupatèn in the same year.¹⁰⁰ While the plantations were in their infancy it was possible to have a couple of powerful Bupati in the remote area at the end of Java, but as coffee, sugar, and tobacco reached a dominant position it became essential

97. Most of this information comes from J. Hageman, "De Adipatti van Bezoeki op Java 1811-1818. Historisch onderzoek," *TNI*, XXVII (1864), pp. 444-52. See also John Bastin, "The Chinese Estates in East Java during the British Administration," in his *Essays on Indonesian and Malayan History* (Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 1961), pp. 92-101; J. G. W. Lekkerkerker, *Probolinggo, geschiedenis en overleveringen* (Amsterdam: Het Nederlandsche Java Instituut Mededeeling No. 9, 1931); Veth, *Java*, II, pp. 228-47. An English traveler in Java at the end of the eighteenth century was most favorably impressed with the style and civilized behavior of the "Chinese Tomagoms." See J. J. Stockdale, *Sketches, Civil and Military, of the Island of Java* (2nd rev. ed.; London: J. J. Stockdale, 1812), pp. 371-75.

98. List of Probolinggo Regents, Kern Collection no. 49, KITLV, Leiden.

99. Raffles, *History*, I, p. 168.

100. Pronk, *De Bestuursreorganisatie*, pp. 8, 12, 60-62, 101, 128; *Encyclopaedie*, "Djember," "Bondowoso," "Besuki," "Kraksaan," "Panarukan," "Probolinggo," "Lumadjang," and "Banjuwangi."

that an efficient and subservient administration be established.¹⁰¹ So were the new Regencies created.

Most of the Bupati appointed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries came from Regent families, usually from East Java but sometimes also from Central Java. In the mainly Madurese areas, most notably Kraksaan, Bondowoso and Panarukan, but also Probolinggo, Jember and Lumajang, it was regarded as essential that Regents have at the very least some knowledge of Madurese. Appointments were usually made with an eye on the abilities and suitability of the candidates, so that although most men appointed were of high birth, there was little direct family succession. This was particularly so in the twentieth century, when many Bupati were Regents' younger sons who had proved their ability as Patih before becoming Regents. By that stage the Ujung Timur Bupati were regarded very much as "just officials," particularly, of course, in the newer Regencies. It was no accident that what was probably the most controversial appointment ever made by the Dutch, that of a Christian Regent (R.T. Poedjo in Probolinggo, 1930-43) occurred in the East Hook.¹⁰²

101. W. C. Wormser, Ontginners van Java (n.p.: n.p., n.d.), chapter "Tabakkers en Koffieboeren van den Oosthoek," pp. 49-68, gives a chatty description of plantation development.

102. On Poedjo, see Sutherland, "Pangrèh Pradja," pp. 479-80, and on the less aristocratic nature of the extreme east native civil service, p. 476, note 89. The turnover of twentieth-century Regents in the east was often rapid (ten in Bondowoso between 1858 and 1945) and transfers were common.