



# Reorganization of Region and Traditional Political Structure in Priangan after the fall of The Sunda Kingdom

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Galuh Kingdom's center of government was moved by Sri Baduga Maharaja to the Sunda Kingdom with Pakuan Pajajaran as its capital. After having Pakuan Pajajaran as its capital for almost a century, the Sunda Kingdom finally ended in 1579 after an attack by the Banten Kingdom. The Sunda Kingdom's former region was sub-divided into Banten Sultanate, Sumedang Larang Kingdom, Cirebon Sultanate and Galuh. In 1619 Batavia emerged as a political center under VOC's control. In this later development, Sumedanglarang Kingdom underwent a change. As a result of Mataram Kingdom's strong influence, Sumedanglarang became its vassal and its name was changed in the 17th century into Priangan. In the fourth decade of the 17th century, besides Sumedang Regency, several other new



regencies also emerged, namely Bandung, Parakanmuncang and Sukapura. Later in 1871, the Dutch Indies administration reorganized Priangan. As a result, these regencies started to adopt a specific traditional political structure inherited from the previous kingdom. This traditional political structure was used by the colonial administration for the sake of their political consolidation.

## Introduction

In the 19th century, Priangan consisted of several regencies whose number and area always changed in accordance with the policy of the colonial administration. Between 1800 and 1942, Priangan underwent a number of changes with regard to its regional administration. Cianjur Regency, for example, which had been a part of Priangan Residency in the 19th century, became a part of Bogor Residency in 1925. Ciamis Regency, formerly under Cirebon Residency in the 19th century, was put under Priangan Residency (under *Staatsblad van NI*, 1925, No. 387 and No. 392). Interestingly, however, the Priangan region was never affected by changes in regional administration which politically and culturally affected Cianjur, Sukabumi, Bandung, Sumedang, Tasikmalaya, Garut, and Ciamis.

The history of Priangan is interesting not only because it had been reorganized several times, but also because it had a unique traditional administrative structure. The administration in each regency was run by a group of local aristocrats under Dutch Indies control, except when it was interrupted by the British administration from 1811 and 1816. Called the *ménak*, these groups of local aristocrats consisted of regents, their subordinates, and their family members and relatives. Some regents were believed to be descendants of Sunda kings, making them 'pure' aristocrats, while others became aristocrats not because they had royal blood in them, but because of the good service or deeds they had performed.

As a political elite, the *ménak* (aristocrats) sitting in the traditional bureaucracy used their political power as a means to perpetuate their status. In this context, it is necessary to describe the traditional political structure in the regencies within the Priangan region. At that time, a regency served as a traditional bureaucratic center with patrimonial characteristics. The highest official of a regency, a regent had the highest traditional status and authority and privileges that made him the richest person in his regency. In the eyes of the people, a regent had the same status as a king, a person who they should treat as a god because he was the owner of everything that existed within the region he ruled.



Based on the tradition among Sunda kings, the throne was handed down to a king's prince (Syafudin et al., 1993: 47-48, 87-88; Kartodirdjo et al., 1977<sup>2</sup>: 206-223). Thus, because the position of a regent was considered the same as that of a king, a regent also traditionally bequeathed his position to his son. However, when the Dutch Indies introduced legal-rational bureaucratic principles to the Priangan region, hereditary succession was considered unreasonable. As a result, conflicts of interests ensued. The distinctive characteristic of the traditional administrative structure in the Priangan region after the fall of the Sunda Kingdom is an interesting topic to study, particularly when compared to the legal-rational colonial administrative structure.

## **Discussion**

### ***Geographic Condition***

In the 19th century, the total area of Priangan Residency was approximately one-sixth of that of Java. The residency bordered Batavia and Cirebon residencies in the north, Cirebon and Banyumas in the east, the Indian Ocean in the south and southwest, and Banten in the west (de Graaf en Stibbe [eds.], 1919<sup>3</sup>: 503). Priangan was a very fertile land because it was a volcanic region formed by volcanoes, including Mt. Gede, Mt. Galunggung, Mt. Papandayan, Mt. Tangkuban Perahu, Mt. Guntur and Mt. Cikuray, with heights ranging from 1,800 to 2,000 meters above sea level (de Graaf en Stibbe [eds.], 1919<sup>3</sup>: 504-5005; Profil Propinsi Republik Indonesia: Jawa Barat, 1995: 6-7; Raffles, 1982: 13-17).

Big rivers such as Citarum, Cisokan, Cimanuk, and Citanduy rivers were part of Priangan Residency's landscape. Cimanuk River, a vital river in the region, had been known for its important role since the Sunda Kingdom era owing to a quite busy commercial port operating at the river's estuary, which also marked the kingdom's border (Armando Cortesao in Kartodirdjo et al., 1977<sup>4</sup>: 244). Citanduy and Citarum rivers were also important in the residency because they were used to transport coffee and salt. In addition, across the Citarum River watershed, for example in Cikao and Karangsambung, could be found a number of coffee warehouses that belonged to the VOC (de Graaf en Stibbe [eds.], 1919<sup>3</sup>: 503; de Haan, 1910: 302- 669).

### ***Historical Background***

The history of the Sunda Land began with Tarumanegara Kingdom, as proven in some stone inscriptions that date back to the 5th century. It is believed that the kingdom ended in the 7th century. There remain, however, a few centuries in the history of Sunda which are obscure. Although there are no surviving manuscripts containing information about Sunda, a recently



found stone inscription from the 11th Century mentions Maharaja Sri Jayabhupati, King of Sunda. Within a span of a few centuries, the kingdom's capital was moved to different cities, from Galuh (present-day Ciamis) to Kawali (near Galuh), and finally to Pakuan Pajajaran (Kartodirjo et al., 1977<sup>2</sup>: 36-38, 206-223). Meanwhile, Cirebon, which had been part of the Sunda Kingdom, managed to free itself from the kingdom emerging as an Islamic political center under the reign of Sultan Syarif Hidayatullah (posthumously known as Sunan Gunung Jati). One of the Wali Sanga (Nine Saints), the sultan, later succeeded in his campaign to conquer Banten. Syarif Hidayatullah then relinquished his rule in Banten to his son Maulana Hasanudin (1552 - 1570). The attempt to conquer Sunda Kingdom was initiated by Maulana Hasanudin and was continued by his son until the end of Sunda Kingdom in 1579 during Maulana Muhamad's reign (Djajadiningrat, 1913/1983: 102-103; Kartodirdjo, 1987: 32-34).

After the fall of Sunda Kingdom, its former territory, which included most of present West Java and some parts of Central Java, was divided into four political centers, namely Banten, Cirebon, Sumedanglarang (previously a vassal of Sunda Kingdom) and Galuh, which, after the shift of Sunda Kingdom capital to Pakuan Pajajaran, had remained in existence as a small kingdom (Ekadjati [ed.], 1984: 102). Sumedanglarang made an attempt to continue the legacy of Sunda Kingdom but failed because of the surrounding pressures from Banten Sultanate in the west, Cirebon Sultanate in the north and Mataram Kingdom in the east. In addition, the failure was also caused by Prabu Geusan Ulun himself, whose acts as Sumedang Larang *naléndra* (ruler) weakened his power. The first factor was dealt with successfully with a certain approach. Geusan Ulun converted to Islam in Cirebon and learned about his new religion in Demak. As an indirect result, Cirebon Sultanate felt that its superior power, even if it was only from the perspective of religion, was taken into account.

Subsequently, Cirebon Sultanate recognized Geusan Ulun as Sumedanglarang ruler (Ekadjati [ed.], 1984: 103). The situation worsened, however, because of Geusan Ulun's act of indecency. On returning journey from his religious study in Demak, Geusan Ulun visited Cirebon, where he fell in love with the young, beautiful Queen Harisbaya, wife of the much older Cirebonese Sultan, Panembahan Ratu. Geusan Ulun eloped with the queen to Sumedang and thus infuriated the Sultan. The result was a war that broke out between Sumedanglarang and Cirebon. The conflict ended only after Geusan Ulun had handed over Majalengka to redeem his mistake to Panembahan Ratu (Martanagara, 1921: 8-38).

Due to Geusan Ulun's acts, many people left Sumedanglarang, making it even weaker. When a threat came from Mataram Kingdom, Sumedanglarang felt that it did not have any power to fight back. As a result, Geusan Ulun's son Aria Suriadiwangsa I, who replaced his father as Sumedanglarang ruler, surrendered to Mataram in around 1620 (Ekadjati, 1982:



257). The name Sumedanglarang was changed to Priangan (Hageman, 1869: 180-181; van Rees, 1869: 2; Rigg, 1862: 382, 385; Ajatrohaedi, 1969; Topleva, 2018). Sultan Agung as Mataram ruler then gave his power in the west to Aria Suriadiwangsa I, who was later given the title Prince Dipati Kusumadinata I or Rangka Gempol I. Priangan region also included Galuh, which had previously been defeated by Mataram in 1595 (de Graaf en Stibbe [eds.], 1919<sup>3</sup>: 506; van Rees, 1869: 15; Widjajakusumah and Saleh, 1960: 65).

In the sequence that followed, the Mataram Sultan divided Priangan, referred to as *Westerlanden* in some Dutch sources, into several regencies each of which was headed by a regent. To control and coordinate the regents, the most prominent and influential among them was appointed as a *Wedana* Regent. Rangka Gempol I (1620-1625), Dipati Ukur (1625-1629), and Pangeran Rangka Gempol II (1641-1656) became *wedana* regent consecutively. The position of *wedana* regent was dissolved after 1656. Since then, the regent has been directly responsible to Mataram Sultan (Ekadjati [ed.], 1984: 106). The transfer of *wedana* regent position from Rangka Gempol I to Dipati Ukur, began with an order from Mataram Sultan to Rangka Gempol I to help him conquer Sampang. The position as Sumedang ruler was to be handed down to Rangka Gempol I's step-brother Rangka Gede (Ahmed, Zin & Majid, 2016; Ali & Haseeb, 2019; Haseeb, Abidin, Hye, & Hartani, 2018; Haseeb., 2019; Suryanto, Haseeb, & Hartani, 2018).

Upon Rangka Gempol I's death, however, his son Aria Suriadiwangsa II demanded his right over Sumedang. Rangka Gede refused Suriadiwangsa II's claim. Aria Suriadiwangsa II requested Banten Sultan to seize the power for him, promising that he would surrender to Banten Sultanate. Banten Sultan fulfilled the request because he needed support from Sumedang in his rivalry against Mataram. Rangka Gede could not defend himself against the attack from Banten. He was then summoned to Mataram and was arrested there. The position as *wedana* regent was then given to Dipati Ukur from Tatar Ukur. Dipati Ukur was appointed as Priangan *Wedana* Regent because he had stated his willingness to execute Mataram Sultan's order to seize Batavia from VOC (*Poesaka Soenda*, December 1923: 85).

Unfortunately, Dipati Ukur's attempt to seize Batavia failed. He was arrested by the Mataram army with the help of some *cutak* (district) administrators in Priangan. Following his arrest, Dipati Ukur was sentenced in Mataram and the position as *wedana* regent was returned to Rangka Gede. To restore the political stability that had been shaken by the events related to Dipati Ukur's attempt, Mataram Sultan reorganized Priangan region during the period between 1641 and 1645 (Ekadjati, 1982: 257). The region that had used to be under Dipati Ukur's power, which included Pamanukan, Ciasem, Karawang, Sukapura, Limbangan, Bandung and probably Cianjur, was divided into four regencies namely



Sumedang, Sukapura, Parakanmuncang, and Bandung in 1641 (van Rees, 1869: 16). In addition, Galuh was also divided into several smaller regions namely Bojonglopang, Imbanagara, Utama, Kawasen, and Banyumas. Meanwhile, colonies were established in Krawang, whose settlers came from Java (van Rees, 1869: 19). After Sultan Agung's death in 1645, his son Sunan Amangkurat I extended reorganization to the west. Sunan Amangkurat I divided Priangan into twelve *ajegs*, namely Sumedang, Parakanmuncang, Bandung, Sukapura, Karawang, Imbanagara, Kawasen, Wirabaya (Galuh), Sekace, Banyumas, Ayah and Banjar (Kern, 1898: 19; van Rees, 1869: 26).

Mataram's rule over Priangan ended with the signing of an agreement on 19 and 20 October 1677, which required Mataram to relinquish East Priangan to VOC. Further, in another agreement signed on 5 October 1705, Mataram was to also hand over Central and West Priangan to VOC (De Haan, 1910<sup>1</sup>: 38-39; Raffles, 1982: 192; van Rees, 1869: 50-55). Mataram had to give Priangan to VOC in return of a service, which VOC had given when assisting the kingdom during a power dispute. It was only on 15 November 1684, however, that Commander Jacob Couper and Capten Joachim Michiels began to administer Priangan under the command of Governor General Johannes Camphuijs. Wangsatanu, former Pamanukan Regent, became the first VOC-appointed Priangan regent. He was inaugurated under a decision (*besluit*) dated 24 December 1701 (van Rees, 1869: 79, 87).

In 1706 Prince Aria Cirebon was promoted as an overseer of Priangan regents, except Karawang and Cianjur regents, whose regencies were already considered part of Batavia. Prince Aria Cirebon's appointment to the position was based on a Resolution dated 9 February 1706. Before taking the office as an overseer, the Sumedang Prince had once filed a request to be Priangan *Wedana* Regent. His request was declined because VOC considered that all regents had an equal position and they all had to serve VOC directly (van Rees, 1869: 83, 97). After the transfer of power from VOC to the Dutch Indies colonial administration in the early 19th century, a policy to reorganize administrative regions was again imposed. In 1808, Governor General H. W. Daendels divided Java into nine prefectures, one of which was named *Prefectuur Preanger-Regentschappen*. Until the end of Daendels' power, the Preanger (Priangan) Prefecture consisted of Cianjur, Bandung, Sumedang, Parakanmuncang and Karawang Regencies (van Rees, 1869: 110-113).

During the British interregnum in Indonesia (1811-1816), Lieutenant Governor Thomas Stamford Raffles introduced the term residency to replace *Landdrostambt*. Since then, the term 'resident', denoting an official based in charge of and based in the capital of a residency, became popular. At the end of the British administration, the island of Java was divided into sixteen residencies. Based on a decree signed on 10 August 1815, Priangan was one of the

residencies in Java with Cianjur as its capital (van Rees, 1869: 129). Raffles did not include Karawang Regency as part of Priangan Residency. It was included into Bogor Residency instead. Furthermore, Raffles also introduced a new office, namely *wedana*, or head of district. After several decades, the regencies in Priangan continued to be reorganized until 1859, when Priangan consisted of only five Regencies, namely Bandung, Cianjur, Sumedang, Limbangan, and Sukapura. In 1864 the capital of Priangan Residency was moved from Cianjur to Bandung based on Decision Number 18 dated 17 August 1864 (de Klein, 1931: 12, 92).

In 1871, *Preangerstelsel*, which had been in effect since 1677 was abolished and replaced with a policy called *Preanger-reorganisatie*. Based on the new policy, Priangan Residency was divided into nine *afdeelingen*, each of which was headed by a resident. These *afdeelingen* coexisted with *kabupatens* (regencies). Thus, at the same time, there were the native bupatis or regents and Dutch Indies assistant residents. Some *afdeelingen*, however, existed separately from regencies and were headed by *afdeeling patih*s. The nine *afdeelingen*/regencies were Bandung *Afdeeling*/Regency, Cicalengka *Afdeeling*, Cianjur *Afdeeling*, Sukabumi *Afdeeling*, Sukapura *Afdeeling*/ Regency, Sukapura Kolot *Afdeeling*, Sumedang *Afdeeling*/Regency, Tasikmalaya *Afdeeling* and Limbangan *Afdeeling* (Natanagara, 1937: 114)

In 1901, Priangan was again reorganized by the Dutch Indies. Cicalengka *Afdeeling* was dissolved. Some parts of its former region were merged into Bandung *Afdeeling* and the other into Limbangan *Afdeeling*. Sukapura Kolot *Afdeeling* was also dissolved; its former parts were merged into Sukapura, Limbangan, and Sumedang *Afdeelingen*. Sukapura capital was moved from Manonjaya to Tasikmalaya. In 1913, the name Limbangan Regency was changed into Garut Regency and Sukapura into Tasikmalaya Regency. In 1915, Galuh Regency became part of Priangan Residency and was renamed Ciamis Regency. In 1921, Sukabumi *Afdeeling* Sukabumi was separated from Cianjur Regency and became Sukabumi Regency.

Meanwhile, in 1903 a Decentralization Law was enacted in Java and Madura, resulting in the establishment of municipal governments. Municipal governments were soon established in new cities. In 1906, for example, Bandung served not only as a regency capital but also as a *gemeente* (city or municipality) based on (*Staatsblad van NI*, 1906, No. 121). Sukabumi became a *gemeente* in 1914 pursuant to *Staatsblad van NI*, 1914, No. 310. Basically *gemeentes* were established to improve services to Europeans as well as municipal council (*gemeenteraad*) members, most of whom were Dutch, living in respective cities. Only very few members of native elites sat on the council. Most council members were chosen from among *pangreh praja* (administrative officials) such as regents, *patih*s or *wedanas*. In



Bandung, for example there were only two native officials, R.A.A. Martanagara (Bandung Regent) and Mas Rangka Tirtamaja (West Ujungberung *Wedana*), who became municipal council members in 1906 (*Verslag van de Toestand der Gemeente Bandoeng over de jaren 1905/1918*).

Bandung as residency capital underwent significant development at the turn of the 20th century, especially after the Batavia-Bandung-Cilacap route had begun operation. Some ministries, including the Ministries of War, Communications, Post and Telecommunications and Energy and Mining, had their headquarters moved to Bandung. Following the establishment of these headquarters in Bandung, the population of Europeans also increased in the city. More Chinese also began to open their shops to cater to the needs of the Europeans. Owing to its cool climate, Bandung soon became a place where Preanger European spent their holidays. This led to urbanization. The city became a magnet that attracted many people to move there and seek employment (Yong, 1973: 3; Muthuselvi & Ramganesha 2017).

In 1924 autonomous provincial regions were formed, each consisting of several autonomous regencies, including *stadsgemeente (kotapraja)*, which were the continuation of *gemeente*. On 1 January 1926, Java Island was divided into three provinces, one of which was West Java Province with Batavia as its capital. West Java Province consisted of five residencies: Banten, Batavia, Buitenzorg (Bogor), Priangan and Cirebon. The five residencies were divided into eighteen regencies and six *kota praja*. Prior to and following the birth of West Java Province, Priangan Residency was divided into seven regencies, namely Bandung, Sumedang, Garut, Tasikmalaya, Ciamis, Cianjur and Sukabumi. In 1931, Cianjur and Sukabumi Regencies became parts of Bogor (Buitenzorg) Residency. The six *kota praja* in West Java Province were Batavia, Meester Cornelis, Buitenzorg, Bandung, Cirebon, and Sukabumi.

At the provincial level, there was a provincial council (*provincialeraad*), whose members consisted of 20 Dutchmen, 20 natives and 5 foreigners from eastern countries. Regency had its own council, whose members were mostly natives with the regent as its head. Regency administration was run by the regency council and regent, while *kota praja* was run by its municipal council (*gemeenteraad*) and mayor (*burgemeester*) (Yong, 1973: 302-309). Somewhere between 1926 and 1931, Priangan Residency was divided into three *afdeelingen*: West Priangan, with Sukabumi as its capital, consisting of Sukabumi and Cianjur Regencies; Central Priangan, with Bandung as its capital, consisting of Bandung and Sumedang Regencies; and East Priangan *Afdeeling*, with Tasikmalaya as its capital, consisting of Garut, Tasikmalaya and Ciamis Regencies. In 1931, the Dutch East Indies reorganized Priangan



further by dissolving West Priangan *Afdeeling*, whose area then became part of Bogor (Buitenzorg) Residency, and by merging Central Priangan and East Priangan *Afdeelingen* into Priangan Residency with Bandung as its capital (Yong, 1973: 295-322).

### ***Traditional Political Structure***

During VOC's rule in Priangan (1677-1800), an indirect rule system was adopted. Under this system, VOC did not have any direct involvement in the local politics, as long its business and profit interests in agricultural trading was not affected. VOC adopted the system because of two reasons: (1) it was understaffed and (2) production of commodities and local authorities were a potential source of power that could be exploited to extract production of commodities and services from the people. These are the reasons that local leaders were permitted to run their own regions. In the case of Priangan, local authorities were held by the *ménak* aristocrats (Burger, 1962: 98; Kartodirdjo, 1988: 309-310; Vlekke, 1967: 196-197).

In the first half of the 19th century, the Dutch East Indies positioned regents as government employees in order to impose their colonial bureaucratic policy on the traditional bureaucratic structure. The policy began when Daendels placed regents under a prefect (head of prefecture). Native leaders were treated as officials serving the Dutch Queen. In the second half of the 19th century, measures toward establishing a true bureaucracy began to take a more real shape (Lombard, 1996<sup>1</sup>: 106-107). To better facilitate government and administration, local governments were restructured. Under the new structure, traditional the regency institution had become a bureaucratic structure. This was reflected, for example, in the selection of an official, which took into account a candidate's administrative capability. Some traditional characteristics, however, still remained, as reflected, for example, in the consideration of how closely related a candidate was to the highest local ruler, which was still a main criterion of selection. In addition, hierarchy among higher- and lower-ranking officials remained layered.

From the 19th century until the fourth decade of the 20th century, the way the Dutch colony organized public officials within a mixture of modern and traditional bureaucratic structures can be illustrated as follows. A regency was run by a regent who was appointed by the governor general based on the suggestion of residents and consideration of the *Adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken and Raad van Indie*. Below a regent, there was a *patih*, who was also appointed by the Governor General. The position as *patih* was usually given to a close relative (brother, uncle, nephew, etc.) of the regent. A *patih* had the responsibility to coordinate the regent's staff. A *patih* was also responsible to handle more personal affairs, for example, taking care of the administration of rice fields (particularly those belonging to the

regent) in the entire regency, managing roads and bridges (both big and small), managing and maintaining houses or other buildings belonging to the regency, as well as residents' and controllers' houses and salt and coffee warehouses. Work was done by tenaga kerja wajib (*heerendienst*) and financed with funds from *wedanas*, who collected them from the villages under their respective leadership (Martanagara, 1923: 19).

A circular of Priangan Regency No 29 of 27 January 1825 No. 29 for all Priangan Regents mentioned that a *patih* was to be assisted by a deputy, four *lengser* or *kabayan*, a servant whom a *patih* could instruct to go to regencies, two *bale bandung* (secretaries) and a road inspector (*Preanger Bundel*, No. Inv. 22/1/1825). In the later development, the position of deputy *patih* was never mentioned again after the emergence of a new official position called *mantri besar*. Further, the position of deputy *patih* was no longer mentioned in any documents following the emergence of a new position called *mantri besar* (grand/principal *mantri*). There were two such officials and they were called *patih* assistants (similar to secretaries). Before 1871, they were not paid by the government, but they received four *bau* (*bau* is a unit of land area; 7,096 square meters) of *carik* ricefield (hereditary or allodial ricefield) and four hundred loads of rice excise a year (De Haan, 1910<sup>2</sup>: 688; Martanagara, 1923: 19).

A *patih* was also assisted by another official called *kaliwon*, who could possibly be promoted later as a *wedana* (head of district). In the 19th century, a *wedana* usually belonged to the local aristocracy and was thus still related to by blood to the regent. In the 20th century, it was possible for a *santana* to become a *wedana*. A *wedana* lived in the district capital in a place usually called *pakemitan* (van Vollenhoven, 1918: 715; Kartadinata, 1921: 21). At the regency level, he was represented by a *pangarang* and, in a case where there was no *pakemitan*, he sometimes lived in the Regency town. In a regency capital, there was usually a building called *pakuwon* or *patamon*, which was commonly used by lower level officials who were summoned there (van Vollenhoven, 1918: 715; Kartadinata, 1921: 21).

Before 1849, a *wedana* in Priangan was called head of *cutak*. He was appointed with a letter from the Dutch Indies Governor General. The aforementioned circular of Priangan Residency also mentioned that a head of *cutak* subordinated one *camat* (head of sub-district) or a deputy *cutak*, one *pangarang* (an assistant who toured to a *nagari* or regency on behalf of a *cutak*), a *lengser* (an assistant for matters in the entire *kacutakan*), a *cutak* secretary, a *cutak* prosecutor, *terup* (troop) commanders, coffee foremen, heads of kampongs, and several *pacalang* (village security guards) (*De Commissie voor het Adatrecht*, 1914: 146). Such a structure reflected the typical hierarchy that VOC had used when imposing its “forced coffee cultivation” policy (van Vollenhoven, 1918: 715-716).



In 1874, every district was subdivided into several *onderdistrict* (sub-districts), each consisting of fifteen villages. Sixty years later, the number of *onderdistriten* (sub-districts) had grown significantly and a sub-district might consist of four to eleven villages (*Memorie van Overgave* Residen Priangan Barat, J.C. de Bergh, dated 28 September 1931). A sub-district was headed by a *wedana* assistant. Usually, a *wedana* assistant who was related by blood to the regent could be promoted to a position as a *wedana*. Until 1879, the appointment of a *wedana* assistant, also called *patinggi* or *camat* (head of sub-district) was not accompanied with a letter from the government. A *camat* subordinated several *lurah* (heads of villages), who did not necessarily come from the local *ménak* or aristocratic elite. Actually, there was another public official called a *léngsér*, *cepat*, or *jagasatru* who acted as an intermediary between a *wedana* and heads of villages. Working in an office called *balé bandung*, this public officer had a duty to ensure that all heads of villages did everything that the *wedana* instructed. To help him do his work, a *léngsér* usually had an agent in each village. According to de Haan (1910<sup>2</sup>: 688), in 1822, a head of *balebandung* was called *kanduruan*. His job was to represent the regent in the settlement of minor disputes, represent the police department, manage transportation, etc.

In 1871, a new position, that of *patih afdeeling* came to be known. A *patih afdeeling* had a different job from that of a regency-level *patih*. A *patih afdeeling* acted as an aide or a resident assistant. His position, therefore, was almost equal to that of a regent. In every *afdeeling*, there was also a person who held a position as an *ondercollecteur* (tax-subcollector), whose job was to help collect tax, recording and reporting tax-related matters, writing monthly and annual reports on forced cultivation (van Linschoten, t.t.: 10-11).

Another administrative authority at a regency capital was held by a *hoofddjaksa* (head attorney), who dealt with police and court matters with the assistance of an adjunct *hoofddjaksa*. A head attorney was in charge of several district-level attorneys. These district attorneys were assisted by adjunct attorneys. In a regency capital, religious affairs related to marriage (marriage, divorce, re-marriage) and funeral were handled by a *hoofdpenghulu* (head religious official). Below a *hoofdpenghulu*, there were several district *penghulus* and *onderdistrict* (sub-district) *penghulu* (generally called *penghulu onder*), who in some regencies were also called *naib*. All these officials belonged to the elite aristocratic group. Based on their *stamboek* (genealogical) or *geslachtslijst* (lineage) records, some *penghulu* were the regent's close or distant relatives. In some regencies, a *penghulu* was assisted by an adjunct *penghulu*, whose job was to represent him. In Bandung Regency, this official was known as *kalipah*) (Kartodirdjo, 1988<sup>1</sup>: 343). In running his duty as a head of mosque, a *penghulu* was assisted by some imams (who led prayers) and *khatib* or *ketib* (who delivered



Friday and Eid sermons), a *muadzin* (who recited the *athan* or call to prayer), a *modin* (who hit the *bedug*, a drum hit to summon people to prayer) and a *merebot* or mosque cleaner (Pijper, 1984: 67-79).

In addition to the above officials and employees, a position as a commandant of privates was also common before 1871. As a peace keeper, a commandant was in charge of a hundred privates and in performing his duty was assisted by a Dutch sergeant. Among native troops, a commander was also called their lieutenant. Below the commander, there were a sergeant, corporal, and *ngabehi Jawa* (a person in charge of Javanese servants particularly in Bandung Regency). As mentioned implicitly in a number of traditional sources, native troops did not consist of regular soldiers. As an illustration, when the Priangan Regent was commanded to prevent the rest of Prince Diponegoro's soldiers from entering Priangan between 1828 and 1829, an army of militia consisting of armed non-regulars. This militia was led under the command of a Sukapura Regent retiree of Sumedang descent. A regency officer who was specifically in charge of hitting a *bendé* gong at the regency *paséban* or going around the town to announce the regent's order was called *ngabehi bendé paséban* or *léngsér* (Kartadinata, 1921: 3-4; Sastrahadiprawira, 1930/1986; Syafrudin et al., 1993: 50).

As mentioned earlier, after 1723 the Dutch placed an official called a "sergeant" in every regency in Priangan. In 1827, these sergeants were replaced by officials called controllers. Later, the Dutch Indies government allowed native people to also control forced cultivation, particularly coffee cultivation. An official who was appointed by a regent for this job was called *kumetir kopi*. A regent usually entrusted this position to his son (Kartadinata, 1921: 5). Obviously, Priangan regents vested some interests in coffee cultivation since coffee was a main source of income. Another position that was included in the traditional bureaucracy was that of a *mantri*. There were several *mantris* based on their jobs. *Mantri ulu-ulu*, for example, was responsible for irrigation. Other *mantris* included coffee warehouse *mantri*, salt warehouse *mantri*, opium *mantri*, sugar cane *mantri*, land registry *mantri*, police *mantri*, and timber *mantri*. The position of a *mantri* here was different from that of a regency *mantri* whose job was to assist a *patih*. After 1871, the only *mantri* positions based on the Dutch government regulation were *mantri kabupaten*, *mantri* and *mantri polisi*. Other *mantris* were promoted as *wedana assistants*.

Pursuant to the Dutch Indies Governor General's Decision of 10 September 1870, the number of officials in the traditional bureaucratic structure included as follows: 5 regents, 9 *patih* (including *patih afdeeling*), 5 regency *mantris*, 1 *hoofddjaksa*, 1 *adjunct-hoofddjaksa*, 8 *djaksas*, 8 *adjunct-djaksas*, 5 *hoofdpenghulus*, 4 *penghulus*, 63 *wedanas* (heads of districts), 150 *wedana* assistants (heads of *onderdistricts*), 9 *ondercollecteur* (tax sub-collectors), 50



irrigation *mantris*, 82 clerks, and 625 *opases* (*Staatsblad van NI*, 1870, No. 124; van Meerten, 1887: 42). Paid with salaries from the Dutch Indies government, these officials were all part of the native bureaucratic structure known as *pangréh praja*. Other officials not mentioned in the Decision were paid by regents. Traditional sources frequently mentioned other regency official positions which might have belonged to the group, for example, guards (often called *upacara* and *gulang-gulang*, palace servants (who prepared tobacco, cigarette or betel), official's umbrella carrier, a *pakécohan* (spitting bowl) carrier, stableman, *gandék* (personal assistant), *emban* (nanny), and *priyayi* (mail delivery man). A regent was able to pay his employees' salaries because, in addition to his own salary, he also received quite large amounts of allowances and benefits (van Meerten, 1887: 43-44).

Except for regents, the officials in the traditional bureaucratic structure were handed down hereditarily. The position of a regent could be passed on hereditarily like that of a royal throne based on certain considerations. Other positions, however, were not to be handed down to one's heir. It was only after a long career path that a *patih's* or *wedana's* son was able to replace his father. According to various *besluit* (decrees/decisions), a set of documents and requirements were to be prepared prior to one's appointment to a *pangreh praja* position.

## Conclusion

Based on the above description, Priangan region came to be known in 1620 following the political changes resulting from the influence of Mataram. Politically, despite several reorganizations by the Dutch Indies colonial government, colonial administrative system never totally disappeared from Priangan. From the 17th century until the fourth decade of the 20 century, the Dutch Indies government reorganized Priangan several times in several ways as motivated by political or economic environment. During these reorganizations, some previously existing regencies were dissolved for economic reasons. This, however, did not affect the status of Priangan, which remained as an administrative region in the colonial political structure because of its potential political advantage for the Dutch Indies. In other words, the Dutch adopted a rather conservative approach and, as a result, the rationalization process did not take place completely. Bureaucracy in Priangan, which for some time had been patrimonial in nature, evolved into a bureaucracy that was increasingly based on administrative-regulatory authority.

Native bureaucracy had a somehow patrimonial pattern. This can be seen from the dependency of a subordinate on his regent, the hereditary pattern of succession and the use of military support. The pattern was related to Mataram's power in Priangan, which had gripped the region so strongly for almost two generations that the life of its *ménak*



(aristocratic) elite was to a great extent influenced by Javanese aristocratic tradition. The feudal culture of Mataram as a Javanese kingdom remained strong because since the fall of the Sunda Kingdom, there had been no other Sunda Kingdom to culturally aspire to. In addition, VOC, which took over the power over Priangan from Mataram, did not make any attempt to create a new culture to replace the existing tradition. Instead, VOC took advantage of it this deficit, adopting the traditional bureaucratic structure as a means to gain economic gains, which had from the beginning been the main goal of VOC and the Dutch Indies in Priangan.

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