G. Drewes
The Life-Story of an old-time Priangan Regent as told by himself

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In Indonesia autobiographies are scarce, and the short biographical notices which pass by that name are hardly worthy of this designation. More often than not they are nothing but rather dry reports concerning the career of some well-deserving official, drawn up on his retirement and at best touched up with a few personal particulars and reminiscences. Some writings of this kind have been mentioned in my contribution to the 1851-1951 Jubilee issue of Bijdragen Kon. Instituut (Drewes 1951). In that article I paid particular attention to two books of at the time recent date, which, in spite of the fact that their authors had confined themselves to memories of childhood, were more entitled to be styled autobiographies (Pospos 1950 and Radjab 1950).

In this paper I shall not deal with publications in this field which have appeared since, but with an earlier publication, which, though mentioned in my aforesaid paper, was not gone into there, viz., Babad Raden Adipati Aria Marta Nagara Regent Bandoeng. At the time I had to leave a discussion of this booklet aside for want of space, although it fully deserved a more detailed treatment so as to demonstrate the difference between this elementary specimen of autobiography and those more extensively dealt with in my article. Moreover, it is one of the best samples of its genre, and the author is not just anybody.

R. A. A. Marta Nagara sprang from a noble and distinguished family, which in the course of the centuries several times made its mark in Priangan history, and himself too had a distinguished career and was held in great respect in his time. He was in public service for no less than 56 years, 25 of which he spent in Bandung as Regent of this important region. After his retirement in 1918 he moved to Sumedang and had a house built there. The colophon states that he finished this Babad in 1923, at the age of 78, dedicating it to his children, grandchildren and further progeny, for them to keep as heirloom.

One may ask whether this final statement should be understood in such a way that the retired Regent himself drafted the text of the Babad, or that he only put the finishing touch to a text in which his verbal communications had been committed to writing by some assistant — not an uncommon procedure with high-placed authors. But no matter
whether the elderly gentleman in a talkative mood set about narrating his experiences and his words were recorded in writing by someone else, or whether he himself put pen to paper, the result is a variegated picture, which is not confined to the inevitable statements concerning parentage, marriages, progeny, career, and honours and titles conferred. Even so, one cannot help wishing that the distinguished civil servant had drawn much more widely on the memories of his long and remarkable career.

Not only was his early life out of the common, being quite different from an ordinary boyhood in a small provincial town, but he also entered public service at a very early age, and his entire administrative career, from his unsalaried position as a *magang* in the *kabupaten* of Sumedang up to his governorship of Bandung, coincided with the latter part of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th – a period rich in events in the history of Priangan. A number of important developments which took place in these years are touched upon or summarily dealt with in the Babad, such as the modifications in the system of compulsory coffee-growing; the abolition of the so-called *Preanger Stelsel*, that is to say, the introduction of taxes payable in cash instead of in kind, and, bound up with this, the change-over from the remuneration of the Sundanese functionaries in kind to the payment of cash salaries, on the same lines as elsewhere in Java; the steady extension of the irrigation system to reduce rice-growing on dry fields; the rinderpest epidemic and the large-scale measures to fight this pernicious cattle plague. Furthermore, the author mentions in a succinct way his own initiatives in various fields during his Bandung period: his incessant advancement of irrigation; his promotion of industrial enterprises such as the manufacture of roof tiles and of tapioca for export, to which end he also stimulated cassava-growing; the construction of bridges, and so on – altogether plenty of material for elaboration into a full-fledged autobiography. Yet, it would have been most exceptional if after an active life he would at the age of 78 have written a work of a type that was hitherto hardly known in Indonesia. He kept to the time-honoured pattern and set down a short survey of his life and career and some of his reminiscences in a small-size booklet (16.5 x 10.5) counting 51 pages of 34 lines, which was printed at the Aurora printing-office in Bandung.

The first four pages of this booklet are devoted to the author’s noble ancestry; pp. 5-16 deal with his early life; pp. 17-42 with his career as a public servant, from its humble start as an assistant teacher up to its climax, with his occupation of the high office of Regent of Bandung, the most important region of Priangan; pp. 43-44 with his retirement and his move to Sumedang, his area of origin. Here the biography itself ends, but at its conclusion an extra is thrown in, in the form of a circumstantial report of the murder of Assistant-Resident Nagel, which took place before the author’s time. It is a very sensational story, which an imaginative writer might easily work into a thriller!
The Life-Story of an Old-Time Priangan Regent

The booklet is written in Sundanese, the author’s mother tongue, and in prose, which is not what one would have expected of him, for the ex-Regent was a literary man and not unpractised in the writing of poetry. As a boy he had attended a Javanese school at Semarang for a couple of years, so that he had far more Javanese than the so-called Jawareh (half-Javanese) which was occasionally used in administrative circles in Priangan. So he was able to render Javanese literary works such as the *Serat Rama*, *Aji Saka* and *Angling Darma* (Drewes 1975: 18-19) into Sundanese. But in fairness to him one should concede that poetic inspiration is hardly to be drawn from the sources that he made use of in drafting his Babad: a genealogical list of the Regents of Sumedang, the family register, and his record of service!

As has become apparent from the above, R. A. A. Marta Nagara, though holding high office in Bandung, was a Sumedang man, sprung from the noble family of the Sumedang Regents. He was a great-grandson of the famous Regent Surianagara, known as Pangeran Kornel (born 1762; Regent of Sumedang 1792-1828), by whose appointment to office a scion of this indigenous family was reinstated in the function of his ancestors after an intermezzo of about twenty years.

This family is able to look back on a long record of service, which is reported to begin in the 16th century. Legend has it that the first lord of Sumedang, Pangeran Geusan Ulun, was descended from Sunan Gunung Jati, the first Muslim king of Cerbon, who later became the greatest and most venerated saint of West Java. His spouse was Nyai Mas Gedeng Waru, said to have been a granddaughter of Prabu Siliwangi of Pajajaran – all in all a descent nobler than which, and with a claim to leadership more legitimate than whose could hardly be imagined. The district of Sumedang is said to have been granted him in fee by the Sultan of Cerbon.

But, as has already been stated by De Haan (1910-'13 I:17*), the history of the great Sundanese kingdom of which Muslim Cerbon is said to have been the centre is rather nebulous. From the chapter on Cerbon in De Graaf and Pigeaud, *De eerste Moslimse Vorstendommen op Java* (‘The first Muslim Princedoms of Java’) (1974:108-116), it is likewise apparent that very little can be said with certainty about Cerbon in the 16th century, and still less about Priangan. It is not known how far southward Cerbon authority made itself felt. The mountainous Priangan area, sparsely populated and difficult of access as it was, became Muslim but remained an outer area which was probably only very slightly affected by occurrences elsewhere. In the early part of the 17th century this situation underwent a significant change owing to the establishment of the V.O.C. at Jakarta and the expansion of Mataram under King Anyakrusuma, afterwards styled Sultan Agung. According to the Javanese babads this Prince of Mataram several times employed auxiliary troops from Sumedang, who under the command of their own chiefs took part
in his wars to establish Mataram rule, namely, against Pajang, against Madura, and ultimately against Batavia. Therefore it is quite probable that before 1628, when Sumedang and Ukur\textsuperscript{5} revolted against Mataram after Mataram’s failure to capture Batavia, the lord of Sumedang acted as representative of Mataram in its western borderland. When this insurrection was beaten down with the help of Cerbon and when the ensuing period of unrest was over, the king of Mataram in 1641 proceeded to establish regencies in central and south-eastern Priangan. One of these was the Sumedang Regency, the territory of which later was more than once subject to change.

In 1677 the then Regent of Sumedang, Rangga Gempol – according to De Haan (1910-'13 I:37*) a grandson of the above-mentioned Mataram viceroy of the same name – took advantage of the weakness of Mataram to make a bid for independent rulership over the territories which he claimed to have been under his grandfather’s rule at the beginning of the century. When attacked by Banten, he sought the support of the V.O.C., but although initially he scored some success, he could not avert the devastation of his capital by the Banten army. After the agreement concerning Priangan affairs that was reached in Cerbon in 1681, Rangga Gempol returned to Sumedang, but the V.O.C. denied him its support for his ambitious plans. During the rule of Sultan Agung’s successor the relationship between Mataram and the V.O.C. had undergone a fundamental change. Now they shared sovereignty, so that both powers held sway over Priangan, whose regents should be loyal to both. But it was not long before it dawned upon them that the V.O.C. had completely taken the place of the former sovereign\textsuperscript{6}. Already before the end of the 17th century, and before the formal cession of Priangan to the V.O.C. in 1705, the Regent of Sumedang regarded himself as a vassal of the V.O.C. Even so, although he ranked foremost among the Priangan lords, not once in the 25 years that he was subordinate to the V.O.C. did he come to Batavia to pay homage, possibly because the Company had failed to support him at the time of his insurrection against Mataram, as has been suggested by De Haan (1910-'13 I:158). It is recorded that out of anger he even sent back to Batavia in 1704 the deed (of recognition or of instatement?) previously delivered to him by Couper\textsuperscript{7}.

For the above historical notes extensive use has been made of the data compiled by De Haan in his standard work Priangan. Most probably our ex-Regent was not aware of the existence of this voluminous work, the four thick tomes of which appeared from 1910-1913, for nowhere is it apparent that he consulted it. He does not trace his lineage any further back than Kusumadinata, who was in office from 1709-1744; for the preceding regents he refers to the Buku Sejarah Sumedang, possibly a genealogy of the Sumedang regents\textsuperscript{8}. In the V.O.C. papers this regent is sometimes referred to as Pangeran Rangga Gempol; later on he was
known in Sumedang by the name of Pangeran Karuhun ('the First'), possibly because he was the first to obtain the title of Pangeran, or perhaps because he was the first dignitary who was appointed by the V.O.C.

According to De Haan's enumeration of the Regents of Sumedang (1910-'13 I:156-167), this Kusumadinata was succeeded, in the absence of eligible sons, by 'des overledenen oudste dogterszoon' ('the son of the eldest daughter of the deceased'), also named Kusumadinata. However, none of the data compiled by De Haan shows that he ever at any time really received an appointment as Regent. Once again according to De Haan, this grandson died without leaving any children in 1761, and was succeeded by his brother, R. Surianagara; this Surianagara died in 1765 and was succeeded by his younger brother, R. Surialaga, who passed away in 1773. At his appointment it had been stipulated that he was to be succeeded by the only son of his elder brother, who at the time was only three years of age. Yet, at his uncle's death this boy was still too young to be considered for the office of Regent; hence the Regent of Parakan Muncang was transferred to Sumedang. Therefore Surialaga is referred to as Dalem Panungtung ('the Rearmost', 'the Last' Regent), because, at least for some time, he was the last of the Regents of Sumedang descent. Eighteen years were to elapse before the office reverted to the Sumedang family through the appointment of R. Surianagara, at that time patih of Sumedang, as Regent. Despite the uncertainty about his descent mentioned by De Haan, it is hardly to be doubted that this Surianagara was the only son of the Surianagara who died in 1765, whose right of succession had been explicitly stipulated.

It goes without saying that the Babad does not mention the Regents of the interim period; on the other hand, it is remarkable that it should have nothing to say about 'des overledenen oudste dogterszoon' Kusumadinata, who according to De Haan was in office from 1744-'61. What it says is that the Kusumadinata who died in 1744 was succeeded by a daughter, the eldest of the children born of his padmi. This lady, R. Ayu Rajaningrat by name, was married to R. Surianagara, a son of the Regent of Limbangan, whose position, as the author remarks, was comparable to that of a Prince-Consort, because he did not take part in the administration (henteu nyareengan ngurus damel). The Dalem Istri was in office for 15 years, and her husband was not her equal, but ranked below her (ngan ngaping dipungkurna bae). This statement is borne out by the words used by Nicolaas Hartingh when writing about her in a report of 1752, hence during the period he held the important office of 'Gecomiteerde' (also called 'Landscommissaris') and was responsible for, inter alia, the supervision of Sumedang, which, together with some other regencies, had been detached from Cerbon supervision in 1730. Hartingh writes about 'Haar Ed.' (Her Honour) the Regent of Sumedang and mentions 'the deeds handed to Her ancestor' (Van Rees
1880:2). Apparently Madame Mère had at once taken charge of affairs and kept a tight rein on everything. So it seems that a later statement (Nov. 1755) quoted by De Haan (1910-13: 1:160), to the effect that the present Regent had taken his grandfather’s place in 1745, is open to doubt. If the Dalem Istri really exercised the de facto rule for a period of 15 years, as the Babad has it, the period in which this Kusumadinata held office can only have been a very short one, since he died in 1761. Around these same years the regency of Krawang also had a woman Regent, R. Ayu Alira, who acted as guardian to an infant son designated for the succession. It is worth noting that there were therefore two women who held high office in West Java about the same time, namely the mid-18th century.

According to the Babad, the Dalem Istri only had two sons and two daughters, and was succeeded by her elder son Surianagara, known as Dalem Anom. At his death, two or three years later, he was succeeded by his brother Surialaga, since his eldest daughter was only about seven years of age, and his only son, Asep Jamu, the youngest child, only one. At Surialaga’s death his eldest son was only seven years old, and his nephew, Asep Jamu, only sixteen. Therefore, in the absence of a successor from the local family, the Regent of Parakan Muncang was transferred to Sumedang.

As we see, this information partly tallies with the data compiled by De Haan, but the course of events between 1745 and 1773 as sketched here is not in complete agreement with these.

This said Asep Jamu, later named Surianagara and Pangeran Kornel, was the great-grandfather of the writer. His grandfather was the Regent Kusumahyuda, called Dalem Ageung, and son of Pangeran Kornel; his father was Dalem Ageung’s son Kusumahyuda, called Juragan Anom, wadana of Cibeureum. His mother was Nyai Raden Tejamirah, a great-granddaughter of Dalem Panungtung (the Regent Surialaga); her father was Dalem Tumenggung Suriadilaga, for some time acting Regent of Sumedang, called Dalem Sindangraja, and her grandfather Dalem Adipati Surialaga, Regent of Sukapura, called Dalem Talun, and a son of the Regent Surialaga who died in 1773. So his father and mother were both descended from the same great-great-grandfather (bao) – they were saderek sabrayna mintelu, as the Sundanese say.

The writer was the fifth child of his parents, but all of the four preceding children had died at the age of six or seven months. He had only one half-brother, R. Suriadiraja, formerly wadana of Ciheulang. When his mother was expecting him, his parents were living in Cipadawetan, to the north of the big mosque; their house faced this building, which was situated across the road. About his birth his mother told him the following anecdote.

In the late afternoon of Tuesday, 3 Sapar 1261 (February 8, 1845), after the asar prayer, my parents were sitting together in
the front gallery of their house. My mother was in the final stages of pregnancy, but her time did not yet seem to be at hand. Unexpectedly a visitor arrived, Kyai Hamsilah, a well-known Javanese guru tarekat hailing from Pekalongan, who lived in the kampung Cipameungpeuk and had a large following in Sumedang. The Kyai told them over a cup of coffee that while he was in the mosque to attend the midday prayer he had heard someone behind him saying that R. Ayu Tejamirah's child was being born into the world at that very moment. Hence he had come to visit the mother of the newly born infant.

My mother answered that her time had not yet come, but after a short while she had to absent herself for a moment, and after she had left the gallery she was seized by the pangs of birth and urged her husband to send for the midwife. A few minutes later, as the labour pains continued, she again called for her husband. He entered the room accompanied by the Kyai, who told her to lie down immediately and, awaiting the birth of the baby, began saying prayers. The baby was born a quarter of an hour later. This confinement, my mother's fifth, was the easiest of all. When the midwife arrived, all that was left for her to do was to take care of the new-born child and the afterbirth.

Mindful of the four preceding children who had died at a very early age, my mother said to the Kyai that her dearest wish was that this child should live, and that it might be granted her to see him grow into a man. It was a matter of indifference to her whether he would be rich or bright, as long as he became a good companion. When the Kyai left in order to perform the evening prayer, he said to my mother, "This child will outlive you and surpass you". Even so, until the age of three I was of delicate health and was not expected to live.

Going on with the account of his early youth, the author says:

One day my mother's uncle Aria Surianagara, at that time patih of Sumedang, and his wife came to pay us a visit. My great-aunt was a daughter of the Regent of Garut and was descended from the same great-grandfather as her husband (saderek sabray mindo). Touched by my poor health, they offered to buy me at the price of one real and seven different kinds of food, in the hope that this would benefit my health. My parents agreed to this proposal; so a little while later they called again, bought me, and took me with them to their home, where I was committed to the charge of babu Enih and her husband, Bapa Sanih, both of them hailing from Singaparna.

The following three years I was in constant perfect health and grew rapidly, to the joy of all my relations, and in particular of my uncle the Regent, who went by the name Pangeran Sugih ('the
Rich') on account of the large number of his children. When I was five years old it was arranged that I should marry his little daughter Armunah, who was my junior by two years. When I was twelve I was circumcised, together with two of my uncle the Regent’s sons, Enden Durahman and Enden Durahim. A big celebration was organized in the kabupaten on that occasion, and I was given the name Raden Kusumahningrat.  

Meanwhile a serious development had occurred. When I was about seven years of age my father, at the time wadana of Cibeureum, had come to be on bad terms with Pangeran Sugih. This had resulted in a deep mutual estrangement. As it happened, at that time the Priangan nobility was treated in the same way as that of the Principalities. Wherever serious discord arose between the members of a family, the Government was quick to take action in order to forestall warlike developments. It had taken warning from past events like the Trunajaya and Dipanagara wars, which had been able to break out because the basic causes had not been sufficiently attended to. Therefore, the Government made it a rule to restore calm and peace by taking timely administrative measures. So on the basis of an inquiry into the matter by the Resident, my father had Probolinggo assigned to him as his place of residence. He was obliged to move there, and the Regent of Probolinggo, R. Adipati Surianingalaga, was very helpful to him while taking up his abode in that place. My father passed away three or four years later and was buried at Probolinggo. The separation from my father did not touch me deeply. I had been away from my parental home for years, and I considered uncle Surianagara and aunt Lenggangmantri as my parents, since I had been taken into their home by them without being aware of it at the age of three.

About half a year after the circumcision feast mentioned above, Raden Saleh, the ‘Painter to the King’, came to stay with Pangeran Sugih. He stayed fifteen days and was treated with the ceremonial of a Regent. The Pangeran offered his own son Durahim and myself to his guest. We were taken along to Batavia and stayed there with Raden Saleh in his house in kampung Gunungsari, to the north of the town, on the river Ciliwung. His wife was a European lady, Mrs. Winkel Hagen by name, who was the widow of the owner of the estate of Gemolak, near Semarang. She was reputed to be very rich, and when she and her husband were staying in Batavia the lady had a very busy time. She employed scores of women and men in her batik workshop and owned a perfumery where kembang gambir and melati flowers were processed. She also ran a goldsmith’s shop, in which more than thirty Javanese craftsmen were employed in the production of rings,
pendants, hairpins, and various other jewels. All her servants, stableboys included, were Javanese. So I had to speak Javanese all day long. I could only speak Sundanese with Durahim.

One day Raden Saleh told us that we would be sent to Semarang to attend a Javanese school, for, as he said, "then later on it will be possible for you to be employed by the Government in both the Sundanese and the Javanese areas. Mother (Raden Saleh’s wife) will take you to Semarang." At that time steam navigation did not yet exist; all traffic was taken care of by sailing-ships. So we sailed from Batavia harbour to Semarang on the barque al-Noor (‘The Light’) in the company of Mrs. Raden Saleh. The crossing took six days, as usual. At Semarang we found accommodation in the home of a Palembang trader, Ence Dimah by name, in kampung Pekojan. Ten days later we were sent to a Javanese school, which was situated on the northern side of the alun-alun. Mrs. Raden Saleh said, "I have not told anyone that you are titled boys from Priangan. Here you will pass off as relations of Raden Saleh’s."

Mrs. Raden Saleh remained at Semarang for two months. She had many relations there; moreover, she had to look after the affairs of her late husband, especially the estate of Gemolak, which had been left to her by him. Then she returned to Batavia, and we two lonely boys remained behind. We did not come across any Sundanese people, but even so we did not grieve. Ence Dimah took good care of us. Each day we were given one wang (= 8 duit) and five duit to buy food, and we had our meals together with Ence Dimah’s servants. At six o’clock in the mornings the old women selling rice and sayur arrived. If we tried to help ourselves, they would hastily intervene. Since we annoyed them with our behaviour every day anew, they would try to cajole us with words like Mara mbok elinga gus rupamu bagus! Manawa ing besuk patut kowe bisa dadi mandor prahu atawa carik, nanging kudu gelem netapa! Aja kaya kowe saiki, esuk-esuk wis nyekek, esuk-esuk wis nyekek! (‘Please, sonny! Where are your manners? Perhaps later you will be a mandur on a proa or a jurutulis, but in that case you must be prepared to practise austerity and not start bolting food at the crack of dawn’).

We had not met any people from Sunda for over a year when, walking on the northern side of the alun-alun, we came across a man from Cianjur, R. Kartakusumah, who later became wadana of Cikalong (Cianjur). He told us that he had accompanied the Controleur of Ciputri to Semarang for the purpose of appearing as witness. I cannot say how glad we were, the more so because we had been friendly with him before. Fortunately we had already learnt to speak Javanese when lodging with Raden Saleh in Batavia.
At the Semarang school we were taught reading, writing and arithmetic, just as in Batavia, but also drawing and geodesy. In 1858, during the period we were at Semarang, the ‘cent’ was introduced as legal tender, and the duits which had hitherto been used as currency had to be handed in in exchange for the new currency. This measure caused quite some excitement in the market places, as only a few people were capable of doing conversions from duits to cents. At every intersection in the market place an officer was posted, who, guarded by two soldiers, acted as money-changer. There were scores of places where such an exchange could be effected.

When we had successfully attended school for about two years and were quite good at speaking Javanese, Ence Dimah received a letter from Raden Saleh to the effect that the two schoolboys should be sent back to Batavia in the charge of a dependable person whom he knew well. That year the first steamships had put in an appearance in the Archipelago. We were put in the care of the mate of the steamship Oenarang, who was a friend of Ence Dimah’s, and after a voyage of two days and nights we arrived safely at Batavia harbour.

In the meantime Raden Saleh had moved from Gunungsari to Cikini. We stayed with him for two months; then we were picked up by the prospective father-in-law of one of my uncle the Pangeran’s children, who had taken with him two horses for the return journey. Travelling via Bogor and Megamendung, we reached Bandung after four days on horseback, and were afforded hospitality by the then Regent of Bandung, known as Dalem Bintang. We were given a cordial welcome, possibly because we were the first boys of noble birth to have been sent to school such a great distance away. On the stretch from Bandung to Sumedang we were accompanied by a carriage of the Regent’s. On our way we spent one night at the house of the wadana of Tanjung Sari, R. Wiranagara, who had married the eldest daughter of uncle Pangaran. He later became Regent of Garut.

It was not yet noon when we arrived at Sumedang. We went straight to the reception hall of the kabupaten to attend on uncle Pangeran. His plans for our immediate future were that Durahim should go to a religious school, while I was to remain in Sumedang at the disposal of the patih. Thereupon I attended on my uncle the Aria and his wife aunt Yogya, whom he had married after aunt Lenggangmantri had passed away, and they took me into their home.

I am not sure about the date of my return to Sumedang, but it must have been about a month after the end of 1860. Numerous visitors came to see me after my return. Five days after my arrival I
entered uncle Pangeran's service as a magang, and consequently was employed both in his home and in his office, but I was allowed to go home in the afternoon.

In February 1862 uncle Pangeran ordered that I should enter public service. I was appointed to the position of assistant teacher at the school of Sumedang at a monthly salary of fl. 10.-. The subjects I had to teach were: 1. the Malay language; 2. calculation in compound fractions — at that time people in Sumedang only knew about halves and quarters; 3. geodesy. People were unacquainted with measuring in metres. The linear measure was the tumbak (3.7674 m.), numbering 12 feet (Dutch 'Rijnlandse roede'). Nor were the villagers acquainted with the square measure bau (7096 m²). If one asked a landowner, "How many bau of sawah do you possess?", the answer would be "Four or five fields, and the yield is one to two caeng" if the man was not rich, or "Ten to twenty caeng, and ten or twenty fields" if he was.

After I had worked as a schoolmaster for about half a year, I was summoned before the Regent. There I met the Assistent-Resident, who instructed me to advise all the wadanas of the Regency of Sumedang who were engaged in the construction of irrigation works on the subjects of water-course and water-level.

My salary was raised to fl. 16.-, on the understanding that I should carry on my job as teacher when not occupied elsewhere.

In 1864 I was summoned again, this time in order to be informed of my appointment as camat of the sub-district of Cikadu. So I moved there; at that time I was still unmarried. But after I had been living in Cikadu for nine months, uncle Pangeran felt that the time had come for my marriage to his daughter Armunah, as arranged many years previously. The marriage was celebrated with full ceremony in March 1865, with the bride wearing a bridal headdress (siger) and the groom a crown on his head. At the time I was 20 years old. I was in Cikadu for a little over a year. About six months after our marriage the wadana of the district paid us a visit to inform me of my appointment as kaliwon of Sumedang. In those days public servants below the rank of wadana were not furnished with a copy of their letter of appointment.

A kaliwon was, so to speak, a secretary to the patih; he worked under the patih in preparation of his appointment as a wadana. This was the usual procedure. The patih was assisted by two secretaries, both of them styled mantri besar. One did not in that capacity draw a salary, no more than in other public functions. Instead of wages one received part of the cuke, namely 20 caeng = 200 pikul of rice a year, besides 4 bau of sawah in Cihonje.

The chief duties of a patih were three in number: he registered all the sawahs found in the regency; he was responsible for all
roads and bridges, small and large; and he was in charge of all official buildings, such as the kabupaten (the Regent's residence), the houses of the Assistent-Resident and the Controleur, the gaol, and the salt and coffee warehouses. All work was carried out with the aid of forced labour, and the expenses were charged to the villages. The Government did not supply any money for this, since the population paid no taxes but only cuke to the amount of one tenth of the yield of sawahs and dry fields. This tax in kind was collected under the supervision of the heads of the desas, who reported to the wadana.

In June 1869 I was appointed wadana of the district of Sumedang. In the same year my first child, a boy, was born. We named him Pahrussuhada; he died at the early age of two. In 1871 my wife, Nyai Raden Ratnainten (Armunah), was carried off by an attack of malignant cholera, after being ill for only five hours.

The year 1871 was that of the Preanger Reorganization. To get this under way, Mr. Van Rees, a member of the Council of the Indies, was sent to Sumedang as Government Commissioner. He stayed here for six months and was lodged in the kabupaten. His secretary was Mr. Levyssohn Norman, Assistent-Resident of Mr. Cornelis, and formerly Controleur of Sumedang. They made a tour of inspection to the west (Bandung, Cianjur) and to the south (Garut, Tasikmalaya) once a month. By order of the Resident I kept myself at the disposal of the Commissioner and left my official duties in the hands of the camat.

The reorganization came into effect on the first of June. The harvest tithes were abolished and replaced by taxes in money. Henceforth all public servants, from high to low, were paid cash wages. The monthly pay of a jurutulis was fl. 15.--; that of a mantri fl. 25.--; of a camat fl. 100.--; of a wadana fl. 200.--, and of a tax collector fl. 200.--, besides a certain percentage. The highest salary was drawn by the Regent, who was paid fl. 20,000.-- a year, in addition to a special allowance. This special allowance varied in proportion to the area of the sawahs in the regency. The Regents of Sukapura and Garut received fl. 10,000.--, those of Sumedang and Cianjur fl. 24,000.-- and the Regent of Bandung fl. 100,000.-- a year. This latter was only a temporary measure. Their successors were to be given salaries only.

After a further digression on the differences between the old system, said to have been introduced in 1808, and the new—which need not be reproduced here—the author concludes with the introduction of the land-tax, which ranged from fl. 1.-- to fl. 15.-- per bau, according to the yield. Then he goes on with his story about himself, saying:

About a year after the decease of my wife I married R. Ajeng
Sangkanningrat, another daughter of my uncle the Pangeran by his *padmi*, R. Ayu Rajapamerat, a daughter of the Regent of Bandung known as Dalem Karanganyar. The marriage was celebrated with due pomp and circumstance in the presence of a large number of spectators, among them numerous European guests, possibly on account of the fact that the bride was the first Regent’s daughter to have attended a European school. This Sumedang school, headed by Mr. Warnaar, was the first to open in Priangan; all of its twelve pupils were children of regents. None of them was from Cianjur, where people still clung to the old mores and were averse to tuition by a teacher who was not a Muslim.

At the end of 1873 a son, Aom Erna, later called R. Somanganara, was born, and at the end of 1875 a daughter, Agan Lili, later called R. Ajeng Tejapamerat. In 1878 another son, Aom Alibasah, later called R. Suriadiharja, was born. When this boy was one and a half years old, my uncle the Regent came to Tegalakalong, where we were living, and took him with him to Sumedang, because he wanted to take every care of his grandson himself. Uncle passed away in September 1882.

In 1873 the Government took measures in furtherance of the cultivation of coffee. One of these was that henceforth it was permitted to plant coffee-trees on one’s own land. A good four years later Resident Van der Moor and Mr. Fleisch, Inspector of coffee cultivation, came to the *desa* of Sukatali on a round of inspection just when the coffee-berries were reddening. At his departure the Resident shook hands with me and commended me for my good work. One month after this visit a good number of *wadanas* and *camats* came to me by order of the Government in order to acquaint themselves with coffee-growing in the *desas*, and three months afterwards I was awarded the silver star. This award became a general topic of conversation, since it was the first time this honour was conferred on a *wadana*. I shared it with the *wadana* of Panembong (Garut), who later became *patih* of Sukabumi.

In 1879 West Java was seriously hit by the plagues of rinderpest and epidemic malaria. The cattle-plague started in Ujung Kulon and spread eastward over almost the whole of West Java. The symptoms were a swollen neck and total loss of appetite, followed by death within three days. Numerous veterinary surgeons were sent from Europe, but they were powerless against this contagious disease, for which there seemed to be no cure. When the plague had penetrated as far as West Priangan, off Kandangwesi, large-scale measures were taken. It was decided to construct a dividing-wall from south to north for the purpose of dividing Java in two. Two parallel fences were to isolate West Java from the rest of the
island in the manner of a sanitary cordon, with no cattle from West Java being admitted in the space between. One fence ran from the mouth of the Cikandang, in the district of Kandangwesi, on the south coast, in a north-easterly direction via Rajamandala, Sirap and Wanayasa to the mouth of the Cimanuk, west of Dermayu, a distance of 180 paal (= 270 km). The other ran 3 paal to the east of it, its northern end skirting along Dermayu. They were made of bamboo poles 5 m in length. Where a carriage-way or a minor road crossed the fence, a gate was constructed. These gates were each guarded by two soldiers. Lanes were simply closed off. Anyone wishing to pass through a gate had to be disinfected before; the carbolic solution used for that purpose went by the name of kobokan, 'dishwater'. Two battalions of soldiers were consigned to lend assistance, under the command of a colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, and scores of captains and lieutenants, and likewise five civilians were put in charge of control of the disease (controleur veepest). For the military, temporary lodgings housing 50 men each had to be erected. All these operations, which were carried out at great pains, required an expenditure of no less than fl. 500,000.-.

In each district one camat was commissioned to see to the execution of the planned measures – altogether more than fifty men, seconded by so-called kumitir veepest (gecommitteerde voor de veepest). The latter were recruited from among the magangs and the jurutulis desa; all of them obtained a small consideration. They had to see to it that any animal stricken with the disease was immediately destroyed, cut up and buried at a large depth. It was strictly forbidden to eat of its flesh. The owner was paid fl. 25.- in compensation.

In 1880 Sumedang was seriously hit by another calamity, namely epidemic malaria, which raged especially in the districts of Cimalaka and Conggeang, and more particularly in the sub-district of Tanjungkerta. Owing to the alarming mortality and migration rate, the population decreased by 70%. In Sumedang medical aid was provided by ten doctors, who every morning served out quinine pills at the camat's office and saw to it that these were taken. By 1881 the epidemic had spent itself.

In the same year I was promoted patih of Sumedang. As was already mentioned above, my uncle the Regent passed away in 1882. As none of his children was in town when he died, I had to take care of everything. The news of his decease soon spread throughout the town. The Assistent-Resident paid a visit of condolence and had his prajurits posted around the kabupaten, for by the early morning many people from Tomo and Darmaraja had already come to town because the bedug had been beaten all night.
Thousands of them followed the bier on its way to the cemetery of Gunung Puyuh.

I was put temporarily in charge of the regency. Four months later R. Rangga Suriaatmaja, patih of Mangunreja, was appointed as my uncle’s successor, and in May 1883 I was transferred to Mangunreja. I had already moved to my new station the previous April. Our little daughter, Agan Resmi, who had been born in June 1882, was so ill that we feared she would not survive the discomforts of the journey; but it went off all right. In Mangunreja we were received in state, all the public servants from the eight districts being present with their ladies. The next day the panghulu of Mangunreja, R. H. Hasan Ma’arup, accompanied by his wife, came to see us. They said, “We have come here to request your permission to take your ailing baby home with us, to provide all her needs, and to change her name to Agan Atiyah”. We agreed to this proposal. This panghulu was related to the family of the Regents of Sukapura. He was a very learned man and universally well-liked.

In 1883 and 1884 two other boys were born: Muhamad Ishak, later called Aom Ace Martahadisura, and Aom Onong, later called R. Martahadiprawira. When I had been in office for about a year, the Government conferred the title of Demang on me. This caused a good deal of surprise, since I had taken office at Mangunreja only shortly before. But in fact this title was conferred on me in recognition of my good offices at the time of the cattle-plague. Subsequently, in 1891, the title of Aria was conferred on me, in the presence of all the public servants and desa-heads of Mangunreja.

In March 1893 Assistant-Resident Van Ravenswaai told me to apply for the position of Regent of Bandung, which had fallen vacant as a result of the death of R. Adipati Kusumahdilaga. But he urged me to keep silent about it. On June 29, 1893, Assistant-Resident Platen came to see me at my home to congratulate me on my promotion to Regent of Bandung, of which the Resident had informed him by wire. I was to attend on the Resident, Mr. Harders, the very next day. I arrived at Bandung in the late afternoon of June 30. Mr. Harders made me cordially welcome and congratulated me; we talked for a long time. My swearing-in was fixed for July 15, and was to take place in the kabupaten.

I set out for Bandung, escorted by the wadanas and camats of Mangunreja, on July 10, and I was solemnly sworn in in my new office, in the presence of two patihs, twelve wedanas, all the camats, jurutulis and desa-heads of the whole of the regency, and numerous European guests, on Tuesday the 15th of July.

Scarcely had I entered upon my duties as regent when a serious
occurrence came to pass, namely the discovery of a criminal plot, the success of which would have been catastrophic. On the 16th and 17th of July we had many visitors, relations of mine who had come to congratulate me. All of a sudden, at nine o’clock in the evening of the 17th, a servant from the Residency brought word that I was expected at the Residency and was to go there without delay. I was not a little alarmed, as it was so late in the evening. In short, I went to the Residency. The Resident himself came to meet me on the steps and said, “Let us go inside”. We entered the reception room, where two men were already present, a lower-class European, Van Woesiek by name, and a certain Iksan, who was unknown to me. The Resident asked me whether these persons were known to me: my answer was that I knew Mr. Van Woesiek, but I did not know the other person.

Addressing Mr. Van Woesiek, the Resident then said, “Come on, Mr. Van Woesiek, let us hear your story; but please tell it in Sundanese, so that Iksan, too, may understand you”. Thereupon Mr. Van Woesiek told us that there were plans for an attempt on the Resident’s life by means of dynamite. On the next Saturday afternoon a charge of dynamite was to be hidden in the Resident’s carriage, so that, when the carriage was set in motion, the dynamite would be detonated and the carriage destroyed, and everyone in it would be killed.

I was ordered to have a search instituted in the houses of all suspected persons according to the information supplied by Iksan. In the early morning of the next day six houses were searched. Dynamite was found underneath the house of one R. Nata Anbia, a relation of the deceased Regent, but a further police inquiry brought to light that he was not to blame for its presence there.

The inquiry into this affair continued for four months. Every cooperation was given by the Regents of Cianjur, Garut and Sumedang, who put their police spies at my disposal. The Regent of Sumedang even came to Bandung every Saturday evening. The protracted investigation brought to light that the plotters had intended to murder not only the Resident, but also the Assistent-Resident, the Controleur, and myself. Ten people, among them four priyayis, were a party to the plot; however, the matter was not taken to court. The reason given by them for their conspiracy was their utter dissatisfaction at the appointment of a Regent who was not of the stock of the Regents of Bandung. So the affair was settled by the political measure of their banishment from Java for a period of twenty years. Three of these exiles are said to have returned to Bandung after the expiry of the term; the others died at their assigned places of residence before that. After the expul-
sion of the culprits, people felt greatly relieved that so hideous a crime had been prevented.

After my entry into office, I asked the Resident whom of the European guests at my swearing-in ceremony I should first pay a return visit in order to make their acquaintance. He advised me to inquire with the *wadana* and the *camat kota* about the number of European families resident in the town. They turned out to be 143 in number. Army and navy pensioners and retired office clerks were numerous among the European inhabitants at that time. A good fifty families were lower-class and were living in bamboo houses without tiled roofs. I made the acquaintance of all of them as best I could. After it had become accessible by train and housed the Department of War and a railway repair shop, Bandung ranked as a big town. Two big businesses were located there: *toko* De Vries and *toko* Liem.

The first matter demanding my attention was the manufacture of roof tiles. Only a quarter of the houses had tiled roofs, and thatched roofs were in the majority. Furthermore, I stimulated cassava growing, since tapioca was very much in demand on the world market. At the time there was only one tapioca factory, which was situated at Dago. It was Chinese-owned and was reported to supply 200 *pikul* of tapioca a year to Batavia. I also exerted myself to promote the construction of irrigation works in order to increase the *sawah* acreage, more often than not for the benefit of the neighbouring regencies. This was before the planning of the big irrigation project of Cihea, which was implemented at a cost of one million guilders.

I also gave attention to the building of bridges. On my inspection tours throughout the regency I had to cross the Citarum, the biggest river of the region, here and there. But bridges there were none, and one had to be taken across the river by ferry. This caused considerable inconvenience; therefore I asked permission to build some simple bamboo bridges which could be constructed by the villagers themselves. So within a short time the Citarum was bridged in five places: on the road from Cicalengka to Majalaya; on that from Ujungbrung to Ciparay; on that from Dayeuhkolot to Banjaran; on that from Cimahi to Kopo; and last but not least, on that from Rajamandala to Cihea, along which ran all the traffic from and to Batavia and Bogor. Each time a bridge was finished, it was inspected by European civil servants on their tours of inspection. All the *wadanas* concerned received a recognition in writing, and so did I myself, who was regarded as having studied engineering in Holland. Two years later these five bamboo bridges were replaced by iron ones, for the convenience of everyone.

During my time in office, the region and the town of Bandung
experienced great progress. Several buildings went up, military camps were established at Cimahi and Cikudapateuh, and an aircraft industry was set up at Sindanglaya. At the request of Assistent-Resident Van Zuijlen, I made inquiries in 1912 into the volume of tapioca forwarded by rail from all stations and halting-places on the railway to Batavia. It appeared from the records of the station masters at Nagreg, Cicalengka, Rancaekek, Gede bage, Bandung, Cimahi and Cipatat that 310,000 pikul of tapioca were forwarded for shipment to Europe every year, over against no more than 200 pikul previously. As tapioca fetched fl. 16 a pikul, the total return from this amounted to fl. 4,960,000. So it was little wonder that the Bandung region, both the town and the surrounding countryside, flourished and the level of prosperity rose every year. The area of sawahs under cultivation, too, steadily increased. In 1896 it came to 800,000 bau, over against 1,100,000 bau in 1912.

In 1897 R. Ayu Sangkanningrat again gave birth to a son, Aom Singgih. But she passed away one month after the birth and was buried in the cemetery of Karanganyar. About a year after her death I married Nyai Raden Rajaningrat, a daughter of Pangeran Sugih and Nyai Raden Mulia kusumah from Sumedang, who had been four years old when her father died and had been raised by Pangeran Suriaatmaja (Pangeran Sindangtaman). Her father and her mother were both descended from the 18th century Regent Dalem Istri. She bore me three children: a son, Aom Mahar, born in February 1899; a daughter, Agan Juaeni, born in June 1907, and another boy, Aom Kanas, born in September 1912.

In August 1900 I was awarded the gold star, and in 1903 the title of Aria was conferred on me for the second time. It had already been conferred on me in 1891, when I was patih of Mangunreja, but a mention of it had been absent in the decree of my appointment at Bandung. Furthermore, in 1906 the title of Adipati was conferred on me, and finally, in 1909, I was endowed with the privilege of the golden parasol.

In 1901 the king of Siam and his son the crown prince took up their residence in Bandung for two months for the sake of the prince’s health. They and their retinue, which consisted of a general, an admiral, and some officials, stayed at the Homan hotel; the rest of the royal suite remained behind in Batavia. The Governor-General put an aide-de-camp at His Majesty’s disposal, and also a Malay and Dutch interpreter, viz. a Mr. Valette, for the Siamese gentlemen only spoke Siamese and English. During their sojourn at Bandung they dressed in the European style. On his return to Siam the king awarded me the distinction of Officer of the Order of the Crown of Siam, whose mark I was allowed to wear.
by decree of H.M. the Queen of the Netherlands.  

In 1918, when I had been in office at Bandung for 25 years and four months, and my term of service, which had begun in 1862, came to 56 years, I decided to retire. I was 74 years old and felt my strength declining. By decree no. 1 of October 14, 1918, I was granted a monthly pension of fl. 400.—, supplemented by an extra allowance of fl. 160.—. I ordered my affairs and sold my furniture and further household effects, as I wished to return to Sumedang, my place of origin. Not possessing a house there, I took up my temporary abode in the southern part of the kabupaten. The Regent of Sumedang, Pangeran Suriaatmaja, also recently pensioned off, had already moved to Sukaraja, before going to live at Sindangtaman. The patih, R. Rangga Suriaaditanaya, was acting Regent. A month after my arrival at Sumedang, R. Kusumadilaga, wadana of Palumbon (Cerbon), was appointed as Regent of Sumedang. He was the only son of Pangeran Sugih by R. Ayu Mustikaningrat, who at present is living at Ciamis. A few months afterwards I found other accommodation, namely a brick house that was the property of R. Demang Suriaamijaya, formerly patih of Sumedang. This house had been occupied by a Dutchman, but at the time was unoccupied. The owner was unwilling to let it to me, but he readily allowed me to use it. I lived there for ten months, until the day the house I had had built was ready. This house, situated at Burujul, in the western part of the town, was built on a plot that had previously been a sawah. This sawah, lying at the edge of the road, had been the property of the naib of Cibeureum. He had at first refused to sell it, but when I insisted he gave in and sold me two bao at a price of fl. 2500.— per bao, the highest price ever paid for a sawah field at Sumedang. All the building-materials had to be ordered from Bandung; hence the building cost exceeded that in Bandung by 30%.

Here the life-story ends, but the author, indulging in further reminiscences, does not stop writing, or, perhaps, chatting. First he admonishes his children and grandchildren to take good note of this Babad, in order to improve their knowledge of Sumedang as it was in olden times, and to pray for God’s blessing. Then, as if the memory of it suddenly crossed his mind, he continues with a detailed story of a sensational crime committed years earlier, long before his time. This story had been brought up already in connection with the planned attempt on the Resident’s life, at the very beginning of his residence in Bandung. The author was indebted for it to R. Demang Natanagara, a retired Government official who was a son of Regent Adipati Wiranatakusumah, later known by the name of Dalem Karanganyar. This Regent had been in office when the occurrences described took place. The author continues as follows.
After the plot to murder the Dutch civil servants had been overthrown, the Resident was eager to know whether there had been any similar attempts and disturbances in former days. An examination of the official files showed there to be nothing of the kind on record except the criminal cases of Raksaparaja and Ambuhawuk (about which no further details are given). However, on inquiries being made with some older people, the murder of Assistent-Resident Nagel was brought up by Demang Natangara, who had been a young jurutulis when it happened.

At that time the office of jaksa had been occupied by R. Naranata, a relation of the Regent’s. Because of his arrogance and his rude behaviour, this jaksa was anything but well-liked, so much so that the Regent and the Assistent-Resident were considering his dismissal. Now, there was a petty Chinese trader at the Bandung pasar by name of Munada, a Muslim convert who sold cheap cotton goods and kerchiefs by retail. One day this Munada was summoned before the Assistent-Resident for being in arrears with the payment of a debt to the amount of thirty guilders contracted at a public auction. His insolent behaviour enraged the Assistent-Resident to such an extent that in his fury he knocked Munada down with a chair. Rumour of this came to the ears of the jaksa. He went to Munada’s house and suggested that he murder the Assistent-Resident and the Regent. If he should do so, he could count on the jaksa’s help.

Thereupon Munada promised to start a fire at the market place of Ciguriang, to the west of the kabupaten, in the early morning of the next day. When a fire broke out at the pasar the next morning, both the Assistent-Resident and the Regent made for the pasar, the former from the north, the latter from the south. The Assistent-Resident was the first to arrive. In front of him walked a policeman with a klewang at his side. Clearing the way for his chief, the policeman pushed Munada away, whereupon the latter stabbed the policeman in the arm with a creese. Mr. Nagel, the Assistent-Resident, came to his aid and was himself stabbed in the breast. He fell and, recognizing his assailant by the light of the fire, yelled, “Take hold of Munada”. Munada ran away and, meeting the Javanese head of the pasar on his way, tried to stab him, too. The Javanese, however, forestalled him and stabbed Munada, who fell and lost his creese, but even so managed to escape. So there were two blood-stained creeses. Apart from the Assistent-Resident, however, no one had recognized the assailant or had seen anything happen; nor did the head of the pasar know his identity. Hundreds of people were brought into action to search for him, but he could not be found; he had vanished into thin air.

In the afternoon of the day of the fire the police were notified
that at about seven o'clock that morning a young nobleman on horseback had asked to be ferried across the river Citarum off Dayeuhkolot. This young man had hurried the ferry-man and had said that he was Munada, a trader of the pasar at Bandung who was also the impressario of the Regent's cock-fights. At that time this class of people was held in high respect. He had the road pointed out to him all the way to Tarogong, as was attested by a good number of witnesses. But alas, this trail led nowhere: Munada was not found.

At last, after the search had been carried on for two more months, the police found a witness at Tarogong who declared that the man on horseback had been none other than R. Wiria, the jurutulis of the jaksa. When R. Wiria was confronted with other witnesses who had seen the pretended Munada, the evidence proved incontestable. Called to account for his strange conduct, the jurutulis declared that he had acted on the orders of his chief, the jaksa. Thereupon the jaksa was arrested and exiled to Surabaya.

Seven months after the death of Mr. Nagel the riddle of Munada's sudden disappearance was not a step nearer to its solution. But Nagel's successor did not leave it at that. He recommended the dismissal of the Regent on account of his relationship to the banished jaksa. This dismissal came into effect shortly afterwards, and the Regent was ordered to take up residence in Cianjur. He did not return to Bandung until five years later, when his son Dalem Bintang was in office.

Yet, much to the displeasure of the new Assistant-Resident, neither of the two jaksa who were successively appointed after Naranata's banishment to Surabaya proved able to bring the affair to a successful conclusion. The third successor was the former assistant of the jaksa of Purwakarta, R. Suriadilaga. Some time after his appointment in Bandung, the new jaksa married the former wife of the exiled one. From her he learnt how it had come about that no one had ever been able to lay hands on Munada. The jaksa had whisked him away from the scene of the attack and kept him in hiding all day. He had told him that he had a choice out of two possibilities: death on the gallows or by his own hand — which did he prefer? Munada's answer had been that he preferred rather to die by the hand of the jaksa. Thereupon he had been strangled in the dead of night and been put into a big case, which had been taken to the Citarum by four men and dumped into the river. So the Munada case could at last be considered closed and solved about two years after the murder.

The author does not mention when the murderous assault on Nagel's life took place. From the text of the Babad one can only gather that it should
be dated before 1861. For at the beginning of that year the two school-boys returning from Semarang stopped over at Bandung, where they stayed at the Regent’s residence for one night. This Regent, known as Dalem Bintang, was a son of the Regent who had been in office at the time the murder had been perpetrated. He had succeeded his father after the latter was dismissed on account of his lack of cooperation in clearing up the Munada case.

I am indebted to the staff of the Algemeen Rijksarchief in The Hague for informing me about the exact date of the murder and about the gist of the official report concerning this incident. The victim, Carl Wilhelm August Nagel, was a native German born at Hoyel, near Hannover, on March 10th, 1794. He arrived in the Netherlands Indies in 1819, where he began his career as a post office employee in Priangan. After serving in several other functions he was appointed Assistent-Resident of Bandung in 1832.

In the night of December 25th-26th, 1845, he was present at the extinction of a fire at a pasar. At daybreak, when he was walking back to his carriage in the company of the Regent, he was severely injured by repeated blows on the head, and he died from these injuries a few days afterwards. A judicial inquiry brought to light that Nagel had for years been guilty of dishonesty and abuse of power. This had led to the hatching of a plot against him, of which the chief jaksa, here referred to as R. Demang Mangunnagara, was the moving spirit. The Regent was not aware of the plot, or did not want to know of it. At all events, he took no effective action to discover the culprit. It was supposed that after the attempt Munada had been done away with by the conspirators. Eventually the Resident, the Regent, and the chief jaksa were punished by transfers to different places or dismissal, and eight Javanese were exiled to Makasar for a long period.

Comparing the two versions of what happened, one cannot help wondering whether the judicial inquiry ever really got to the bottom of this affair.

NOTES

1 Published by Van Dorp, Semarang, 1897, in Jav.-Sund. script; republished by Balai Pustaka in Latin script (19 small volumes).
2 F. de Haan, 1910-13, 1:35, says of him: "From of old the Regent of Sumedang was considered primus inter pares". But at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century the wealthy Regent of Cianjur, who was in office as such for many years, incontestably ranked first, to which a display of piety may have contributed. "It was not until 1813, after R. Adipati Wiratanudatar V had passed away, that the excellent qualities of the Sumedang Regent Surianagara won him an esteem which reminds one, in Priangan history, of his ancestor, the former Mataram lord lieutenant".

The life of Regent Surianagara has been described in romantic form by R. Memed Sastrahadiprawira in Pangeran Kornel (1930).

4 Concerning this Prince of Mataram see H. J. de Graaf (1958).

5 The grave of the then chief of Ukur is in Cipeujeuh (Cicalengka). Cod. or. Leiden 8249 contains copies of charters (piagems) issued by the Regents of Ukur in authorization of the custodians of this grave.

6 The political developments of these years have left traces in Javanese thinking, as is apparent from the *Serat Baron Sakender*. The text of this work was edited by A. B. Cohen Stuart and accompanied with a Dutch translation. There is no certainty about its date of origin, but it appears to me that it cannot be anterior to the rule of Sunan Tegal Arum or Sultan Mangkurat, who, in contrast with Sultan Agung, were on a friendly footing with the Dutch. In this book one is able to read how the new constellation in Java, brought about by the presence and the power of the V.O.C., was explained and made acceptable. I do not think that, as has been suggested by Pigeaud (1927:348), a similar opinion could have influenced the politics of Sultan Agung, for there was no occasion to reflect on a satisfactory interpretation of the historical facts before it had become established that the presence of the Dutch at Jakarta was not just a short-lived invasion or an event of a temporary nature, but was a situation which was likely to be of a lasting character.

7 About this important V.O.C. employee, who was of Scottish descent, and his occupations with West Java see De Haan (1910-'13:203-205).

8 Some such genealogy was published by A. W. Kinder de Camarecq in 1862. Others are mentioned in the edition of the *Babad Siliwangi* (see note 3), p. 17. A genealogy of the Sumedang Regents is also contained in cod. or. Leiden no. 6499.


11 Concerning Trunajaya, who shook the Mataram kingdom to its foundations and was killed by Mangkurat II, see Olthof (1941:155-196); De Graaf (1940:273-328); De Graaf and Pigeaud (1976:86-91). Concerning Dipanagara, see Peter B. R. Carey (1981).

12 *Kembang gambir* = Jasminum grandiflorum; *melati* = Jasminum Sambac Ait.

13 The barque al-Noor was an Arab-owned ship with an Arab captain; its home port was Semarang.

14 A *caeng* is a rice measure comprising 200 gedeng (bundles) of varying weight, usually 5 to 6 kati.

15 In Priangan rice was grown on a large scale on tracts of land that were cleared of timber by burning (*gaga; tipar; huma*). The Government was always intent on stopping this practice, which led to nomadism of a sort, by enlarging the acreage of irrigated fields, so as to render people sedentary. In the time of G. G. Van Imhoff (mid-18th century) the Regent of Sumedang had sawahs laid out by men from Limbangan, this kind of work being unfamiliar to the people of Sumedang.


17 Van Rees was commissioned in June 1866 to draft a reorganization plan for the 'Preanger Stelsel', which was to be brought in line with the administration of the other provinces of Java. He submitted his report in 1867. The first six chapters are historical in character, and were afterwards published in *Verh. Bat. Gen*. In anticipation of the enactment of the relevant bill by the Netherlands Parliament, the new system was introduced on Jan. 1, 1871. However, Parliament did not permit this premature introduction, and it had to be suspended until after the passage of the bill. So in fact the
reorganization came into effect on June 1, 1871.

18 A survey of this reorganization has been given by H. C. van Meerten (1887).

19 In Priangan the prajurit were semi-military policemen at the disposal of the civil authorities.

20 Netherlands subjects are bound to request royal consent for wearing foreign decorations.

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