

Bupati or *Regent*? Martanagara of Bandung 1893–1918

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Abstract

This paper aims to unfold the dual roles of being local rulers in Indonesia during early twentieth century by reading closely various collections of colonial archives kept at the National Archives of the Netherlands, contemporary newspapers online provided by Delpher and onsite by the Library of Leiden University, and the autobiography of the man himself written in his own mother tongue, Sundanese. It is a rather common view that the Dutch government had been applied indirect ruling policy, but creative responds of the local rulers towards the one-sided policy were rarely considered to be important. By using concept of “middleman” the dual roles of Martanagara of Bandung might shed a light to understand some local rulers’ perspective. His roles both as *regent* and *bupati* put himself between two confusing and different worlds but he managed to do so. Ahead of Max Weber’s three ideal types, Martanagara succeeded applying his own ideal types by serving his foreign rulers and at the same time towards his local inhabitants.

Keywords:

bupati;
priyayi;
regent

Abstrak

Tulisan ini hendak menyibak peran ganda pemimpin lokal pada awal abad XX dengan menganalisis beragam koleksi arsip kolonial yang Arsip Nasional Belanda simpan, koran sezaman dalam jaringan yang Delpher sediakan secara dalam jaringan dan Perpustakaan Universitas Leiden secara luar jaringan, serta autobiografi sang penguasa lokal yang dia sendiri tulis dalam bahasa Sunda. Sekalipun sudah menjadi sesuatu yang jamak diketahui bahwa pemerintahan jajahan Belanda menerapkan kebijakan pemerintahan tidak langsung, namun tanggapan kreatif pemimpin lokal terhadap kebijakan sepihak tersebut acapkali dianggap tidak penting. Dengan menggunakan konsep utama “*middleman*”, peran ganda Martanagara Bandung dapat dimengerti. Peran kembar dalam waktu bersamaan sebagai “*regent*” dan “*bupati*” menempatkan Martanagara di antara dunia yang membingungkan dan berbeda namun dia dapat mengelolanya. Sebelum Max Weber merumuskan tiga tipe ideal birokrasi, Martanagara berhasil, dengan caranya yang unik, merumuskan tipe idealnya sendiri dengan sekaligus melayani penguasa asing dan penduduk setempat.

Kata kunci:

bupati;
priyayi;
regent

Introduction

The research about prominent figures of local leaders in the Dutch East Indies until the mid-twentieth century has been conducted.¹ These notable figures were no other than those who already became *priyayi* or *para yayi*, “the brother of a king” (Sartono: 1987, 3; Sutherland: 1975, 57). The term *priyayi* is widely used in central and eastern part of Java, while the term *menak* is only applied in western part of Java or to put it more precise at Priangan.² *Priyayi* refers only to the “hereditary aristocracy” (Geertz, 1976: 6). At least until early of twentieth century it was impossible to be a leader of a certain region during that time without having traits of *priyayi*. Before Padjadjaran and Sumedanglarang fell apart, these local leaders had to be responsible only to their people, but then political situation had changed, Priangan became territory of Mataram. Due to its position far to the west and east (*mancanegara*) and to rule the region effectively, Sultan Agung of Mataram appointed a few important local figures of *priyayi* who considered being loyal to him to be *bupati*, a representation of him. *Mancanegara* is one of two main regions within Mataramese rules. First region comprises *kraton*, *negara*, and *negaragung* (Sutherland, 1975: 67). Ever since *bupati* had become a little king and at the same time had to be more responsible to the Sultan than *bupati*’s own people (Sobana, 2004: 25; Sutherland, 1973: 32). During the period of *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (hereinafter the Company), the superior of these *bupati* of Priangan had shifted from Sultan to the Governor General of the Company. Although the superior had changed the role of *bupati* remained the same, to be middleman between the local people and the superior (Sobana, 2004: 57).

Then Daendels drew a line between his years and the Company’s years by directly relating with local governance, both to resident and *regent*. It was during his short three years (1808–11) that the term *regent* came to the surface (Carey: 2013). Shifting from *bupati* to *regent* had marked the years of so-called modern bureaucracy. Then for five years (1811–6), Raffles made the principles of modern bureaucracy even stronger. Viewing within this historical context it is natural to understand that *bupati* and *regent* are different. However, twenty years afterward the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies decided to do “re-feudalization” by reviving the old values of traditional leader possessed by *bupati* to make the government run the power effectively. Its main role was either in terms of *bupati* or *regent*, not the only role, as middlemen came to the surface once again. Since 1836 many

1) For comprehensive study both from indigenous side (*Inheemse bestuur*) and European side (*Europese bestuur*) of Ministry of Interior (*het Binnenlands bestuur*) in the Dutch East Indies, see Sutherland: 1973; van den Doel: 1994.

2) *Menak* means *bupati*’s offspring especially after the fall of Kingdom of Sundanese Padjadjaran (Nina: 1998, 6).

scholars and officials at that time tend to overlook the differences between *bupati* and *regent*. Indeed, *bupati* and *regent* do have something in common but by understanding their position within their historical context it might be easier to know the cause behind the failure of indirect rule system or dual bureaucracy in the later period of twentieth century.³

By the time the colonial government decided to move the capital of *Preanger Regentschappen* from Cianjur to Bandung on July 31st 1864, the position of Bandung had become more strategic. Bandung has functioned not only as the capital city for *Kabupaten* Bandung since 1810 but also for *Preanger Regentschappen* (*Mooi Bandoeng* October 1930: 5; Nina, 2000: 126; Nina, 2001: 23).⁴ At that time the government promoted Martanagara as the indigenous leader of Bandung. Although the appointment seemed to overlook other *menak's* of Bandung especially regarding the principle of hereditary (*erfelijksbeginsel*) as stated by *Regeringsreglement* (RR) 1836, at this point the colonial government after having consideration from *Binnenlands Bestuur* and *Inlandse Zaken* succeeded in delivering principle of modern bureaucracy, to appoint someone mainly because of his expertise and experience not merely because of his kinship or blood ties (Lubis, 2001: 51 –52, 61-62).

He succeeded in making peace with other *menak's* of Bandung after the failed incident in the first months of his career as the local leader of Bandung led by a *patih* to have him and other officials killed. Although he was considered to be an 'outsider' because he came from Sumedang, he had proved to the people of Bandung, his Dutch superior, and *menak* of Bandung that he succeeded in making Bandung a city of worth living.⁵ He was the ninth *bupati* since Mataram handed over its possession over Priangan in 1686. He was also the sixth *regent* after the colonial government received the continuation of power from the Company.⁶

During his 25 years of service as the local leader of Bandung (1893–1918), there were two important issues in the colonial government. First, in 1903 the implementation of direct governing and the forming of municipality (*gemeente*). For Bandung, it was officially implemented on February 21st 1906 as stated in *Staatsblad* Number 121 (*Almanak voor Bandoeng 1941*: 55). Second, in 1913, reconsideration of *erfelijkheidsbeginsel* (inherited position for indigenous rulers). To fully understand Martanegara's dual roles, there were two research

3) I will examine thoroughly term *regent* in the second chapter and term *bupati* in the third chapter.

4) Sobana Hardjasapoetra takes May 25th, 1810; while Lubis takes March 18th 1811 as the official date for making Bandung as the capital of *Kabupaten* Bandung.

5) He was named 'the leader who build Bandung' (Bapak Pembangunan Kota Bandung) (Sudarsono and Lulus: 2006): 3; and 'the leader who modernize Bandung' (Bapak Modernisasi Kota Bandung) (Haryoto: 1985, 156; Haryoto: 1986, 622).

6) NL-HaNA, Kolonien/ de Memories van Overgave 1852–1962 (1963), 2.10.39.23; NL-HaNA, Kolonien/ de Memories van Overgave 1852–1962 (1963), 2.10.39.24.

questions need to be answered. First, what did Martanagara think about his duty to govern as recorded in his files, colonial government records, and his memoir? Second, how Martanagara saw himself playing his dual role?

Martanagara was the first *regent* who write a memoir or, according to Drewes, a booklet. He wrote his *babad*, in a prosaic way without content and chapters, after his retirement and finished five years after 1918 by the time he was 78 years old. His 51-page *babad* is not comparable with 56 years of service. For a person like him with such a noble and professional background, it is odd to know that he wrote it in his mother tongue, Sundanese; not in Dutch, and it has never been translated into Malay. He wrote about his noble ancestry on the first four pages, his early life on pages 5–16, his career as a public servant on pages 17–42, his retirement and his move to Sumedang, about Sumedang on the next pages, and ended with a story about the murder of Assistant-Resident Nagel, which took place before the author's time. Although he entitled *regent* for his *babad*, he clearly defined *bupati* (*boepati*, *bopati*, and *dalem*), to his noble ancestors and his people within the local context, and connecting *regent* to his Dutch superiors, such as *gouvernement*, *resident*, *assistent-resident*, and *controleur* (RAA Marta, 1923: 1–4, 40, 45, 49–50; Drewes, 1985: 399–422).

In 1936, Achmad Djajadiningrat wrote his bilingual autobiography in Dutch and Indonesian-Malay. It contains ten chapters and 472 pages. He told us about being the first son of *Wedana* of Kramatwatoe, a teenager who lived in Bantam, lived in Betawi (Batavia), an intern, *Assistent-Wedana* of Bodjonegara, *Regent* of Bantam (Banten) and Betawi, and a trip to Europe. For him, there are no differences between *regent* and *bupati*. In the Malay version, he still used the term *regent*. He traced back the term *bupati* as it was used during Majapahit period and connected the term *regent* to the Company (*Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie*) and thereafter. Furthermore, he made a distinction between *regent* as *bupati* and *regent* as *amtenar*. *Bupati* is mainly a hereditary position, but *amtenar* is a skilled professional. He argued that every *priyayi* could be *bupati* but to be a *regent* it took more than a noble ancestor. *Regent* as *amtenar* had to be process-oriented and completed several interns before (Achmad, 1936a; Achmad, 1936b: 246–247).

Soeria Nata Atmadja was the last *regent* who wrote his own memoir. He wrote it only in Dutch. He, *Regent* of Tjiandjoer, had a different opinion with Djajadiningrat. He argued that *regent* had already existed since the Mataram period and thereafter. The term *regent* he wrote, “comes from French word ‘regner’ that means ruler” (*komt van het Fransche woord “regner” hetgeen regeeren beteekent*). He made a distinction between *regent* as *volkshoofd* and *regent* as *hoofdamtenaar*. The failure of indirect rule system was because “De Regent is nu eens volkshoofd, dan weer hoofdsambtenaar, al naar het te past komt” (The Regent is sometimes head of the people, sometimes chief official, as it suits).

Somehow, he hoped that appointing someone to be ‘regent’ should combine tradition and rules. The main difference between his semi-autobiography and the previous two autobiographies is his description of the historical context of regent. He was not only *Regent* of Cianjur but also a participating observer (R. A. A. Soeria Nata, 1940: 6, 168).

Sutherland provides the general context of *pangreh pradja* (native civil servant) in Java, various important government decisions and policies towards them, tension between the old-established elites and new-emerging ones, also between European and indigenous corps, professional education, and nationalist movements. She writes “Local officials in Java often saw their mediating role as valid both vertically and horizontally, keeping the balance between competing local interests but also acting as a buffer between the capital and the people” and their position was like “old wine in a new bottle” (Sutherland, 1973: 527).

According to Van den Doel the term *regent* refers to their position, quoting Baron van de Capellen, as the “younger brothers of European officials” and “occupied crucial middlemen positions”. His study is important to know indigenous-local governance and its leaders’ position within the colonial bureaucracy. The failure of modernizing bureaucracy happened because the colonial government wanted to make Java “a colony to be exploited commercially” after the bloody and costly Java War (1825–30) by *regent* as the medium. It led to re-feudalisation (van den Doel, 1994: 580).

Hardjasapoetra seeks the governing pattern and position of *bupati* in Priangan between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. After the Mataram period, he argues that *bupati* was caught in between because they had to be local leaders and traditional leaders at the same time. Because of *Preangerstelsel* (coffee cultivation in Priangan) the company and colonial government had no choice except to occupy *bupati* as their medium to maintain and extend the power. During the Mataram period, *bupati* to some extent was more autonomous because its position far from the center and its mountainous area (Sobana, 2004: 12, 13).

Lubis’ comprehensive study about a group of *ménak*, Sundanese noble men, in Priangan between nineteenth and mid-twentieth century gives no further explanation about the difference between *regent* and *bupati*. Instead, she defines two types of *ménak*: bureaucrat and intellectual. There was a close relation between *ménak* and *bupati* or in other word only those who came from *ménak* would be appointed as *bupati*. The colonial government considered *ménak* to have the highest political power among the indigenous Sundanese people. Because of this, *bupati*’s were the middlemen at that time (Nina, 1998: 3, 73, 276).

Another study of Lubis mainly focuses on the political role of Martanagara as *bupati* of Bandung. Similar to Hardjasapoetra, she prefers to

use the term *bupati*. In Sundanese culture, besides *bupati* there are also ‘dalem’ and ‘pagustan’. Her study describes in detail how Martanagara succeeded in overcoming the conflict that took place in his early career, made Bandung worth living, built many public infrastructures (roads, railways, and bridges), schools for women, had several tributes from his European colleagues, made good impression from *ménak* of Bandung, such as Hasan Moestapa and Dewi Sartika, and citizen of Bandung. During his time, *bupati* Martanagara had to be the middleman (Nina, 2001: 27, 118–119).

Among those previous studies, this research put its emphasis on the Martanagara’s side and how he succeeded in combining all three ideal types of bureaucracy according to Max Weber. His *regent* and *bupati* roles put himself in as a traditional, charismatic, and rational local leader. This type of modern bureaucracy as Herman Willem Daendels (1808–1811) wanted desperately to be implemented in Java. Somehow in Martanagara’s hands years afterwards were understood differently but Martanagara’s own unique leadership taste succeeded in compromising the two realms of power.

This research paper would like to compare the roles of *regent* and *bupati* as recorded in personal files and colonial records of Martanagara, leader of Bandung. There are three phases to achieve the objectives. First, I read closely about the terms, ranks (such as *bupati*, *patih*, *wedana*), titles (such as *aria*, *adipati*, *tumenggung*), honour of achievement (such as *sterren*, *songsong*) and legal decisions as stated *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie*, *Staatsblad*, *Regeringsalmanak*, *Memorie van Overgave* and *Ensiklopedi Sunda*. It includes reading Martanagara autobiography and two other biographies.

Second, I read secondary sources, such as Sutherland, van den Doel, Lubis, and Hardjasaputra to get further explanations of the terms in their historical context. I would like to incorporate their concepts and the local terms they used, such as *dalem*, *dalem penyelang*, and *pagustan*. I considered these local terms to be more closely related to *bupati* than *regent*.

Third, I compare the characteristics of *regent* and *bupati* and, if possible, separating what belonged to *regent* and what belonged to *bupati*. I contend that *regent* was concerned only with his connection with the *gouvernour generaal*, *resident*, *assistant-resident*, and *controleur* or in other words his administrative roles; and on the other side, *bupati* was only concerned with his connection to his people, his *ménak* friends, and his indigenous subordinates or in other words his traditional roles. It follows the way Martanagara understood the difference between the terms. Although he entitled *regent* for his memoir (*babad*), he clearly defined *bupati* (*boepati*, *bopati*, and *dalem*) in relation with his noble ancestors and his people within the local context and linked *regent* in relation with his Dutch superiors, such as *gouvernement*, *resident*, *assistent-resident*, and *controleur* (RAA Marta: 1923: 1–4, 40, 45, 49–50).

Bupati, Mataram, and the Company (1632–1808)

Mataram Sultanate or Kingdom of Mataram had four types of regions: center (*Nagara* or *Kuthanagara*), surroundings (*Nagaragung* or *Nagara Agung*), remote (*Mancanegara*), and coast (*Mancanegara Pasisir*). The Sultan of Mataram could not handle the remote and coastal areas. Therefore, he chose his men to be his *bupati*. Once these areas were independent but then Mataram occupied. Bupati was once king of the region. The *bupati* then chose his own subordinates to help him in terms of local governance. Hereditary, kinship, and blood ties were the only requirements for them to be involved in military, economy, and political realm of local governance. People who helped the *bupati* were later known local aristocrats, the *priyayi* (Sartono, 1987: 11–3; Sobana, 2004: 25).

This chapter would like to describe the origin of *bupati* and *regent*. It could help to understand the forming of an indirect rule system and bureaucracy dualism applied by the colonial government. It goes back to Priangan during Mataram period until period of the Dutch East Indies for almost three centuries. The policy made by Daendels marked a separating line between traditional and modern bureaucracy. But during the period of the Dutch East Indies, the colonial government decided to revive the old-traditional bureaucracy, re-feudalization Willem van den Doel would mention (van den Doel, 1994: 579). Ever since, the position of *bupati* was more important than the position of regent. The government could control only the *bupati* and could only control the local people through the hands of *bupati*. The *bupati* was the middleman. The *regent* only existed in relation to his Dutch superior. In the eyes of local inhabitants, the *regent* would be the *bupati*.

After 1632, when Mataram succeeded to overcome the revolt of Dipati Ukur, Sultan Agung of Mataram decided to reorganize central Priangan into four municipalities (*kabupaten*) comprising Sumedang, Sukapura, Bandung, and Parakan Muncang. The *bupati* of the last three regions were the ones who helped to overcome the revolt. Ki Astamanggala Umbul Cihaurbeti (then changed his name, Tumenggung Wiraangunangun) was the First *Bupati* of Bandung. Between 1656 and 1657, Sultan Agung's son Amangkurat I (Sunan Tegalwangi) then continued reorganizing the western part of Mataram, including Priangan, into 12 municipalities (*ajeg* or *kabupaten*). The reason of doing this is because of the strengthening position of the Company in Batavia and Banten Sultanate in the west that started moving to the east (Sobana, 2004: 23-4).

Ever since the autonomous position of *bupati* towards their land decreased and had changed into *bupati* of Mataram. At the same time, they became the middlemen or “intermediating structures” between Priangan people and Mataram. Despite all of that, because of the distance between Mataram and Priangan and the full-authority policy of Mataram, Priangan, as

part of west Mancanegara, still had their independence. They could maintain their luxury even acted as little king in their region. They applied luxurious tradition of Mataram, such as parasol (*songsong*), uniform, weapons, casket (*kandaga*), horses, and other regalia (Sobana, 2004: 27). At that time, the main source of *bupati's* authority is the number of people (*cacah*) he had, not the region. The more people he had, the more respectful he was (Sobana, 2004: 28–9).

Lubis writes some characteristics of *bupati* as Mataram wanted to be: loyal, conscription, making colony for Javanese people, giving land to representatives, special duties for each region, annual offerings (*upeti*) to Mataram Court during Islamic feast day, such as Islamic new year eve (*satu sura*) held on first of *Muharam* (the first month of Islamic calendar) and birth of the Prophet Muhammad (*maulid nabi*), and doing correspondence written in Javanese letters. In return, *bupati* will have rights to own land, people (*cacah*) to serve him, collecting taxes, doing fishery, hunting, and made even his own rules for his region, except giving death sentence (Nina, 1998: 71; Sobana, 2004: 29).

After their deaths, *bupati* could also pass down his position to one of his children, or other relatives, even until seven descendants as stated in Charter (*piagem*) of Mataram given by Sultan. Each of *bupati* could be recognized by his title, ranging from *tumenggung*, *aria*, *adipati*, to *pangeran*. Some of them who happened to be *menak* had *raden* before his name. There were two routine occasions where the authority of *bupati* could be seen explicitly. First, an official walking tour (*nyanggrah*, *senénan*) every Monday. On this occasion, *bupati* visited his people and sometimes asked for something from his people. Second, official visit to his subordinates, such as *demang*, *patih*, *wedana* or *kepala cutak*, *camat* (head of district), head of sub-district (*patinggi*), and many others (Sobana, 2004: 28–31).

The most obvious influence of Mataram among the Sundanese people is manner of language (*undak usuk basa*). Within more than half a century (1620–1677), manner of language of Javanese language infiltrated Sundanese that used to be common language turned out to be differentiated into two general types of language manner: formal (*hormat*) and informal (*loma*) (Nina, 1998: 176–7; Sobana, 2004: 31). Some of the Javanese words that used to be formal turned out to be informal, such as *dahar* (to eat). It is formal verb but in Sundanese turned out to be informal verb. Cultural distance between *bupati* and local inhabitants that used to be friendly changed into formal and stiff communication.

After the death of Sultan Agung, Mataram began to lose its power. Afterwards, the Company took over Priangan through two treaties (October 19th–20th 1677 and October 5th 1705), then center and west Priangan, then east Priangan, and Cirebon (Soeria, 1940: 7). What matter the most for

the Company was *bupati* could be the Company's middlemen. In principle, everything remained the same. Except to help the Company in terms of trading activities, nothing had changed for the *bupati*. Even to some extent, the *bupati* had been fully protected by the Company (Sartono, 1987: 11–3). But the protection will be applied only if the *bupati* can do the things below:

1. Doing cultivation of coffee (*Preangerstelsel*), pepper, indigo, cotton, and other crops.
2. Giving the harvest only to the Company, including its carriage.
3. Being responsible for the coffee and to be delivered in time on the terms.
4. Mobilize his people to do forced labor.
5. Being responsible for the security of his region.
6. Forbidden to displace his subordinates without permission from the Company or its Cirebon representatives.
7. Doing annual survey and submitting it to the Company.
8. Keeping an eye on religious activities, especially the religious leader (*kiai*).
9. Making a formal appearance before the Company occasionally (*Volksalmanaak Soenda*, 1922).

Because of *Preangerstelsel*, the relationships between the *bupati* of Priangan and the Company was more like trading, different from the other, north coastal area for example. The *bupati* of Priangan had to sign *aanstellingacte*, not *acte van verband*. Because of *aanstellingacte*, the *bupati* had a right to have percentage whenever he gave *verplichte leveranties* for each *pikul* of coffee. Besides of that there was also another income in the form of tax for the *bupati*. There were two types of tax, in terms of money and goods (Soeria, 1940: 7; Sobana, 2004: 35-6).

In the purpose to increase amount of coffee, the Company began to interfere the local governance. It happened sort of dualism of authority between *bupati* and the supervisor of the Company located at municipalities (*kabupaten*). Also, the right to inherit position of *bupati* to his descendant is no longer considered by the Company. The Company preferred to choose *bupati* by themselves (Soeria, 1940: 160–1). After the liquidation of the Company, the position of the *bupati* would be completely different.

Regent, Daendels, and Raffles (1808–1830)

Peter Carey writes, “Marshal Herman Willem Daendels’ governor-generalship of Java (1808-11) was a turning point in the history of modern Indonesia Both Daendels’ famous posting road (*postweg*), which would be the basis of all subsequent trans-Java highways, and his radical administrative reforms would knit the island as never before into a coherent entity” (Carey, 2013: 3). It had never happened before that Java, the main island of the archipelago, became

so connected, integrated, and to some extent centralized. Daendels could do such radical reform only within three years and four months (January 14th 1808–May 16th 1811) (Djoko, 2011). It was Louis Napoleon who told Daendels to do two main tasks: safeguarding Java from British invasion and reforming the bureaucracy (Carey, 2013: 3).

The first decision Daendels made was to call off all previous assignment letters of the *bupati* made by the Company. Then Daendels himself who appointed the *bupati*, gave them monthly salary in cash, and they officially became part of government civil service (Soeria, 1940: 162). In his opinion, *bupati* was not an inherited position. *Bupati* was placed under the close supervision of *prefect*. He wanted to rule the people directly without being helped by the *bupati*. Nevertheless, without the helping hands of the *bupati*, it was impossible for him to have *De Grootte Postweg* finished in time because only the *bupati* who could mobilize his people. Besides Cianjur and Sumedang, Bandung was one of the municipalities that be passed by the highway. However, Daendels still allowed the *bupati* to collect his own income in order to save the government spending and to pay the subordinates of *bupati* (Sobana, 2004: 39–40).

There were a few *bupati*'s who fought against Daendels' policy that wanted to increase amount *pikul* of coffee. *Bupati* Parakanmuncang Raden Tumenggung Aria Wira Tanureja was fired because failed to reach target of coffee. *Bupati* Sukapura Raden Demang Anggadipa or Raden Tumenggung Wiradadaha refused to grow indigo, resulted in the liquidation of Kabupaten Sukapura and its region shared to Kabupaten Limbangan. *Bupati* Sumedang Raden Adipati Surianegara also did protest (Sobana, 2004: 41). This refusal somehow led to the failure of Daendels' centralized policy, on the one hand, and made the *bupati* position stronger on the other hand. The strengthened position of *bupati* during Daendels' period also happened because of military policy by giving the *bupati* military titles such as mayor for *tumenggung*, lieutenant-colonel for *adipati* and *arya* and colonel for *pangeran* (Soeria, 1940: 20).

Thomas Stanford Raffles (1811–6) did the same as Daendels did, to release *bupati* from its feudal ties. In implementing his rules, the *bupati* was placed under the supervision of resident and being accompanied by assistant-resident (Sobana, 2004: 43). His policy ended up in a similar result like Daendels. Centralized policy of the government never achieved its objectives because feudal ties between the *bupati* and his people were much too strong.

Based on London Tractate August 13th 1816, Raffles had to leave the office. On February 1st 1820, van der Capellen decided to re-appoint the *bupati* of Priangan and transformed its position from *bupati* as regular civil servant to *bupati* as local leader. He began to apply local terms concerning position of *bupati* such as *bupati* and *assistent-resident* were brother that need to take care

of each other. Every single form of authority of *bupati* such as clothes and many other ornaments should be seen by his people (Samiati, 1954: 9–10). Instead of giving order like government used to do, Van der Capellen preferred to motivate the *bupati*, to give them what they wanted, and the government had their objectives fulfilled in return.

The Dutch East Indies and Re-feudalisation (1830–1900)

The next governor general, van den Bosch had an idea similar to *Preangerstelsel* to be applied for the rest region in Java in the name of *Cultuurstelsel* (Cultivation System) in order to have government treasury back to normal after Java War (1825–30) had ended. For forty years (1830–70), without the helping hands of *bupati*, it was impossible for the government to have a large amount of money. Some officials of het *Binnenlandsch bestuur* opposed this policy. For them, *bupati* was useless and the indigenous people should be ruled directly by them (Sutherland, 1973: 150). Baud, the next governor general, decided in 1836 to revive the right of *bupati* to inherit his position to his family (*erfelijksheidbeginsel*) (Soeria, 1940: 29–33, 55).

In 1871, the government released Priangan reorganization (*Preanger Reorganisatie*) that divided Priangan into nine municipalities (*afdelingen*) comprises Bandung, Cicalengka, Cianjur, Sumedang, Limbangan, Sukapura, Sukapura Kolot, Tasikmalaya, and Sukabumi. *Bupati* had to share his power with *patih*. At that time the government decided to stop *Cultuurstelsel* but not with *Preangerstelsel*. Among other *bupati*'s of Cianjur, Sumedang, Limbangan and Sukapura, *bupati* of Bandung had the highest income of money especially because of coffee. They had same monthly salary but the *bupati* of Bandung had the highest allowance, four times bigger than the rests (Sobana, 2004: 51–2). For long time, Priangan and Bandung had special position towards the government. The *bupati* and the government had to take turn in order to create a harmony between them. It was not always a happy relationship though but compared to other regions, Bandung and its *bupati*'s seemed to easily get along.

Because of abundant income, the *bupati*'s of Priangan could build more public facilities, schools, and actively involved in cultural activity. There were a few *bupati*'s who had been given honour of achievement by the government, such as star of *Ridder in de Orde van den Nederlandschen Leeuw*, *Officier in de Orde van Oranje Nassau*, and of course *songsong kuning* (yellow parasol) as a symbol of traditional authority. *Bupati* Galuh Raden Adipati Aria Kusumadinigrat (1839–86), *Bupati* Bandung Raden Adipati Wiranatakusumah IV (1846–74), *Bupati* Sumedang Pangeran Aria Suria Atmaja (1882–1919), *Bupati* Bandung Raden Adipati Aria Martanagara (1893–1918), *Bupati* Bandung Raden Adipati Kusumadilaga (1920–1931), *Bupati* Cianjur Raden Prawiradireja (1863–1910), dan *Bupati* Sumedang Pangeran Suriakusumah Adinata (1836–1882) (Sobana, 2004: 54–6).

In the twentieth century of the Dutch East Indies, to become *bupati* someone had to achieve certain degrees of related educational background and *erfelijksheidbeginsel* completely erased in 1913. One of the *bupati*, *Bupati* of Sumedang Pangeran Aria Suria Atmaja felt odd about the decision not to consider someone's traditional position and forefather, for example high aristocrat (*ménak luhur*), and because of that everyone could be *bupati* not like the old days.⁷ Besides the old aristocrat (*bangsawan oesoel*) there was also a new aristocrat (*bangsawan fikiran*) (*Medan Prijaji*, Nomor 18 January 1910). There was during these years of changing policy, Martanagara had to be the leader of Bandung. In the next two chapters, this research paper would describe his roles, either as *regent* or *bupati*.

Martanagara The Regent

There are various definitions about *regent*. According to *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie*, *regent* is "... naam voor inlandsche hoofden" (a name for local leaders) and "... het hoofd van het inlandsch bestuur in het regentschap en belast met de onmiddellijkeleiding van de inlandsche bevolking" (local leader of a region that has local citizen). *Regent* came later after *bupati* (*ENI*, 1919: 284–5, 579). Hazeu also had same opinion, "hoofden der bevolking" (citizen leaders).⁸ G. J. Oudeman, Resident of Priangan, stated in his memoir that *regent* had existed since Mataram period.⁹

According to sources below, there are at least three aspects of *regent*: local leader (*inlandsche hoofden*), ruling a region (*het regentschap*), and had authority over local people (*inlandsche bevolking*). Mainly because of the translation, it seems that those definitions assume that *regent* and *bupati* are similar. But however, even the *regent* himself seemed to make no different between the two. Achmad Djajadiningrat chose not to translate *regent* into *bupati* and *regentschap* into *kabupaten* in Malay version of his autobiography (Achmad, 1936: 245–9). The same opinion also held by Soeria Nata Atmadja. Atmadja wrote, "*De Regenten, die zij aantrof as bestuurders der provincies, waren ministeriales*" (The leader who ruled some regions, were ministers) (Soeria, 1940: 6).

7) "Menggah abdigoesti noe parantos ratoesan taoen toeroen toemoeroen ngagandek, malah noe ngagentos abdigoesti poen adi, djadi Boepati, tansah sanget koemaraket henteu sedja koemoereb ka noe sanes djawi ti ka K. Gouvernement Walanda bae nja eta ngaloeloeeri loerining loeloehoer nja eta poen Boejoet prantos waktja dina pasamoehan nalika bobor Batawi (taoen 1811–1816) noe prantos oestara di Volksalmanak taoen 1919, atoech abdi goesti sareng saladjengna achli noe mangke hiroep pandeuri angot kedah kitoe, malah kedah langkoeng, da K. Gouvernement kahemananana sangsaja wewah." see *NL-HaNA*, 'Inventaries van het archief van Mr. J. P. van Limburg Stirum (levensjaren 1873 – 1947) 1911–1934,' 2.21.108, 34.

8) *NL-HaNA*, 'Inventaries van het archief van Mr. J. P. van Limburg Stirum (levensjaren 1873 – 1947) 1911–1934,' 2.21.108, 27.

9) *NL-HaNA*, 'Koloniën/ de Memories van Overgave 1852–1962 (1963),' 2.10.39, 25.

Martanagara took different point of view from Djajadiningrat and Atmadja. He defined *regent* in relation with his Dutch superiors, such as *gouvernement*, *resident*, *assistent-resident* and *controleur* (RAA Marta, 1923: 1–4, 40, 45, 49–50). In this case, he dealt with the government's decisions concerning his bureaucrat professional status and position, and monthly salary and other incomes he received.¹⁰

Regent of Bandoeng: Before and After

After his arrival at Sumedang from Semarang at the end 1860, every day he went to office of *kecamatan* doing the internship. Before became a bureaucrat, his first job was a teacher. On January 2nd 1860, he was appointed as a second teacher (*tweede onderwijzer*) in Sumedang to teach Malay, math, and measuring land (*kadaster*). His salary was f10,00 per month. Six months later, he had to help *wedana* to build irrigation canals (*solokan*), and earned extra payment f 6,00 per month (RAA Marta, 1923: 16-7).

Three years later, Resident Priangan released a besluit August 31st 1864 Number 3095 to appoint him as Camat Cikadu. Besides monthly salary, he also earned extra salaries from coffee and rice profits (*koffie-procenten* and paddy percentage). He had become a *camat* for fourteen months. Then he became a *kaliwon* Sumedang based on a besluit October 13th 1865 Number 3192. On June 26th 1869, he was appointed to be *Wedana* District Sumedang. He received a more *koffie-procenten* for every position he had.¹¹

After the dismissal of *Preangerstelsel* and the implementation of *Preanger Reorganisatie*, every official only received salary. The people had to pay paddy tax in cash, f1–f15 per *bau*. All regent received their appointment letter once again (RAA Marta, 1923: 24). Otto van Rees, the commissioner asked Martanagara to help him finishing administration matter concerning the *reorganisatie*. Because Martanagara succeeded planting coffee, he received *De Zilveren Medaile* (ZM).¹² Later on, he received title *demang* because he succeeded to eradicate cattle plague (*veepest*).¹³

In 1881, he was appointed by the Governor General to be *Patih* Sumedang.¹⁴ For four months he was an acting *Bupati* Sumedang because the *bupati* himself had passed away. On May 10th 1883, he became Patih Sukapura Kolot. This was his final position before he finally appointed to be *Bupati* Bandung five years later (*De Locomotief* June 19th 1883; Nina, 2001: 43).

10) Details about the amount of salary for every position, see RAA Marta, 1923: 17, 19, 21, 24, 27, 29–30.

11) 'Dienstaat van Raden Ranga Martanegara, November 11th 1882,' *Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia*; Java Bode June 8th 1878; Nagara, 1923: 17–8.

12) 'Besluit van Gouvernor Generaal, June 5th 1878 Number 7;' Nagara, 1923: 26.

13) 'Besluit van Gouvernor Generaal, April 19th 1884 Number 212;' Nagara, 1923: 27.

14) 'Besluit van Gouvernor Generaal, February 9th 1881 Number 3;' Nagara, 1923: 27.

Based on *Regerings Reglement* 1854 Paragraph 69, a regent must be an indigenous appointed by the governor general himself and come from noble ancestor (Sutherland, 1973: 47). In practice, the governor made decision based on consideration by Director of het *Binnenlands bestuur* and *adviseur voor Inlandse zaken*. Indigenous officials such as *hoofd-panghulu* also gave their opinion (Soeria, 1940: 61). All related documents (*stamboek*, *geslachtlijst*, and *conduitestaat*) should be read carefully, signed, and sent by the resident. In Martanegara's case, Resident Priangan was the one who did those procedures (Nina, 2001: 45).

After the death of *Bupati* Bandung Raden Tumenggung Kusumadilaga on April 7th 1893, Harders, the Resident, sent telegram to the governor in Batavia to inform about his successor. *Bupati* Sumedang Pangeran Aria Suriaatmaja was being offered but he refused. Then Assisten-Resident Ravenswaai offered Martanagara and asked him to write an application letter to the governor in secret (RAA Marta, 1923: 33).

A month later Resident Harders sent a proposal to the governor. In his letter, he reported that the former *bupati* of Bandung had five sons, but none of them were proper. Harders preferred to choose Patih Sukapura Kolot Martanagara because his forward-open-minded thinking, his blood ties with *ménak* of Bandung and received many honours of achievement. Director of BB; K. F Holle, *adviseur voor Inlandse zaken*; and Raden Hadji Muhammad Musa, *Hoofd-panghulu* Garut had the same opinion as Harders.¹⁵ *Raad van Nederlandsch-Indie* gave its approval and asked the governor to consider it (Nina, 1998: 36; Nina, 2001: 52).

On June 27th 1893, the Governor General signed a decision about the appointment of Martanagara to be *Regent* Bandung. Officially, Martanagara had title *tumenggung* before his name.¹⁶ There was an attempted murder to kill him and other officials at his inauguration (*De Telegraaf* 13 September 1893). During his position as *Regent* Bandung, besides *raden* and *tumenggung*, his title was *adipati*. Since 1901, he also received several types *songsong kuning* with different colour and stripes (G. St., G. S., and S. K),¹⁷ *Kleine gouden ster voor trouw verdienste* in 1900 (Nina, 2001: 71) and *Officier Kroon Orde van Siam* from King of Siam (RAA Marta, 1923: 42).

Due to his position, he became a member of *Gemeente Raad Bandoeng*.

15) 'Missives van der Resident der Preanger Regentschappen, May 4th 1893 Number 34,' zeer geheim, bijlagen 4; Lubis, 2001: 45–7.

16) 'Besluit van Gouverneur Generaal, June 27th 1893 Number 36,' *Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia*; *Regeringsalmanaak voor Nederlandsch-Indie 1894–1918*; Ajip Rosidi, et.al., *Ensiklopedi Sunda: Alam, Manusia dan Budaya* (Bandung: Pustaka Jaya, 2000): 670.

17) *Regeringsalmanaak voor Nederlandsch-Indie*, 1901: 164; 1902: 166; 1903: 168; 1904: 168; 1905: 168; 1906: 164; 1907: 165; 1906: 164; 1907: 165; 1908: 170; 1909: 172; 1910: 172; 1911: 175; 1912: 175; 1913: 161; 1914: 161; 1915: 165; 1916: 168; 1917: 166; and 1918: 160 – 1.

Since 1906, Bandung had become *Gemeente Bandoeng*.¹⁸ The position of Assistant-Resident then was being replaced by a mayor (*burgemeester*) in 1913.¹⁹ He decided to send proposal of resign because he was seventy-four years old. The Governor General agreed and signed a decision dated October 14th 1918 Number 1.²⁰ Lubis argues that there was a growing suspicion behind the cause of his resignation. It might relate to his incapability in dealing with Sarekat Islam.²¹

Martanagara the Bupati

According to *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie*, *bupati/boepati* is an old name for stateholder (*stadhouder*), head of province (*het provinciehoofd*). It is similar with the term *tumenggung* from Mataram Sultanate that being placed in various regions in Java and Madura. Then it changed into regent. Ever since, they ruled *keboepaten*, *regentschap*, and *regentswoning* (ENI 1919: 336). *Bupati* came first, and then regent.

Bupati derives from two words in Javanese: land (*bhu*) and ruler (*pati*). It could be said that bupati is ruler of land or king.²² Lubis defines *bupati* as leader of *kabupaten*. *Dalem* that has the same meaning as *bupati*, also means as *bupati's* residence (Nina, 1998: 325). Because of his autonomous position, *bupati* according to local source, *Babad Limbangan*, could be king (*murba wisesa*, to have highest power). He ought to be a protector for his families, relatives, and people (*tunggul payung sadayana para warga, ngauban baraya*). Parasol (*songsong*) has symbolic important meaning for *bupati* (Nina, 1998: 61–2, 188).

According to another local source, *Amanat dari Galunggung*, a *ménak* could be destined to be a king if he had ruled over a sacred place (*kabuyutan, mandala*). Another local source, *Sejarah Sukapura*, states that prophecy (*pulung*) inherited by previous ruler is main factor for someone to be a *bupati* (Nina, 1998: 57). Martanagara told about his propechy that once when he was about to be born a *kiai* said that he would have a higher position than his father.²³

18) Staatsblad 1903 Number 329; Staatsblad 1905 Number 137 and Number 181; Staatsblad 1906 Number 121.

19) Verslag van den Toestand der Gemeente Bandoeng over de Jaren 1906/ 1918.

20) RAA Marta, 1923: 43; "het met pensioen gaan van den regent van Bandoeng, R. A. A. Martanegara", *De Preanger Bode* 11 February 1919; "vyf en twintig jaar een tusschenbestuur gevoerd", *Het Nieuws van den Dag* 12 February 1919; "... die gedurende een halve eeuw dan Lande trouw diende en van 1893–1918 Regent was van Bandoeng, is thans meer dan 77 jaar oud ...", *Het Nieuws van den Dag* 18 January 1922.

21) Nina, 2001: 82–3. In June 17–24 1916, Sarekat Islam held its first 'national congress in Bandung, see *Sarekat Islam Congres (1e Nationaal Congres) 17–24 Juni 1916 te Bandoeng behoort bij de Geheime Missive van den Wd. Adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken dd. 29 September 1916 Number 226*.

22) Van den Berg in Sobana (2004: 12).

23) Kiai Hamsilah said: "Eta poeta djagana ngalangkoengan ti gamparan, joeswana

Sundanese concept about power has its similarity with Javanese Mataram concept (*kasekten*) and about relationship between god (macro-cosmos) and king (micro-cosmos) (Moertono, 1968: 2, 4). The influence of Islamic teaching could be seen in both concepts of power.

Atmadja made a distinction between *regent* as head of people (*volkshoofd*) and *regent* as head of civil servants (*hoofdambtenaar*). I tend to accept *bupati* as the first type of *regent*, head of the people (Soeria, 1940: 6, 168). Djajadinigrat had an interesting opinion about *bupati*. He argued that there was a difference between *regent-bupati* and *regent-amtenar*. In his opinion, *bupati* is mainly hereditary position, but *amtenar* is a skilled professional. He argued that every *priyayi* could be *regent-bupati* but to become *regent-amtenar* it took more than noble ancestor. *Regent* as *amtenar* had to be process-oriented and completed several interns before (Achmad, 1936a; Achmad, 1936b: 246–7). At this point, he and Martanagara had the same opinion.

Dalem Penyelang

Martanagara had his nickname, interregnum *bupati* (*dalem penyelang*) because he was considered to be an outsider who came to Bandung to be *bupati* (Nina, 1998: 315). But not for Resident Harders. According to Harders in 1893, by the time he made his proposal to the Governor General, Martanagara had relationships and blood ties with prominent figures of *ménak* of Bandung (Nina, 2001: 48). I would like to give fact that he came from Sumedang, the last guardian of Sumedanglarang and Padjadjaran. Although people of Bandung and Sumedang came from the same Sundanese tribe because of an attempted murder made by Patih Bandung Sumanagara who wanted, but failed, to become Bupati Bandung, this similarity did not seem to matter. The decision to appoint Martanagara to be Bupati Bandung was a right one. He combined within himself nobility of Sundanese *menak* and his awareness on Sundanese culture. He wanted to make Bandung a better place, especially because Bandung at that time was an important hub in West Java.

In his letter, Harders wrote about his kinship. His grandfather from his mother was *Bupati* Sukapura. His foster father and his father-in-law were *Bupati* Sumedang. His mother-in-law was *Bupati* Bandung's wife. His son was married to the daughter of recently passed away *Bupati* Bandung Raden Tumenggung Kusumadilaga.²⁴ But this "Bandung connection" did not matter for *Patih* Sumanagara. He planned to kill Martanagara and other officials by using dynamite at Martanagara's inaugural night. He had many supporters with him. His own father Raden Demang Suriadipraja, *Wedana* Conggeang Sumedang Raden Ranga Kartadiraja, Raden Danugara, Raden Natanagara, Kiai Abdul Kahar, Argawijaya, and Raden Wira Sudibya were among them

rawoeh daradjatna", see RAA Marta, 1923: 7.

24) Missives van der Resident der Preanger Regentschappen, 4 Mei 1893 Number 34.

(Nina, 2001: 50). After the death of Raden Tumenggung Kusumadilaga, *Patih* Sumanagara was an acting *Bupati* of Bandung. Before becoming *Patih* of Bandung, Sumanagara was an assistant for *Hoofd-djaksa* Bandung, *Assistent-Wedana* District Bandung, *Assistent-Wedana* District Banjaran, *Assistent-Wedana* Palasari, *Wedana* Gandasoli, *Wedana* Banjaran, and *Patih* Sukapura Kolot (Nina, 2001: 49). However, according to Harders, Martanagara was better than Sumanagara.²⁵ Besides Sumanagara, there were also other *ménak*'s Bandung who wanted to be the next *bupati* of Bandung. They were *Patih* Cicalengka Demang Suriakarta Adiningrat, *Assistent-Wedana* Buahbatu Raden Nataningrat, and *Patih* Cicalengka Raden Demang Suriakarta Adiningrat (Nina, 2001: 47-9).

He stated in first pages of his autobiography that his father was *Wedana* District Tjibeureum Raden Koesoemahjoeda (*Djoeragan Anom*). His father was son of *Bupati* Sumedang Dalem Koesoemahjoeda (*Dalem Agung*). His grandfather was a son of *Bupati* Sumedang Pangeran Koesoemahdinata (*Pangeran Kornel*). His great grandfather was a son of *Bupati* Sumedang Dalem Soerianagara (*Dalem Anom*). He was son of *Bupati* Sumedang Raden Ajoe Radjaningrat (*Dalem Istri*). His mother was Njai Raden Tedjamirah, daughter of *Bupati* Sumedang Dalem Tumenggung Soeriadilaga (RAA Marta, 1923: 1, 4; RAA Marta, 1978) Traits of Sumedang highest *ménak* was in his blood.

His real name was Asep Jamu (RAA Marta, 1923: 1). He was born on February 9th 1845 (RAA Marta, 1923: 5). He had married twice. Just like his parents did he was married to daughters of *ménak* and still had family relationship (*saderek sabrayna mintelu*) (Nina, 2001: 36). Raden Ajeng Sangkanningrat was his first wife. She was the daughter of *Bupati* Bandung. They married in 1872. Then on June 25th 1897 she passed away, one month after delivering her baby (RAA Marta, 1923: 24-5, 40) Nyai Raden Rajaningrat was his second wife (RAA Marta, 1923: 42). Maintaining the tradition, his children married to other *ménak*'s children. Martanagara made his own family and marriage connection just like a tradition among *ménak*. He also prepared his children to be bureaucrats by sending them to school.

He also made the connection with his European supervisor but to make it in a friendly way. He wanted to make them as part of his big family. He mentioned R. A. Kern, the assistant-resident, as "his son" (*Kang poeta, Kahatoer kang poeta, Palenggah kang poeta*); and called himself "father" (*Kang rama*). What he had done was in line with Van der Capellen intention to make resident *Bupati*'s older brother and *bupati* as European's younger brother (van den Doel, 1994: 580).

After his resignation was accepted, he moved to Sumedang, his home town. During his time there, besides *Babad Sumedang* and *Babad Raden Adipati*

25) Missives van der Resident der Preanger Regentschappen, 4 Mei 1893 Number 34.

Aria Marta Nagara: Regent Pansioen Bandoeng in Soemedang, he also wrote a few literary works. His adapted literary works besides the two mentioned before are *Piwulang Batara Sunu* and *Wawacan Batara Rama* (Nina, 2001: 105–12). Eight years afterward, he passed away because of the heart attack. He was buried in special cemetery for *bupati*'s of Sumedang. Later he was known as Kanjeng Burujul (Nina, 2001: 113).

Conclusion

Martanagara is an interesting case in order to know the difference between *regent* and *bupati*. This research paper, although with a very limited space, has showed the differences of the two. It is a small attempt to go further beyond the terms. By using Martanagara's own perspective that written in his short autobiography about *dalem*, *boepati*, and *bupati* on one side; and *regent* on the other side could give a better understanding about the implementation of indirect rule system since Mataram until the Dutch East Indies periods at local government of Bandung. Priangan and Bandung were important places mainly because of their coffee cultivation. From this region, the colonial government adapted *Preangerstelsel* into a wider area of Java in the name of *Cultuurstelsel*. The making of *De Grootte Postweg*, *Preangerstelsel*, and *Cultuurstelsel* was evidence that without the helping hands of local indigenous leader, it was impossible to make it succeed.

The appointment of Martanagara to become *Regent* or *Bupati* of Bandung is a combination of the implementation of traditional bureaucracy and modern bureaucracy. He was one of the highest *ménak*'s (*ménak luhur*) but he was willing to learn something new and to become a leader to make a better place for everyone in changing years from the nineteenth to twentieth century. Seeing from the other side, he was more a servant than a leader.

The relationship between Martanagara and the colonial government was in mutual need. Without helping hands of *bupati* it was impossible for the government to achieve its colonial objectives. On the other hand, without the given authority of the government, *bupati* could not deliver his best effort to implement prosperity to his people in the region. Bandung for instance had succeeded to become *gemeente* in 1906, had *burgemeester*, and *Raad Gemeente* in 1913.

Cash payment, *songsong kuning*, specialized education, titles, ranks, and other relics of past tradition are parts of being perennial and transition from old to new era. It also could be said a wise combination between Western thinking and indigenous thinking. Indirect rule system is an ongoing dialogue between the government and its citizen. The dialogue could be implemented through the mediatory role of the local leader. The direct rule system cannot be implemented in a distant place, among densely populated regions and uneducated people. It is hard to decide whether Martanagara is a *regent* or

a *bupati* in a way, but he represented both. It is even harder to know which side of the same coin he wanted the most.

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