

KEY

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

## NOTES ON JAVA'S REGENT FAMILIES

### Part II\*

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#### Kejawèn

The traditional pattern of the Mataramese state was concentric, with the inner circle--the palace or kraton--being surrounded by three outer zones, the *negara* (realm), *negaragung* (greater realm), and the *mancanegara* (outer territories).<sup>103</sup> This whole region was sometimes called *kejawèn*. In this essay only the two outermost zones are considered, as much of this area was absorbed into Dutch Java while the kraton and negara remained subject to Javanese rulers and the high officials and Bupati there were not comparable to those in the government lands.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the area of Mataram's *negaragung* and *mancanegara* extended from the Priangan hills in the west to the peak of Arjuna and Kawi's slopes in the east. The irregular northern boundary was marked by the mountains Slamet, Prahū and Merbabu, by the Solo river and East Java's Kendeng range. To the south lay the sea. *Mancanegara* and *negaragung* were distinguished by the difference in their economic and political ties with the center: the *mancanegara* was governed by Regents and sent taxes to the royal treasuries, while the *negaragung* was parceled up into thousands of small districts, each assigned to a court official for his upkeep. These officials and their local representatives were, in conjunction with the court administration's local chiefs, responsible for the security and productivity of the region.

Before 1812 the *negaragung* comprised the area immediately around the cities of Surakarta and Yogyakarta: Mataram, Pajang, Sukawati, Bagelèn and Kedu. These last two are of particular interest as they were incorporated into the directly-ruled colony after Diponegoro's defeat in 1830, while most of the rest remained under Sunan and Sultan as Principalities. Extensive areas of north Kedu (the later Regencies of Magelang and Temanggung) were taken from the rulers by the British in 1812, thereby reducing the amount of land available for the support of the courts and necessitating a finer slicing of the appanage

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\* This is the second part of a two-part article. Part I appeared in the October 1973 issue of Indonesia. The history of the priyayi in six of the eight regions covered was discussed in Part I: Banten, Cirebon, Priangan, Batavia, Pasisir, and Ujung Timur. *Kejawèn* (the outer areas of the old kingdom of Mataram) and Madura are discussed here.

103. See, e.g., Selosoemardjan, Social Changes in Jogjakarta (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1962), pp. 23-35.

pie and less income for the kraton officials.<sup>104</sup> Bagelèn, taken over by the Dutch after the Java War, included the later Regencies of Kebumèn, Karanganyar (abolished in 1935), Kutoarjo (abolished in 1933),<sup>105</sup> Purworejo and Wonosobo. Kedu and Bagelèn remained separate colonial Residencies until 1901, when they were united as Kedu; split in 1928 into three Residencies (Kedu, Bagelèn and Wonosobo), they were reunited in 1931.

The situation in Central Java was particularly complex because of the division of Mataram into Surakarta (Solo) and Yogyakarta in 1755, and the subsequent creation of the Mangkunegaran from Solo land in 1757 and of the Pakualaman from that of Yogya in 1812. Since these last two princes were of lower rank than the Sunan of Solo and the Sultan of Yogya, for convenience one can reckon the lands of the Mangkunegaran (the major area of which was the Regency of Wonogiri) as part of Solo and the much smaller Pakualaman as part of Yogya. With considerable simplification,<sup>106</sup> it can be said that after 1755 the western mancanegara (Banyumas) belonged to Solo, while the eastern was divided in a complicated way between Yogya and Solo. Much of Kediri and Ponorogo (in southern Madiun, neighboring Pacitan had been taken over by the British in 1812) went to Solo; but they were separated from each other by a wedge of Yogyakarta land covering the Tulungagung area. Yogya also controlled the north of Madiun Residency, the later Regencies of Ngawi, Magetan and Madiun. Most of the negaragung was held jointly by Sunan and Sultan, each ruler being represented by his own officials.<sup>107</sup>

In Bagelèn before the Java War, for example, there were eight chiefs called Gunung, three from Solo and five from Yogya. With their subordinate Demang gunung they, together with the appanage-holders of the land, were responsible for administration. The Resident of Kedu, F. G. Valck, who wrote the report on Bagelèn before the Dutch take-over, estimated that about three thousand people of various functions drew their support from the area.<sup>108</sup> In the course of the war and the colonial occupation the indigenous administration in Bagelèn became chaotic: as the fortunes of war resulted in successive appointments

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104. Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," pp. 179-80; E. S. de Klerck, De Java Oorlog van 1825-30 (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1894-1909), Vol. 6, p. 256.
105. Wijzigingen administratieve indeling Java en Madura (exclusief de zgn. Vorstenlanden: Surakarta/Mangkunegaran en Jogjakarta/Paku Alaman). Volgens Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië 1930 maart 1942 (Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam, Sociologisch-Historisch Seminarium voor Zuidoost Azië, Publikatie no. 6, 1964).
106. There were many boundary changes; see Encyclopaedie, "Vorstenlanden," for a convenient summary.
107. Soekanto, Sekitar Jogjakarta 1755-1825. (Perdjandjian Gianti-Perang Dipanegara) (Jakarta: Mahabarata, n.d. [1952?]), pp. 21-28; map appended to de Klerck, De Java Oorlog, and pp. 162 ff. of the same work.
108. De Klerck, De Java Oorlog, pp. 203-5; F. G. Valck, "De toestand van Bagelen in 1830," TNI, XX (1858), 2, pp. 65-84; see also M. H. J. Kollmann, "Bagelen onder het bestuur van Soerakarta en Djokjakarta," TBG, XIV (1864), pp. 352-68. Van den Berg, Rangen en Titels, p. 49, notes that by the late nineteenth century only in Mangkunegaran lands was Gunung in use as a title for officials outside the capital.

of Gunung, the number increased, so that by the end of the fighting there were about a hundred men claiming such status instead of the usual eight. After the Dutch victory, it was decided to do away with the old system and set up Regencies similar to those elsewhere in Java. Four were established: Brengkelan (later Purworejo), Semawung (Kutoarjo), Ungaran (Kebumèn) and Karangduwur, south of Karanganyar (Sedayu, not to be confused with the East Javanese Sedayu Regency).<sup>109</sup>

Many of the local chiefs in post-Java War Bagelèn were said to be of "low origin," and to have little real hold on the population. The Dutch felt it very important for an efficient administration to be set up, since both people and chiefs would have to be carefully "broken in" to the routine of orderly government. Four Regents were appointed: Radèn Adipati Sawunggaling, one of the original Gunung, Arung Binang and Tjakradjaja, two local chiefs of good standing with the people, and Pangéran Blitar. In addition, the Patih of Blora was brought in as a personal assistant to the Resident and given the title Radèn Tumenggung Aria Soeranegara. It was hoped that he would set the new Bupati a good example. In fact, the Regents found this bringing-in of an outsider offensive. His appointment was therefore specified for two years only, thereby minimizing the discontent of the Regents whose loyalty was of such importance.<sup>110</sup>

Although the administrative purpose and structure of the colonial Residency of Bagelèn was very different from those of the old *negaragung* there was a certain inevitable continuity of personnel. As had been the case elsewhere in Java, in Banten and Cirebon for example, the new regime tended to select the most suitable and reliable men from the original government and incorporate them into the new system. In Bagelèn the old administration had been based on a balance between the demands of the court and the needs and resources of the *negaragung* (though with the scales tipping in favor of the former). The new officials in the region tended to have corresponding family ties with both *kraton* and local dynasties. This pattern is well illustrated in the careers of two Bagelèn Regent families: the Arung Binang of Kebumèn and the Tjokronegaran of Purworejo.

According to their family history, the *Babad Arung Binang*, the Bupati family of Kebumèn had as its ultimate ancestors the rulers of Mataram. The Bagelèn branch of the royal family stemmed from a brother of Sultan Agung, Pangéran Boemidirdja, who moved from the capital. His descendants were local chiefs in Bagelèn, and it was his great-great-grandson, the Demang of Kutawinangun, Djojosingkarib Soerowidjaja, who brought the family back to *kraton* attention by falling into arrears in his dues. He was summoned to court where he gave so excellent an account of himself that he was given a *kraton* position. By the time of the campaigns against Mangkubumi he had become a Panéwu kliwon (lesser official, later Panéwu meant subdistrict chief) with the name Ngabèhi Honggowongso. He distinguished himself in the fighting and was appointed Bupati of Séwu (Séwu was the Mataramese term for Bagelèn between the Bagawanta and the Donan rivers) with extensive appanage lands in Kutawinangun. He was also granted the name Arung Binang. His son, Arung Binang II, succeeded him as Bupati of Séwu. Both men,

109. De Klerck, *De Java Oorlog*, pp. 203-5. There were various permutations in the Regencies: *Ambal* was abolished in 1872; Wonosobo was earlier called Ledok.

110. *Ibid.*, pp. 200-227, especially 203-4, 208-9, 224-27.

however, remained court-based officials and spent most of their time in Solo. The first Bupati of the family actually to live in Kutawinangun, located to the southeast of the later capital Kebumèn, was Arung Binang III, a nephew of the second.

The actual allegiances of the Arung Binang during the Java War are somewhat obscure. The *babad* and family tradition stress that Arung Binang III was appointed before the war, in 1825. He was defeated in the fighting, and retired to Solo where Diponegoro asked him to nominate his own successor. He chose his brother, Mangkudirdja, an ally of Diponegoro. Mangkudirdja was dismissed after the Dutch victory and a son of Arung Binang III was appointed as Arung Binang IV. Again family tradition emphasizes that his appointment was by Paku Buwono III: he was made Regent in the interval between Diponegoro's defeat and the establishment of colonial rule and Batavia merely recognized his status. He was the first Bupati to live in Kebumèn town, moving there in 1835 after the Kabupatèn was built.

Kebumèn was governed by the Arung Binang until 1943. Inheritance was not always in the direct male line. In two instances (1849, 1877) sons-in-law succeeded to the Kabupatèn, but in each case they took the name Arung Binang and in each case they were also distant relatives, being able to trace themselves back to earlier Arung Binang. Nevertheless there is an impressive continuity in the Regent lists of Kebumèn (reinforced of course by the use of the family name) and the Arung Binang are yet another example of a local family retaining its position despite political vicissitudes and the shifting fortunes of individual family members.<sup>111</sup>

The Tjokronegoro, Bupati of Purworejo from 1830 to 1920, could also claim Bagelèn ties despite their Solo priyayi background; they present, in fact, a rather similar picture to the Arung Binang. While their distant forebears were the kings of Majapahit and Pajajaran, their more immediate ancestors held such positions as Demang and Wedana in Bagelèn or Mantri in Solo. Their *silsilah* (genealogy) gives details of six priyayi dynasties in the Bagelèn-West Yogyakarta area, the lines of Pengasih, Bagelèn, Bragolan (possibly Brengkelan?), Solotiyang, Banyu-urip and Lowano (Loano), of which the last two at least were in the region of the modern Purworejo. It is noteworthy, however, that this genealogical richness is all linked to the mother of the first Tjokronegoro, who came from the Bagelèn and Bragolan lines: no details are given of the father, Kiyahi Bèi Singowidjojo, a Mantri in Surakarta.<sup>112</sup> Perhaps his genealogy was not particularly impressive, or perhaps it merely had no local relevance.

Tjokronegoro I was an ally of the Dutch in the Java War, and family stories emphasize his good standing with the Netherlands authorities. It is said, for example, that General de Kock appointed him as a Colonel-Instructor charged with the preparation of raw recruits from Holland headed for military action in Java; it is also said--erroneously--that de Kock asked him to choose the first Resident of Bagelèn, and that he selected an ex-army sergeant called Zwart. In 1830,

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111. Interview with R.M. Surjomihardjo, Jakarta, 1970; he referred to a Javanese family Babad Arung Binang and also to the family genealogy.

112. Interview with Soemarto Tjokronegoro, Jakarta, 1969; genealogies in his possession; also genealogy held by Ibu Nani Soewondho Soerasno, Jakarta.

Tjokronegoro was appointed Regent, and given the common reward of an assurance that his family would remain in the Kabupatèn for seven generations. The income from five hundred villages in the Urut Séwu, a fertile coastal area,<sup>113</sup> was allocated to him. These villages had earlier been the appanage of Pangéran Koesoemo Joedo, son of Paku Buwono IV. It was no doubt a typical practical recognition of changed circumstances and reconciliation which was the underlying cause of the later marriage of Koesoemo Joedo's daughter to Tjokronegoro I's son, the next Bupati of Purworejo, Tjokronegoro II (1876-1906).

Tjokronegoro II, however, was Regent with a somewhat reduced income. He lost his rights over the villages of Urut Séwu, and instead was granted five hundred guilders per month in compensation. In 1906, his son succeeded him as Tjokronegoro III, and he lost even this compensation. (This gradual reduction of the perquisites of Regents was in line with overall Dutch policy, which reduced most twentieth-century Bupati to living at least in theory on salaries--and credit.) In 1917, the fourth and last Tjokronegoro succeeded his father as Regent in Purworejo. But he remained in office for only three years. In 1920 he was retired (honorably, as always) for various indiscretions which included a tactless marriage to an Indo-European.<sup>114</sup> That was the end of any family succession in Purworejo. Henceforth, unrelated officials governed there.

In the remaining Regencies of Bagelèn--Kutoarjo, Karanganyar and Wonosobo--there was a similar use of kraton and local families as a source of priyayi. In Kutoarjo, according to the family history, *Soedjarah Danoeningrat Magelang*, one of the earliest Bupati was R.T. Pringgoatmodjo, grandson of a Bupati of Loano. The Regents of Kutoarjo were all from this one family.<sup>115</sup> The first Regent of Karanganyar was R.M.A.A. Djojoadingrat, son of Pangéran Moerdaningrat and hence grandson of the Yogyakarta Sultan Hamengku Buwono II. He founded a line which governed in Wonosobo until 1920 and intermarried with the Purworejo Tjokronegaran.<sup>116</sup>

The Regents of the northern Kedu Kabupatèn of Temanggung and Magelang also won laurels in the Java War. The Danoeningrat family had been closely associated with the Magelang area even before that, however: when it had been made a Regency by the British (it had previously been in the negaragung under a Demang), one Mas Angabèhi Danoekromo was appointed Bupati. This appointment was confirmed by the Dutch colonial government, which granted him the name R.T. Danoeningrat in 1813. Danoekromo, who before his appointment in Magelang

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113. *Ibid.*; de Klerck, *De Java Oorlog*, p. 200, describes the Urut Séwu.

114. Interview, Soemarto Tjokronegoro; Vb., 28-3-1919, no. 7, discusses the distress and scandal caused by the Regent's marriage to the Aceh-born Johanna Giezenburg.

115. *Soedjarah Danoeningrat Magelang* (privately printed, n.p., n.d.), genealogies VI and VIII; the ancestors shown here included the wali Sunan Giri. This R.T. Pringgoatmodjo was probably Regent from 1860 to 1870, having earlier been Bupati of Ambal. See also the biography "Pangeran Poerboatmodjo," *Oedaja/Opgang*, V (1928), no. 66.

116. There is some confusion over this man, who is also described as the first Regent of Wonosobo. See genealogies in the possession of Ibu Sumantri Praptokusumo, Jakarta; Ibu Zainal A. Widjojoatmodjo, Jakarta; Ibu Sastranegara, Jakarta; and Soemarto Tjokronegoro.

had been a kraton Bupati Kepatihan (a lower official than a colonial Bupati) in Yogyakarta, traced his descent through his mother from Brawidjaja V via the Banyumas Judonegoro/Gandasubrata line and through his father (an Arab?--Sayid Achmad, a *guru ngadji* or Koranic teacher) through the Sultans of Cirebon to the Prophet Muhammed.<sup>117</sup> Danoeningrat I, an ally of the Dutch, was killed during the Java War and was succeeded by his son, R.A.A. Danoeningrat II (1826-1862), who married into the Batang branch of the Bustaman. The Danoeningrat continued to govern Magelang until 1939, when a man with Wonosobo connections was appointed (R.T. Said Prawirosastro).<sup>118</sup>

The Regents of Temanggung were an off-shoot of the Semarang Soerohadimenggala, as R.T. Ario Soemodilogo, pre-Java War Bupati of Menorèh (Temanggung) was a son of R. Soemowerdojo, Patih of Semarang, a son of Soerohadimenggala III. Soemodilogo fought for the Dutch in the war against Diponegoro and was killed. In recognition of his services, his son was appointed Bupati and allowed to use the word "Holland" as part of his name: hence, R.A.A. Hollan Soemodilogo, and his son and successor R.T. Hollan Soemodirdjo.<sup>119</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century Temanggung passed into the hands of a branch of the Purworejo Tjokronegaran, and it remained in the general family until the end of the colonial period.<sup>120</sup>

Priyayi appointments in the negaragung after the establishment of colonial rule were a reflection of the immediate past: both kraton and local connections had their significance, and the Dutch naturally relied upon and rewarded families and individuals who had given them useful service in the fighting and the subsequent period of reconnaissance and reconstruction. Since the administration was completely reorganized according to the standard pattern and there was a great reduction in the number of units, there were plenty of Javanese officials around from whom to choose new appointees. To some extent this was also true of the mancanegara, with the difference that in Banyumas, Madiun and Kediri there existed already established Bupati families of greater independence than the chiefs in the negaragung.

The dominant family in the western mancanegara was that of Banyumas, the Judonegoro/Gandasubrata line. The silsilah of this family begins with Brawidjaja III of Majapahit and Prabu Siliwangi of Pajajaran: fitting ancestors given Banyumas' location between Sunda and Central Java. The genealogy also includes, among other illustrious forebears, Mataram's Senopati, Sultan Agung, and Amangkurat IV, Banjak Wide and Mangkunegara I.<sup>121</sup> According to the *Babad Banjumas* the family were Regents in Wirasaba (between Purbalingga and Banjarnegara) during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but later cleared the forest and founded the new town of Banyumas in the early 1600's. It should

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117. Soedjarah Danoeningrat Magelang; L. W. C. van den Berg, Les Hadramout et les Colonies Arabes dans l'Archipel Indien (Batavia: Imprimerie du Gouvernement, 1886).

118. Soedjarah Danoeningrat Magelang.

119. "Stamboom R. Prawotokoesoemo, Patih Bandjarnegara," in file CD56/40, Arsip Dalam Negeri, Jakarta.

120. Regeeringsalmanak and Koloniale Verslagen for the relevant years.

121. Banyumas genealogy in the possession of Dr. Gandasubrata, Jakarta.

be remembered that before the appropriation of the mancanegara in 1830, the later pattern of Regencies (Banyumas, Cilacap, Purwokerto, Purbalingga, Banjarnegara) did not exist; rather, there were numerous smaller "Regencies" organized in a hierarchy. During this early period "Banyumas" refers more to the general area than to a specific Regency, as the town of that name was the major center and the Regents based there were from the most prominent family, being Wedana Bupati or head Regents. They were in fact men of considerable standing, marrying into the court nobility and regarded as valued allies in time of war.

At times the Banyumas Bupati were too powerful for the liking of the kraton. In 1740, for example, Tumenggung Judonegoro I of Banyumas was sitting in his *pendopo* (open audience-hall at the front of the Kabupatèn) when a messenger arrived from Paku Buwono II (1726-1749) announcing that unless the Regent immediately helped to suppress the Chinese rebels (he had already once refused to do so) he would be put to death. According to the *Babad Banjumas* this so startled him that he fell unconscious and died.<sup>122</sup> (Perhaps an example of camouflaged violence?) In his place the Sunan appointed Judonegoro's son (who had previously entered royal service) as Judonegoro II. This Regent had particularly close ties to the kraton: he had two wives drawn from court circles and as a reward for his major role in defending Bagelèn during the war with Mangkubumi he was appointed Patih in Yogyakarta as Radèn Adipati Danuredjo. His son was appointed Regent in Banyumas under Surakarta, after the division of Mataram was carried out in 1755.<sup>123</sup>

In the early nineteenth century the Banyumas Bupati again showed their desire to be free of their obligations to the Sunan. Judonegoro IV asked Raffles for support in creating a separate sultanate in Banyumas. Raffles, however, reported this request to the Sunan who dismissed his over-ambitious chief and brought him to Solo to serve as Mantri Anom. To prevent subsequent Regents from cherishing such dangerous aspirations, the Sunan decided to weaken the Banyumas chiefs by dividing the area between two Wedana Bupati, a Kanoman and a Kasepuhan.<sup>124</sup> This was the classic response to the too powerful vassal (cf. Surabaya and Madura in the early eighteenth century).

Each of the new Wedana Bupati was placed over several subordinate Bupati (who were entitled Tumenggung or Ngabèhi) and was responsible to the Sunan for the conduct of these subordinates. Both Wedana Bupati were based in the town of Banyumas. The men appointed to the new positions were local officials: R.T. Bratadiningrat, from the Banyumas family (he was a grandson of Judonegoro II) and Regent of Sukaraja, was

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122. *Babad Banjumas*, compiled by R. Oemarmadi and M. Koesnadi Poerbosewojo (Jakarta: Amin Sujitno Djojosedarmo, n.d. [1964?]); this is an abbreviated, Indonesian edition. A Dutch version edited by J. Knebel is "Babad Banjoemas volgens een Banjoemaasch handschrift," *TBG*, XLIII (1901), pp. 397-443. Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," p. 357, note 186, gives an account of Banyumas administration which differs from that of the *Babad*, and emphasizes the subordinate relationship to the court, while local traditions stress independence. In fact, Banyumas was one of Mataram's most powerful vassals.

123. *Babad Banjumas*, pp. 20-23; Soekanto, *Sekitar Jogjakarta*, pp. 35-36, 49, 66-68, 88; Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," p. 359, note 235.

124. *Babad Banjumas*, p. 25.

promoted to the Kanoman while the Bupati of Purwokerto, R.T. Tjakrawedana, was appointed to the Kasepuhan. The latter, however, was not from a local family but was an aristocrat from Surakarta.<sup>125</sup>

In 1825, the Java War broke out and both Wedana Bupati fought against Diponegoro in alliance with the colonial power. Accordingly, though Banyumas was taken over by the Dutch, there was no need to introduce new men to lead the reorganized administration. As had been the case in the negaragung, the colonial administration was a much neater and more direct affair than the old system. Earlier there had been seven Regencies in Banyumas: three (Adirejo, Patikraja, Purwokerto) under the Kasepuhan, two under the Kanoman (Purbalingga, Sukaraja) and two jointly under both (Panjer and Banjar). These now became five separate Regencies: Banyumas, Ajibarang, Purbalingga, Banjarnegara and Majenang; Ajibarang later became Purwokerto, while Cilacap took over the leadership in the Majenang area. All Regents were of the same rank and the position of Wedana Bupati was abolished, so that there were now five instead of nine Bupati in the Banyumas area. At first it was felt that Sukaraja should be the capital of the new Residency, but since it had previously been merely the seat of a Ngabèhi whereas two Wedana Bupati had been based in Banyumas, it was finally decided to make the latter the capital.<sup>126</sup>

During the colonial period most of the Regents of Banyumas, Purwokerto and Cilacap (after its creation as a Regency in 1855) were descendants of the pre-Java War Wedana Bupati. The first two Bupati of Banyumas Regency (R.A. Tjokronegoro I, 1831-1865; R.A. Tjokronegoro II, 1865-1879) were son and grandson of the Kasepuhan Tjakrawedana. They were succeeded by the old Judonegoro line which returned to the Kabupatèn in the person of Pangéran Ario Mertodiredjo (1879-1913), his son, Pangéran Ario Gandasubrata (1913-1933), and grandson, R.A.A. Sudjiman Gandasubrata (1933 until after the Japanese occupation). The five colonial Cilacap Regents all sprang in the direct male line from Tjakrawedana, while the Bupati of Purwokerto until 1924 were also from the Tjakrawedana line, as they stemmed from the Banyumas Tjokronegoro. In 1924, R.T. Ario Tjokroadisurjo, a man of Ponorogo descent and brother-in-law of the nationalist leader, H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, was appointed and governed in Purwokerto until its abolition as a Regency in 1935.

These three Regencies were thus ruled by a close-knit family with roots in the pre-colonial past. Until 1878, the Bupati of Banjarnegara were also linked to this family. Under the Sunan's government Banjarnegara had been a sub-Regency under a Ngabèhi, but it was elevated to Regency status by the Dutch. R.T. Dipojudo IV, Under-Regent of Adirejo

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125. Ibid., pp. 24-25. Resident G. J. Oudemans (Banyumas 1907) showed his keen interest in family history here as he did in Priangan and Cirebon: his MvO. in Vb., 9-3-1909, no. 50, includes a history of Banyumas Regents from 1830 to 1907.
126. MvO. of Oudemans (Banyumas), pp. 20-21; Babad Banjumas, pp. 37-41; interview on Cilacap with Ibu Sempoeh Sosrowerdojo, Jakarta, 1970. Soon after its formation Majenang was reduced to a district; disposing of the Regent (often a problem) was relatively easy in this case as he was banished for murder. In 1841 Cilacap was made a Patih-ship. In 1855 it was made a Regency, as more land was cleared and the place grew in importance. Cilacap harbor is today the major deep-water harbor in South Java.

and a descendant of Judonegoro II, was transferred there as Bupati (1831-1846). He was followed by his son, R.A. Dipodiningrat (1846-1878), a son-in-law of the Wedana Bupati Brotodiningrat, who was the last of the family in Banjarnegara.<sup>127</sup> In 1878, the Patih of Purworejo, Mas Atmodipoero-alias Djojonegoro, was appointed Regent with the title Radèn Tumenggung.<sup>128</sup> Although he apparently had some family connection with his predecessor Dipodiningrat, he did not come from the local Regent family complex but from the Kolopaking, a priyayi family from Kutawinangun (Kebumèn).

The family tradition of the Kolopaking traces itself back to the early thirteenth century when the people of Banjar Bagelèn chose a Javanese Brahmin, Ki Tumenggung Kertawangsa, as their Ngabèhi. The position was inheritable providing the people approved, and generation followed generation as Ngabèhi in Banjar Bagelèn. When Sunan Amangkurat fled from Trunadjaja's army in 1677, he was cared for by the thirty-third Kertawangsa. From this contact with the kraton the family gained the name Kolopaking, their pusaka the great gong Kiyahi Kumbang, and permission to build a new town at Kutawinangun.

During the Java War the Kolopaking supported Diponegoro at first, but later recognized the power of Batavia. Diponegoro had granted Kolopaking the title Tumenggung, and the Dutch allowed him to continue using this title even after he entered their service as a priyayi. This Mas (or Ki) Tumenggung Kolopaking was the father of Djojonegoro, Regent of Banjarnegara (1878-1896), who was succeeded by his son, R.A. Djojonegoro II, earlier Djojomiseno (1896-1926) and grandson, the unorthodox and well-known R.A. Soemitro Kolopaking Poerbonegoro (1926-1945).<sup>129</sup>

Many Bupati families had their origins, like the Kolopaking, in the local priyayi below the Regent level, men who seldom entered kraton politics or had their deeds recorded in court babad, but who on their own parochial level formed an ancient and highly respected aristocracy. The later Regents of Purbalingga were descendants of Arsantaka, Demang of Pangendolan, who distinguished himself in the war against Mangkubumi. His son became Regent--more properly Ngabèhi--of Purbalingga, taking the name Dipojudo III (he followed on two Bupati called Dipojudo from the Judonegoro family); he was succeeded in turn by his son, Dipokoesoemo I, who was a son-in-law of Pangéran Aria Prabumidjaja, son of Mangkunegara I. In 1792, he was raised in rank from Ngabèhi to Regent. The Kabupatèn of Purbalingga then remained in the family until 1924, going either to sons or sons-in-law. All Regents except the last (R.M.A. Soegondho, 1925-1942) used the title Dipokoesoemo. The family also retained its ties with Solo, particularly with the Mangkunegaran, as the wife of Dipokoesoemo VI (1899-1925) was daughter to Mangkunegara

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127. MvO. of Oudemans (Banyumas), pp. 22-24; Babad Banjumas, p. 40; Gandasubrata genealogy.

128. As in preceding note; in an interview in Yogyakarta in 1970, Soemitro Kolopaking, retired Regent of Banjarnegara, said these were two different people, but other sources disagree.

129. Soemitro Kolopaking; MvO. of Oudemans (Banyumas); Regeeringsalmanak. For an introduction to the life of Soemitro Kolopaking, see his memoirs Tjoret-tjoretan Pengalaman Sepandjang Masa (Yogyakarta: Balai Pembinaan Administrasi, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1969).

IV, and Soegondho's Radèn Aju (title of a Regent's wife) was a daughter of Sunan Paku Buwono X.<sup>130</sup>

The network of relationships not only bound together the Regents of the Banyumas Residency but also linked them to the lower priyayi. This was a source of some disquiet to various Residents, and in Banyumas, as elsewhere in Java, energetic BB officials with an urge to change the status quo found priyayi family ties and mutual obligations a real hindrance. At the beginning of this century Resident L. N. van Meeteren (1906-1907) tried to increase efficiency and weed out old officials by sacking all Pangrèh Praja men with more than thirty years service and by curbing the desire of the Regents to win their relatives' appointment as officials. He hoped to break the hold of family government by bringing in outsiders, his own protégés and their relatives. But according to his successor, G. J. Oudemans (1908-1909), who took a great interest in the ramifications of Regents' families, this policy was counter-productive as it caused much unrest among the priyayi--and no doubt produced a fair share of deliberate obstructionism. He had his own ideas on preventing nepotism, but in 1927 Resident M. J. van der Pauwert (1922-1925) still counted the blood-tie between higher and lower native officials as a major obstacle to reform in what was by then a rather stagnant Residency.<sup>131</sup>

The mancanegara consisted of two major divisions: the western (Banyumas) and the eastern part. The core of this second area was the later colonial Residencies of Madiun (Ngawi, Magetan, Madiun, Ponorogo and Pacitan Regencies) and Kediri (Nganjuk, Kediri, Trenggalek, Tulungagung and Blitar). But the borders of the eastern mancanegara also included much of Grobogan, the old Jipang (Bojonegoro plus south Blora) and Mojokerto (including Jombang--earlier known as Japan). As was the case in Banyumas, there were several grades of Regents, the lesser chiefs being grouped together under the supervision of head Regents. In the early eighteenth century, for example, the majority of Bupati were subordinate to the Tumenggung of Jipang, while the Adipati of Kediri was in charge of the Bupati of his own area, Ponorogo and Grobogan. But the situation in the east seems to have been less stable than that in the west, and at various times Madiun was the seat of the dominant local chiefs, with the paramount authorities there acting as Wedana Bupati for the Yogyane Regents. The chief Regents supervising Solo's administration, though with a similar function, bore the different title of Bekel Bupati.<sup>132</sup>

The simplified system established by the Dutch for the colonial Residency of Madiun was complex enough: it consisted of eight Regencies (Madiun, Maospati, Purwodadi, Tunggul, Magetan, Gorangaring, Jogorogo, Caruban), plus five Regencies in the Ponorogo area (Ponorogo,

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130. Babad Banjumas, pp. 22, 27; Soemahatmaka genealogy; MvO. of Oudemans (Banyumas); Regeringsalmanak; on Dipokoesoemo VI, "Seorang ambtenaar jang setia," Pandji Poestaka, II (1924), pp. 257-58.

131. MvO. of Oudemans (Banyumas) discusses attempts at administrative reform; MvO. of M. J. van der Pauwert, Mr. 287/25.

132. Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," pp. 159-61, 183-84; Soekanto, Sekitar Jogjakarta, pp. 37-38, 49-50, 68, 72-74; and the historical section in Buku kenang2an: sepuluh tahun kabupatèn Madiun (n.p.: n.p., n.d. [1960?]); Van den Berg, Rangen en titels, p. 48.

Pedanten, Sumoroto, Polorejo, Plabangan), the Regency of Pacitan, the Under-Regency of Ngawi and the independent and little-known southern districts of Lorok and Pangul. The organization of Kediri Residency was almost as variegated: there were the Regencies of Kediri, Nganjuk, Brebek (perhaps a misspelling of Berbek) and Kertasana, the sub-Regency of Seringat (west of Blitar), the Kabupatèn of Ngrowo and Kalangbret in the region of the later Tulungagung and the independent southern districts of Trenggalek, Kampak, Prigi and Sumbring. This arrangement was arrived at by reducing the number of Regencies by fourteen from the earlier mancanegara organization, merging the smaller and less "rational" Regencies into others.

The men appointed by the Dutch as Regents were selected from existing Bupati and local priyayi. In some cases they confirmed men in offices they already held; in other cases, when priyayi were dismissed (retired under pressure) because of past behavior or suspected "unreliability," or where they voluntarily retired to the kraton towns rather than serve the colonial authorities, men were either brought in from neighboring Regencies or were promoted into the Kabupatèn.<sup>133</sup>

In Madiun Regency most colonial Bupati were drawn from the family of the Wedana Bupati, a family which traced itself directly from the head Regent, Pangéran Ronggo Prawirasentiko or Prawirodirdjo, who had been appointed in 1755, the time of the division of Mataram. The Madiun Regents had close ties with the kraton of Yogya; several married daughters of Sultans. Despite their family links with Diponegoro's rebels (his commander-in-chief Sentot, also known as Alibasah Abdulmustopo Prawirodirdjo, was a son of the Wedana Bupati Prawirodirdjo), the family remained chiefs of Madiun until 1869, when the Regent of the abolished (1869) Purwodadi Regency, R.M.A. Sosronegoro (1869-78), and then his son, R.M.T. Sosrodhiningrat (1878-85), took over. Between 1885 and 1900 R.M.A. Brotodiningrat, the ex-Regent of the abolished (1878) Sumoroto Regency and of Ngawi was Bupati in Madiun, but at the beginning of the twentieth century the original family returned and remained in the Kabupatèn until 1954.<sup>134</sup>

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133. De Klerck, De Java Oorlog, Appendix XXX, pp. 392-93, and pp. 193, 162 on the southern districts, where there were mingled Yogya and Solo lands plus areas on lease to Europeans in, e.g., Trenggalek and Blitar; also p. 179. De Graaf, Sultan Agung, pp. 9-12, writes that early seventeenth-century Ponorogo was under Pangéran Djajaraga (brother to the ruler Seda-ing-Krapjak, 1602-13) who governed through four subordinate Bupati entitled Pangéran, Pandji, Ngabèhi and Demang. On Madiun, see L. Adam's series of articles "Geschiedkundige aantekeningen omtrent de Residentie Madioen," Djawa, XVII (1937) to XXI (1941); "De Residentie Madioen in het jaar 1846," TNI, XI (1849), pp. 169-83; J.L.V., "Bijdrage tot de kennis der residentie Madioen," TNI, XVII (1855), 2, pp. 1-17; R. A. Kern, "Geschiedenis van Patjitan," TBB (Tijdschrift van het Binnenlandsch Bestuur), XXXIV (1922), pp. 157 ff.

134. Buku kenang2an; MvO. of J. Hofland (Resident of Madiun, 1907-14), in Vb. 12-5-1914, no. 8, Appendix I, gives a list of post-1830 Madiun Regents and their origins; Soekanto, Hubungan Diponegoro Sentot (Jakarta: P.T. Soeroengan, n.d. [1959?]), includes a sketched genealogy showing Sentot's links with the Madiun Bupati and the Sultans. On the Madiun Regent of 1900-1929 and his family, see "R.M.A.R.A. Koesnodiningrat," Pandji Poestaka, III (1925), pp. 1774-75. Sumoroto Regency was absorbed by Madiun in 1878. Its Regents stemmed from a Prawirodirdjo Bupati of Ponorogo. Purwodadi was a Regency on the west bank of the Madiun River. It should not be confused with Grobogan, which was sometimes also called Purwodadi after its capital town.

Magetan, Ponorogo and Pacitan also had a degree of family inheritance of Regent positions. Pacitan was the first of the Madiun Regencies to come under colonial domination (1812), though it was united with Madiun in 1832. The first colonial Bupati was Kiyahi Tumenggung Djogokario I, and the next four Regents were his direct descendants in the male line. In 1904, however, an outsider, R.T. Sosroprawiro (1904-6), was appointed, and from then on there was no family succession in Pacitan, the Regents being unrelated officials from the Madiun-Kediri region.<sup>135</sup>

The nineteenth-century Ponorogo Bupati were apparently connected to an ancient line which had its roots not only in Majapahit (Brawidjaja V) but also in peculiarly local institutions, in the legend surrounding Batara Katong (himself apparently a fleeing noble from Majapahit) and in the *pesantrèn* (Islamic schools). Batara Katong had many descendants who formed a so-called "Ponorogo nobility," including not just priyayi but also peasants distinguished from their neighbors only by birth and the respect they received thereby. It is hardly surprising therefore that Regents of local origin laid claim to descent from this hero.<sup>136</sup> It seems that the first three colonial Regents belonged to this line, which, however, remained in the Kabupatèn only until 1856, though a branch of the family continued as Bupati in Magetan.

The two immediate post-1856 Ponorogo Regents, R.M. Tjokronegoro (1856-83) and R.M.T. Tjokronegoro (1883-1906), were son and grandson of the famous Kiyahi Bagus Kasan Besari, kiyahi of the great *pesantrèn* of Tegalsari. Through him they stemmed from the family which had headed the *pesantrèn* since its founding by the celebrated Kiyahi Agung Kasan Besari in the mid-eighteenth century. This first Kasan Besari sheltered Paku Buwono II during his flight, so it is said, and as a reward the village at Tegalsari was made a *perdikan desa* to support the *pesantrèn*. The Kiyahi's family was also regarded as suitable for kraton marriage alliances--for example, the Kiyahi father of the Regent married a niece of Paku Buwono IV. The Tjokronegoro Bupati had many family links with local priyayi in Ponorogo and also traced themselves from Batara Katong. These facts, in addition to the powerful personality and reputation for *kasektèn* (spiritual potency) of the first Tjokronegoro, made them very influential Regents in a "difficult" area.<sup>137</sup> After 1906, however, the Bupati did not come from this family, but were again officials from the Madiun-Kediri area, an exception

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135. MvO. of Hofland; MvO. of B. J. van den Berg (Resident of Madiun, 1924-26), kept in the anthropological section of the Tropen Instituut, Amsterdam (listed under "Madiun"), gives a genealogy of Madiun Regents.
136. Encyclopaedie, "Ponorogo"; Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," p. 68; genealogies of Magetan Regents held by R.M. Koensoehardjito and Ibu Sastranegara; interviews with Samadikoen, an ex-official from Ponorogo, and later Governor of East Java, and R.M. Tjokrodiprodjo, ex-Bupati (Magetan 1943-45, Madiun 1945, Ponorogo 1945-49), Yogyakarta, 1970. Batara Katong is variously identified as a noble, a son of Brawidjaja and sometimes even as Brawidjaja himself.
137. Letter of the Acting Resident of Madiun, W. F. L. Boissevain to the Governor-General, September 30th, 1906, on Madiun Regent appointments, gives details of the family; see Vb., 8-4-1907, no. 20. Amelz, H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto: Hidup dan Perjuangannya (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1952), pp. 48-51, discusses the Bupati family, as the nationalist leader Tjokroaminoto was the son of a Wedana and grandson of the first Tjokronegoro Regent.

being the well-known Regent Pangéran Adipati Aria Koesoemo Joedo (1916-27) who, as a son of Paku Alam V, came from Central Javanese kraton circles.<sup>138</sup>

After the Java War Magetan was governed by two Regents, at least one of whom, R.T. Sosrowinoto, had been Bupati before the colonial takeover. Both, however, were dismissed in 1837 on suspicion of "irregular behavior" and were replaced by a single Bupati, R.M.A. Kertonegoro, previously Regent of Ngawi and of Purwodadi. He was succeeded in 1852 by his son-in-law, R.M.A.A. Soerodhiningrat (1852-87), son of Wirjodiningrat of Ponorogo, who was in turn succeeded by his son, R.M.A. Kerto Adinegoro (1887-1912), and grandson, R.A.A. Hadiwinoto (1912-38). Hadiwinoto was followed in Magetan by his son-in-law from the Madiun family, R.T. Soerjo (1938-43; after independence Governor of East Java, he was killed in the Madiun Affair in 1948). Magetan was thus kept pretty well within the family from 1837 until the end of the colonial period (and beyond: the Bupati replacing Soerjo in 1943 was son-in-law first to Hadiwinoto and later to Soerjo).

In contrast to the other Regencies in Madiun Residency, no real family continuity existed in Ngawi. There was in fact only one case of inheritance of office in over a century of colonial rule. This occurred when the second Regent, R.A. Joedadiningrat (1837-69) was succeeded by his son, R.M.T.A. Koesoemaningrat (1869-77). They were both from the Madiun family. Subsequent appointments found Ngawi Bupati transferred frequently to or from other Regencies. Pangéran Ario Sosroboesono of the Tjondronegoro was Regent of Ngawi for the exceptionally long period of thirty-eight years (1905-43), and so dominated most of the late colonial administration there.<sup>139</sup>

The Regencies in Kediri all had a degree of family continuity in the Kabupatèn. In Kediri itself Pangéran Tjakradiningrat, the pre-Java War Bupati, died in 1830 and was succeeded by his son, Radèn Adipati Djojodiningrat.<sup>140</sup> In 1858, a break occurred when a son of the Regent of Sedayu, R.A. Suroadiningrat III (Bupati of Sedayu, 1816-54), was appointed to Kediri. This man, R.T.A. Tedjokusumo (1858-73), was the first of four Kediri Regents to be drawn from the Sedayu branch of the Madurese Tjakraningrat. He was succeeded by his son, R.T.A. Djojokusumo I (1873-87), who was in turn followed by his half-brother, R.T.A. Djojokusumo II (1887-1901), and nephew, R.T.A. Tondoaditjokro (1901-14). The last three Bupati, however, were unrelated to this line. In 1914, R.T.A. Koesoemadinoto (1914-23), a son of the Regent of Sidoarjo, was appointed, followed by the Patih of Kediri, Mas Danoe-dipoero, who took office with the title R.T.A. Danoediningrat (1923-30). His son, R.T.A. Danoediningrat (1930-45), was the last colonial Regent of Kediri.<sup>141</sup>

Nganjuk, or Berbek as it was called, was under a certain R.T. Brotodikoro at the time of the surrender to the Dutch, but for most of

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138. On Koesoemo Joedo, see Sutherland, "Pangrèh Pradja," pp. 187, 190-93 and passim.

139. MvO. of Hofland; genealogies of Koensoehardjito and Ibu Sastranegara.

140. De Klerck, De Java Oorlog, p. 393.

141. Genealogies provided by Abdul Wahab Surjoadiningrat; Regeeringsalmanak.

the colonial period it was governed by the Pringgodigdo. R.M.T. Pringgodigdo (1852-66), father-in-law of Patih Djojodigdo (see above, page 138), was succeeded in the Kabupatèn by his son-in-law (1866-78), who was in turn followed by his son, R.M.A. Sosrokoesoemo (1878-1901), and grandson, R.M.A.A. Sosrohadikoesoemo (1901-36). The last colonial Regent was the ex-Patih of Kediri, R.T. Prawirowidjojo (1936-45), who was apparently unrelated to the family.

Blitar was an area of abangan dissent similar in "difficulty" to Ponorogo (perhaps because the forests of Lodaja had been a refuge for criminals and fugitives for centuries). The origins of the first Regent, R.T. Ario Adhi Negoro (1863-69), are as yet unknown, but one family provided most of the colonial Bupati. Pangéran Ario Sosrohadinegoro (1894-1918), who succeeded his father, R.T. Ng. Warso Koesoemo (1869-94), was a very well-known Regent, widely respected and reputed to have considerable spiritual power. His younger brother and successor, R.M.A.A. Warsoadiningrat (1918-42), a son-in-law of Mangkunegara V, also enjoyed high regard in Javanese circles.<sup>142</sup>

After the Java War the southwest area of Kediri Residency consisted of the Regencies Ngrowo (later Tulungagung), Kalangbret (soon merged as a district into Tulungagung) and the southern district of Trenggalek, which was made into a Regency and remained such until its division between Pacitan and Tulungagung in 1934. The central Regent family in the area in the colonial period was that of the Mangoennegoro of Trenggalek. R.M.T. Mangoennegoro I was the son of a Bupati of Kalangbret, descended from the Sunans of Giri and the Sultans of Madura via the Regents of Balega (in Madura) and Sedayu. His family was also linked to the Sultans of Yogya. The Regents of Tulungagung were linked to those of Trenggalek, but not closely. Most of the Tulungagung Bupati between 1839 and 1943 were related to each other; in several cases sons-in-law succeeded--for example, in 1902 R.T. Tjokrodiredjo, son of an earlier Bupati of Tulungagung, succeeded his father-in-law R.T. Partowidjojo (1895-1902). Tjokrodiredjo was then succeeded by his son-in-law, Pangéran A. Sosrohadiningrat (1907-43).<sup>143</sup>

### Madura

The island of Madura was part of Surabaya Residency until 1857 when it became a Residency in its own right, comprising four Regencies: Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan and Sumenep. Following the administrative reform law, Madura was divided in 1925 into East (Pamekasan, Sumenep) and West (Bangkalan, Sampang) Madura Residencies; in 1931 they were reunited. The number of Regencies was reduced to three in

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142. List in de Klerck, De Java Oorlog, p. 375; Koloniale Verslagen, 1878, p. 2; MvO. of L. Ch. E. Fraenkel (Resident of Rembang, 1901-07), in Vb., 5-3-1906, no. 36, p. 3. These sources do not quite coincide with the Pringgodigdo genealogy, but have been followed here.
143. De Klerck, De Java Oorlog, p. 392; interview with Soemarsaid Moertono, Malang, 1970. After 1894, the Regents of Trenggalek, namely R.T. Widjojokoesoemo (1894-1909) and R.A.A. Widjojosoewondho also known as Poerbonegoro (1909-33), possibly father and son, were outsiders from Probolinggo. Regeeringsalmanak. Ngrowo had been a major center in old Java and was governed by Rangga; like much of the southern area it was rather isolated and this, coupled with its daunting, marshy terrain, may have encouraged its independence.

1933, when Sampang was absorbed by Pamekasan.<sup>144</sup> This history of administrative chopping and changing is typical of the experience of Dutch-ruled Java, and gives the impression that Madura was much like any other Residency. But this impression is misleading: the Bupati of Madura enjoyed a uniquely powerful position vis-à-vis the colonial regime, and for much of the nineteenth century they were treated more as rulers than as Regents.

Madura's Bupati were of illustrious descent. The ancient Sumenep line is said to have begun in the thirteenth century with Ario Banjak Widé (Wiradjaja), King of Madura and Governor of Blambangan, who was the son of the last king of Pajajaran. Pamekasan's rulers were descended from the kings of Majapahit, as Kiyahi Wonoromo, the first Pamekasan chief mentioned, was a grandson of Prabu Brawidjaja V. The genealogy of the Tjakraningrat family of Bangkalan (earlier called Madura, but referring to the westernmost part of the island) also stemmed from Prabu Brawidjaja V, as did the Sampang chiefs. Although Sumenep may have been older, and continued to be regarded as the most cultured of the Madurese courts, the Bangkalan Tjakraningrat were the most active and famous Bupati, playing a considerable part in the history of Java.

The genealogy of the Tjakraningrat begins with Prabu Brawidjaja V, last ruler of Majapahit, but the first member of the family to rule in Madura is said to have been Panembahan Lemahduwur (1531-92), who built his kraton at Arosbaya on the northwest coast of the island. He was succeeded by two of his sons, first Pangéran Tengah (1592-1621) and then Pangéran Mas (1621-24), whose rule ended when Madura fell to the armies of Sultan Agung. Pangéran Mas then fled to Giri where he died. A son of Pangéran Tengah, Radèn Prasena, was carried off to Mataram where he won the favor of Sultan Agung, was married to a Javanese princess and, as Pangéran Tjakraningrat, was appointed to govern Madura. He was the first to use that title and to rule under the suzerainty of Mataram. According to the genealogies, this first Tjakraningrat ruled until 1648, when he was succeeded by his son, Tjakraningrat II (1648-1707) whose control extended not only over Madura but also along the Javanese coast from Pati to Situbondo.<sup>145</sup>

According to this Madurese version of events, the conquest by Mataram did not destroy continuity of government: family rule continued

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144. Encyclopaedie, "Madoera"; Wijzigingen administratieve indeling Java en Madura.

145. Zainalfattah, Sedjarah, pp. 133-48; interviews with and genealogies held by Abdul Wahab Surjoadingrat; interview with R.M. Ruslan Tjakraningrat, Surabaya, 1970. On the history of Madura in general see Zainalfattah, Sedjarah, passim; de Graaf, Mangku-Rat, Vol. II; Pa'Kamar, "Geschiedenis van Madoera," Djawa, VI (1926), pp. 231-50; R. Maurenbrecher, "Tjakra(di)ningrat. Vorstenhuis van Madoera," TBB, II (1889), pp. 291-305; G. J. Resink, "De Rechtshistorische ontwikkeling van het zelfbestuur op Madoera," Indische Tijdschrift van het Recht, CXLIX (1939), pp. 732-75, and CL (1939), pp. 1-21; Madoera en zijn Vorstenhuis (Batavia: Kolff, 1936); H. Massink, Bijdrage tot de kennis van het vroeger en tegenwoordige bestuur op het eiland Madoera (Arnhem: K. van der Zande, 1888). The name Tjakraningrat (or, sometimes, Tjakradiningrat) was used by the chiefs of Bangkalan from the early seventeenth century until the mid-nineteen sixties, or so it appears from Madurese tradition. But de Graaf, Mangku-Rat, Vol. II, pp. 48-49, suggests that this name was not used until 1680, and the earlier chiefs were called Pangéran Sampang.

because the Tjakraningrat had won the "favor of the Sultan." Contemporary Dutch records suggest a harsher reality--that overlordship of the island was granted to the man who helped Sultan Agung's conquest.<sup>146</sup> The genealogies also make no mention of the death of a Pangéran from the Tjakraningrat in 1656, killed on Amangkurat's orders. This event, no doubt part of the Sunan's efforts to tighten central control, is bridged over by merging two men into one.<sup>147</sup>

All accounts agree that the earliest two Tjakraningrat spent most of their time at Mataram's kraton, leaving Madura to the care of subordinate chiefs. By the mid-seventeenth century there was a dual administration in Madura, as both the central government and the Tjakraningrat maintained separate, parallel networks of officials and informers on the island. But such attempts by the court to maintain its control over a dangerously powerful vassal proved insufficient, and in 1674 Madura provided the base for a rebellion led by Radèn Trunadjaja, a minor prince of the Tjakraningrat line and son of the man killed by Amangkurat in 1656. Trunadjaja's uncle, Tjakraningrat II, had not only failed to make use of his court position to help the boy, but, on the contrary, seems to have deliberately blocked his path.

During the 1670's Trunadjaja succeeded in conquering all of Madura and most of East Java, thereby isolating his uncle from the source of his strength, and so placing him in an awkward position at court. Mataram, faced with Trunadjaja's growing strength, turned to the VOC for help, with the predictable result that after the rebellion was crushed the Dutch were in a much stronger position along the north Java coast. This provided the Madurese rulers with a useful counterweight against Mataram, so they tended to turn to the Company for support against their overlord.<sup>148</sup>

The ruler of East Madura (Sumenep), T. Judhonegoro, had been a friend of Trunadjaja when they studied Islam together under Sunan Giri. Under Trunadjaja's auspices he had been installed as ruler in 1672 when his predecessor fled. Judhonegoro was a son of an earlier Sumenep Pangéran, although there had been some questioning of this at first. He remained in office after Trunadjaja's defeat, presumably because he offered suitable protestations of loyalty. In fact, it seems he submitted to the VOC in 1685, and felt sufficiently supported by this contact with the foreign power (and his excellent standing with the local population) to ignore Mataram's official in his area. Dutch hegemony over East Madura was accepted by Mataram in 1705, and although the Sumenep rulers behaved like independent kings, they were in fact vassals of the Company. At this time, too, the Pamekasan chiefs were closely linked to Sumenep, and sometimes both areas were governed by the same man.<sup>149</sup>

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146. Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," pp. 142, 148.

147. De Graaf, Mangku-Rat, Vol. II, pp. 48-49, believes that "Tjakraningrat II" was really two Pangéran Sampang, dated 1647-56 and 1656-1707; the latter changed his name to Tjakraningrat.

148. De Graaf, Mangku-Rat, Vol. II, passim, but particularly pp. 48, 175; Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm," pp. 190, 370, note 381; Day, Policy, pp. 10-11.

149. Zainalfattah, Sedjarah, pp. 49-57; Kielstra, De Vestiging, pp. 104-5.

The Tjakraningrat of West Madura (Bangkalan) were also looking to the VOC as a means of freeing themselves from Mataram's control. In 1707, according to the genealogies, Tjakraningrat II was followed as ruler by his son, Pangéran Tjakraningrat III. In 1718, he was succeeded by his brother, Tjakraningrat IV, a man who played a prominent part in the Javanese-Chinese War of 1741-43. He took this opportunity to try to shake off his vassal obligations to Mataram. He joined the Dutch and with his considerable manpower resources was able to conquer much of East Java. He expected that as a reward he would be able to retain these areas and rule them independently, but this the Dutch would not allow. Since Mataram had formally granted the VOC suzerainty over Madura as part of the price for Company aid in the war, the Dutch felt they had every right to treat Tjakraningrat as they saw fit. But this galled the Madurese ruler, and in 1744 Tjakraningrat IV rebelled since he felt that the Company had broken its promise. According to the Madurese tradition, the Governor-General had agreed to give Tjakraningrat IV control of the land east of Gunung Lawu, but when he tried to claim it he was turned down. He then modified his demands, asking for only three Kabupatèn: Surabaya, Sumenep and Sedayu, the last to be kept for his descendants in perpetuity. This also was refused. Realizing that war was inevitable he asked for English assistance and rallied his troops. No foreign aid arrived, however, and his forces were defeated. Together with two of his sons he was exiled first to Banjarmasin and later to the Cape of Good Hope, where he died. Family continuity was nonetheless preserved. The Regent of Sedayu, a son of Tjakraningrat IV, was appointed Bupati of Madura with the name R.A. Setjoadingrat. He later became Panembahan Tjakra-adi-ningrat V (1745-70).

Tjakraningrat IV had tried to use Madura's greatest asset, fighting men, to win concessions from the Dutch and thereby set an influential precedent. When the Regent of Surabaya rebelled in 1750, Setjoadingrat of Bangkalan went to the aid of the VOC under the impression that he would be rewarded by the eventual appointment of his son as the rebel Regent's replacement. But the Company felt that the Regents of Surabaya were already too strong, and the last thing they would have wanted was a Tjakraningrat in that position. So the Company split Surabaya into two Regencies. Both of the men appointed were from the rebel Regent's family, while Setjoadingrat's son, R.T. Suroadingrat, was made Regent in Sedayu instead.

R.A. Setjoadingrat was so important an ally of the VOC that in 1762 his title was raised to Panembahan and he took the name of Tjakra-adi-ningrat V. This higher name reflected higher rank, as the Panembahan was Wedana Bupati or head Regent of Ujung Timur, with responsibilities extending from Madiun to Blambangan. He died in 1770 and was succeeded by his grandson, a son of the deceased R.T. Suroadingrat of Sedayu. This Panembahan Tjakraadingrat VI ruled until his death a decade later. His uncle was appointed in his place with the title of Panembahan Adipati Tjakraadingrat VII (1780-1815).

Tjakraadingrat VII sent troops to support the Dutch on several occasions. Two sons commanded Madurese in action against the English round Batavia at the beginning of the nineteenth century and also helped suppress a revolt in Cirebon in 1806. As a reward, the eldest, Setjoadingrat III, was recognized as "Crown Prince" of Madura and was given the rank of Colonel, while the second son became Regent of Pamekasan as Panembahan Mangkuadingrat (1804-42). In 1808, Tjakraadingrat VII himself was elevated in title and prestige to become the

first Sultan of Madura. This did not, however, secure his allegiance to the Dutch. When the English invaded in 1811 he rounded up all Dutchmen in his area and handed them over to the English. This was, say the Madurese sources, in revenge for the exile of his grandfather to the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>150</sup>

Since 1803 Bangkalan had been effectively administered by the Sultan's son, Setjoadingrat III, and he succeeded as Sultan Tjakraadingrat II (1815-47) upon his father's death. He, too, provided Batavia with useful military support. Madurese under the command of his sons fought in Bone (1824) and in the Java War. Similar auxiliary troops had been raised in various parts of Java, but although they were disbanded the Madurese contingents were not. In recognition of the special military role of the Madurese in the Indies their troops were reorganized in 1831 into a permanent *barisan* (armed corps), the only standing native force in Dutch-ruled Java to be based in its home area.

The Tjakraningrat were a formidable power, always probing to find how far they could assert their independence and gain maximum ascendancy in their natural arena of East Java. Although they had acknowledged VOC suzerainty in 1743, this probing continued as they played Dutch against Javanese, and English against Dutch in their efforts to raise themselves yet higher, and to a large extent they were successful.

The first Tjakraningrat Sultan had been granted the title "Sultan Tuwa" as a personal reward by Daendels. Raffles conferred the title upon his son. Daendels and Raffles further heightened the prestige of the Madurese Regents by conferring various decorations and privileges, although both men were in general committed to reducing the power of the Regents and subordinating the native chiefs directly to the Government. They found it politic, however, to cultivate the goodwill of the Madurese Regents because of their military strength, and in Raffles' case this inclination was reinforced by his close personal ties with Panembahan Notokusumo of Sumenep (later Sultan Pakunataningrat, 1812-54). There was no reversal of this policy when the Dutch returned, no demoting of the Regents who had been so close to the English enemy. In 1820, van der Capellen confirmed the right of the Regents to their high titles, and Tjakraadingrat accordingly remained a Sultan. As one Dutch writer rather wryly noted, the Regents of Bangkalan had higher titles under the Dutch than they had ever borne under Mataram. All these distinctions, the *barisan*, titles and decorations reflected the special status of the Madurese rulers: they were referred to not as *zelf-bestuurders* (self-administrators), but as *onafhankelijk bondgenoten* (independent allies).<sup>151</sup>

These honors were bestowed less out of generosity, than because successive governments in Batavia wished to prevent Madurese defections. During the first thirty years of the nineteenth century there were powerful contending forces in Java, as a result of the repercus-

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150. Kielstra, *De Vestiging*, pp. 104-5; Zainalfattah, *Sedjarah*, pp. 148-54; O. M. de Munnick, *Mijn ambtelijke verlijden (1858-1894) autobiographie* (Amsterdam: J. H. de Bussy, 1912), chap. viii; genealogies of Abdul Wahab Surjoadingrat.

151. *Encyclopaedie*, "Madoera"; "Barisan"; Kielstra, *De Vestiging*, pp. 105-6; Massink, *Bijdrage*, p. 9; Zainalfattah, *Sedjarah*, pp. 155-59.

sions of the European war and then, soon after the Dutch were re-established, the Diponegoro rebellion. As had happened before, in 1670, 1741 and 1750, the Tjakraningrat recognized that in such an uncertain situation, in which Madurese arms could be an important factor, they had an opportunity to bargain for higher status. Once again they made use of the opportunity. But when the English withdrew and Diponegoro was defeated the Dutch felt secure again. Since the Madurese were not a real threat without allies, their Regents how lost much of their leverage. Although the period after 1830 was one in which the Regents *in general* were favored, because their cooperation was needed for the Cultivation System, the Madurese Bupati were an exception. Their island was dry and infertile and could not produce the crops van den Bosch desired. They had lost the basis for their earlier elevated status, and so that status now declined. Up to 1847 they were Sultans; forty years later they were Regents like any others. During those forty years the Dutch whittled away the accumulated powers and privileges of the Tjakraningrat, while steadily increasing their own freedom of action.

The Dutch had decided that something must be done about Madura long before 1847. With their new security, the colonial officials felt that they had been overindulgent, and the Madurese rulers had abused that indulgence. The Assistant-Residents of Bangkalan in the 1820's had painted a grim picture of splendid living, profligacy and indolence on the part of the nobility and the native administrators, while the people suffered from the neglect of public services and insecurity. Robbery, murder, arson and abuse of office were common, while roads were neglected. The misrule of the Sultan and the extortions of a large, aggressive and parasitic nobility were the reasons given for this sad state of affairs. In fact the Dutch were somewhat biased in their opinions, and the situation was probably not as bad as they said.<sup>152</sup>

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152. C. P. Brest van Kempen, "Memorie omtrent den vroegere en tegenwoordigen toestand van Madoera," typescript report preserved in the KITLV, Leiden, no. H794. As Brest van Kempen was Assistant-Resident in Bangkalan, his report contains a wealth of information, but is not necessarily objective. For example, on pp. 22-23, as illustrations of princely abuse he describes how at the beginning of the second Sultan's reign Mantri could assemble thirty to fifty people for heerendiensten (compulsory public labor), whereas by the end of his reign only ten men would appear. When the Dutch were mustering coolies to go with the army to Bali, the Sultan declared his inability, without direct Dutch aid, to force his chiefs to assemble such a quantity of men. Both these instances were taken as evidence of depopulation and poverty, as well as of the population's disregard for its rulers and a refusal to fulfill its duties. Yet the events are, of course, also open to the interpretation that they represented a form of resistance to Dutch demands, and that the Sultan would have rather had European officials collect people to go to war, so as to avoid any resulting unpopularity himself. Similarly, Brest van Kempen recorded the earlier dismissal of a Rijksbestuurder (chief minister) in 1823 on grounds of misconduct and "stubborn opposition to the Government's interests"; one suspects that the latter charge probably influenced the formulation of the former. On Brest van Kempen, see A. Besnard, "Verstoorde Persoonlijkheid," in H. Baudet and I. J. Brugmans, Balans van Beleid: terugblik op de laatste halve eeuw van Nederlandsch-Indië (Assen: van Gorcum, 1961), pp. 105-8.

The Sultan did everything possible to emphasize his independence of Batavia and often forced concessions from it. The later Assistant-Resident C. P. Brest van Kempen described the Government as heaping favors upon the Sultan, granting his most capricious whims, even appointing and dismissing government officials who were in or out of the Sultan's good books. Under such circumstances, he wrote, an Assistant-Resident could not carry out his duties; he was not supported by his Government, and the Prince (Sultan) regarded him merely as part of the retinue which reflected the greatness of the ruler. Sometimes, to please the Sultan, Dutch officials were appointed whose conduct not only brought shame upon themselves but also upon the Government. The better Assistant-Residents were powerless, unable to move a step outside the kraton without the Sultan's permission. In 1839, for example, Assistant-Resident Verschuir, no favorite of the Sultan's, was instructed by the Resident in Surabaya to negotiate the recruitment of coolies. He approached the Sultan, only to receive a note stating that the Sultan was not prepared to discuss this with him. "So low had the dignity of the Government's administration sunk in the last years of the Sultan's life."<sup>153</sup>

The Dutch were waiting for the Sultan to die, which he did on January 27, 1847. He was succeeded by his son, under the title of Panembahan Tjakraadiningrat IX (1847-62). The reduction in title was only one of a number of steps designed to lower the status of the ruler below that of the Resident and to introduce an effective measure of Dutch control. Brest van Kempen was appointed Assistant-Resident (1847-51) to supervise this administrative restructuring.

The reorganization of Bangkalan's government was based on five declared goals, the first and foremost of which was: "To reduce the Regent and nobles from their position of power and independence, usurped in the course of time, to one more in accord with the letter of previous contracts and with the more dependent relationship which they had had with the Government in earlier times." This was to be achieved on the practical, symbolic and legal levels.

In one step the native ruler was removed from his controlling position and his place taken by BB officials: the rijksbestuurder and the hoofddjaksa, respective heads of the administration and the judiciary, were made government officials, appointed, paid and dismissable by Batavia. The decreased authority of the ruler of Bangkalan was underlined in the new place he was forced to assume in public demonstrations of status as well as in his lowered title. The guard of honor which had previously been provided by the government garrison was withdrawn, as were his two European orderlies, and the Resident was placed above the Regent in the ceremonial used on the arrival of the one in Madura or of the other in Surabaya. Finally, a new contract was drawn up which did *not* give the impression of having been made between two equal parties and which stressed the obligations of the ruler and the limitations on his power rather than his rights.<sup>154</sup>

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153. Van Kempen, "Memorie," pp. 22-23.

154. The remaining four goals were more specific, concerned with welfare, crime, and corruption. The Assistant-Resident was instructed to restore the security of people's lives and property, working through the rijksbestuurder and the hoofddjaksa. They had also to make an end to the corruption of customs officials and those who had leased the right to collect tolls, as well as to fight

This was the major breakthrough for the Dutch in Bangkalan. After that it was mostly a matter of "pruning away" the powers and privileges of the Regents. Panembahan Tjakraadiningrat X, who replaced his father in 1863, had far fewer rights than his predecessor as a result of the particularly thorough "pruning" which followed his father's death. For the loss of these rights he was granted "considerable compensation" by Batavia. (According to Madurese adat he was not even eligible to be Regent, as he was an ill man, stone-deaf with a speech defect, but the Dutch approved him nevertheless.) He died in 1882, and after three years' preparation and reorganization direct colonial rule was introduced in Bangkalan, and the first government Regent was appointed-- Pangéran Tjakraadiningrat XI (1885-1905), son of the second Sultan and so uncle to his own predecessor. The area once governed by the Sultans was split into two Regencies, Sampang and Bangkalan, and the ruling family lost its appanage lands and buildings to the colonial power, which also took over direct control of the barisan.<sup>155</sup>

The Dutch frequently used this "pruning" approach to diminish the power of Regents, removing a few privileges with each new appointment. But this gradualism did not prevent opposition from the Regent families, and so one task of BB officials in the nineteenth century was to sort the "pro-" from the "anti-European" factions and promote the advancement of their allies. Resident C. Bosscher of Madura (1867-72) was no exception. He attributed the stubborn hostility to the entry of Europeans and their business into Bangkalan shown by Tjakraadiningrat X to family influence as well as to the inability of the Regent to profit from such concerns as he did from the Chinese.<sup>156</sup>

Remembering Madura's military past, Batavia was still wary of the Bangkalan Regents, and as it moved towards the introduction of direct rule fear of a revolt grew. O. M. de Munnick, an ex-Assistant-Resident of Bangkalan (1876-79) sent back to Madura as Resident to supervise the changeover, described the altered atmosphere in Bangkalan. The Madurese attitude was "far from favorable," and one Tjakraadiningrat, R.A. Soeria Adiningrat, was temporarily banished to Bandung. Then, when two of his sons started to court the favor of the barisan commander, R.D. Majang Koro, rumors and fears spread rapidly, to the point that, according to de Munnick, the Assistant-Resident suddenly developed eye trouble and had to seek treatment in Batavia while the European Captain-Instructor of the barisan tendered his resignation. De Munnick himself arranged for troops in Surabaya to be placed on alert while prau waited on the beaches to take the news of rebellion across the strait. But in the end no revolt occurred and the reorganizations were carried out and celebrated with a feast at which de Munnick called upon the Madurese officials to rejoice at the end of the "despotic and disorderly Princely regime."<sup>157</sup>

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against smuggling. This was related to the fourth goal, protecting the people against the Chinese, since tolls and customs were mostly collected by Chinese. The final aim was to guarantee the people a fair and protective administration and, as far as possible, to promote their well-being.

155. Encyclopaedie, "Madoera"; Kielstra, De Vestiging, p. 107; Zainalfattah, Sedjarah, pp. 76-78.

156. Report by Resident Bosscher, typescript copy, KITLV, no. H794, pp. 19-22. Massink, Bijdrage, pp. 33, 55 ff; Zainalfattah, Sedjarah, pp. 165-69.

157. De Munnick, Mijn ambtelijke verlijden, pp. 202-14; Massink, Bijdrage,

After the introduction of direct rule, the Tjakraningrat family were Regents with the same formal position as any others, although they retained a certain prestige and some small special privileges as a reminder of past glories. In 1905, Tjakraadiningrat XI was succeeded by his son, R.A.A. Soerio Negoro, a young man of twenty-six with an elementary school background, who remained in office only thirteen years (1905-18). His successor was his brother, Radèn Ario Soerio Winoto, who had replaced his father-in-law as Regent of Sampang in 1913, but was now moved to Bangkalan where he took the family Regent name of Tjakraningrat, and served as the last colonial Regent of Bangkalan (1918-45).

In fact, the Dutch would have preferred to break the continuity of the family and to appoint a strong, independent outsider as Regent who could clean up the "impure" situation in Bangkalan. But Cohen, the Resident of Madura, reluctantly concluded that such an outsider would encounter so much opposition from the numerous family members and the "discontented do-nothings, who still mourn the pre-1885 period when all noble relatives of the Governor of the Kingdom of Madura could live so easily at the expense of the people" that the appointee's position would have been intolerable. Soerio Winoto was a good official who spoke Dutch and represented the best potential of the Tjakraningrat candidates and so he was appointed as the only man acceptable to both the Madurese and the Dutch.<sup>158</sup>

The mid-nineteenth century reassertion of Dutch power was not restricted to Bangkalan. The other Regencies of Madura had also climbed high in the early 1800's. In 1804, a Tjakraningrat (a son of the first Sultan) was appointed to Pamekasan, central Madura, where he was the last Panembahan (Mangkuadiningrat, 1804-42). From then on the Regents were Pangéran (until 1891); after that various titles beginning with Radèn were used. Mangkuadiningrat's successor and grandson, Pangéran Adipati Suriokusumo (1842-53), was the last "independent" chief of Pamekasan. After his retirement, the Dutch introduced direct rule, and in 1858 there was a complete reorganization of the administration to bring Pamekasan into line with the general pattern for Javanese Regencies. After 1857 Pamekasan became the seat of a Resident, as in that year Madura was separated from Surabaya to become a separate Residency.<sup>159</sup>

A similar course of events occurred in Sumenep. Raffles had promised his friend the Sultan that his son would succeed him, and van der Capellen had committed Batavia to that promise. So in 1854 the apparently sickly Panembahan Notokusumo became ruler in Sumenep, although most power probably lay with a committee of family members and two Netherlanders. According to Kielstra, the Dutch had to tolerate many evils during this period, until the death of the Panembahan in 1879

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p. 12. Majang Koro was a most interesting man, a hero of the Dutch campaigns in Aceh; see the biographies under his name in Pandji Poestaka, IV (1926), p. 649, and Weekblad voor Indië, III (1906), pp. 516-18.

158. See the discussion of Bangkalan Bupati appointments in Mr. 445<sup>X</sup>/18 and Vb., 19-3-1918, no. 19; biographies of the last colonial Tjakraningrat are given in Mohd. Sjamsoelariefin, Negara Madoera (Surabaya: E. Fuhri & Co., 1948); Pandji Poestaka, I (1923); Oedaja/Opgang, VII (1930), no. 85, pp. 79-80.

159. Van Kempen, "Memorie," pp. 29-32; Massink, Bijdrage, pp. 11-12.

cleared the way for the introduction of direct rule. The Panembahan's uncle, the later Pangéran Pakunataningrat, was acting Regent during the period of preparation for the takeover, and he was finally appointed as the first colonial Regent in 1883. He remained in office until 1901. As in Bangkalan, many were displeased and in Sumenep there were also powerful figures working against Dutch interests.<sup>160</sup> But personal opposition could not check the consolidation of Dutch domination. Even before the introduction of formal direct rule, control of the administration was firmly in the hands of the Assistant-Residents. The Regents were described as being, in 1877, "mournful remnants of a former administrative system . . . not native princes, simply an anachronism."<sup>161</sup>

Since Batavia was simply awaiting an opportunity to introduce direct rule, it no doubt found it convenient to regard the Madurese chiefs as "anachronisms": from the colonial point of view they were. But the Madurese Bupati families and the associated nobility were a continual irritation to later BB officials because they did, in fact, retain considerable authority in local society, yet used their prestige and perquisites more to preserve their own status and life-style than to reinforce the colonial administration. Since the Dutch officials did not trust the Madurese nobles, whose local power base was too strong for comfort, they maintained a suspicious and unfriendly supervision of their activities.<sup>162</sup> The close family, social and religious ties linking regional and parochial Muslim teachers to the nobility reinforced BB wariness, although the general result seems to have been a domestication of the Islamic leadership, which was described as "government-minded," rather than a conversion of the political elite into the "Mohammedan fanatics" so feared by the Dutch.<sup>163</sup>

Various authorities on colonial affairs have vacillated between descriptions of Madura's Bupati as being mere Regents since the seventeenth century, or as retaining their status as almost independent allies until the late 1880's.<sup>164</sup> Neither description is at all accurate, as each seeks its basis in fixed legal forms or administrative titulature rather than in political reality. In fact, the Madurese chiefs were subject Regents like any other when the center was strong enough to bring them to heel, and proud allies when the situation demanded that they be flattered and kept loyal. Their primary source of strength was their army, and when military force was at a premium, the

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160. Encyclopaedie, "Madoera," "Pamekasan"; Zainalfattah, Sedjarah, pp. 76-78, 104-8; de Munnick, Mijn ambtelijke verlijding, pp. 185ff.; Kielstra, De Vestiging, p. 107.

161. De Munnick, Mijn ambtelijke verlijding, p. 88; Massink, Bijdrage, p. 12; Bosscher's Report, pp. 17-19.

162. MvO. of the Residents of Madura H. J. Wijers (1909-11), Mr. 1236/11; C. E. Bodemeijer (1911-14), Mr. 2257/14; J. G. van Heijst (1926-28), Mr. 2763/28. During the late 1920's the colonial authorities moved to reduce the special allowances granted the Madurese nobility in compensation for lost income, and so the aristocracy formed the Madurese Bangsawanbond (Nobles' Association) to protect their interests. See W. Ch. Adriaans (1929-31), Mr. 1274/31.

163. MvO. of van Heijst; interviews with R.M. Ruslan Tjakraningrat and Ibu Lukman Hakim, from Sumenep, Jakarta, 1970.

164. Van den Berg, Rangen en titels, p. 49, note 2; Kielstra, De Vestiging, p. 106.

Madurese chiefs rose in status; when the central government was in total control, they declined. This fluctuating tension between capital and provinces was a major factor shaping all Regents' positions, but was particularly well displayed in the history of the powerful Madurese Bupati.

### Conclusion

In the preceding pages I have surveyed the major Regent families in Banten, Cirebon, Priangan, the Batavia area, Pasisir, Ujung Timur, Kejawèn and Madura. This survey does not claim to be complete; people originating from these areas or specialists in their history could no doubt make many criticisms and add much new information, so no specific conclusions or final judgments can be based on the material here presented. Yet some themes and patterns do emerge.

The regional framework used in this essay is roughly derived from Javanese distinctions between areas, from historical polities, and from indigenous and colonial administrative systems. As used here, it is a rather crude basis for organizing material within categories reflecting general historical and cultural realities. But, in varying degrees, it does provide a more rational context for a discussion of regional and intermediate-level elites than would a more monolithic, capital-oriented arrangement. Since Java is so diverse, with regional identities reflecting many hundreds of years of evolution, it would seem that there is a real need for research into the cultural and political geography of the island. Only after such work will we be able to talk with any confidence at all about how regions and individuals perceived their own identity and their interaction with others, particularly with reference to pre-twentieth century Java. As described above, many areas had their own network of interlocking elites, often linked to a central family, and the patterns of relationships and mobility within such elites were shaped by tensions between local and central sources of power, and by manipulation of familial and marriage ties in the quest for legitimacy.

Bupati families displayed varying degrees of continuity and independence according to their geopolitical position, their status in local society and their success in surviving the often brutal interventions of centralizing powers such as Mataram or the VOC. In some cases remarkable continuity was preserved, as in Banyumas or Bangkalan, where powerful vassals successfully trod the fine line between defiance and subservience. In other areas, such as Pasisir, the tendency was more towards domination by the capital. While economic and strategic factors made control of the ports essential, it is possible also that the greater strength of the more isolated fringe areas, like Priangan, Banyumas or Madura, was also derived from their more agrarian peasant base. Dutch confirmation of the hereditary principle in 1854 tended to reinforce the more established dynasties, but in Ujung Timur or most of Pasisir, where new areas were opened up or the old families had been uprooted, the effect was to emphasize the Bupati's position as a Java-wide upper class, since the Regents appointed were often from "foreign" Bupati families.

There was no clear break with the past when expansionist states did succeed in conquering new territories. Both Javanese and colonial regimes were forced to make concessions to the existing political elites, and the resulting administrations usually retained many offi-

cial from the preceding state. When the center was strong enough, pressure upon regional chiefs intensified; in some cases the old elites were eliminated and new men, dependent upon the capital's administrative system for their power and status, were brought in from outside. In other instances, local elites were absorbed into the centrally-directed system, co-opted by its ethos and socially fused with its once alien representatives.

In Banten and Cirebon destruction of the Sultanates seems to have hastened the mingling of nobility and colonial officials. It would be interesting to compare the situation in the two areas (including reference to shifting relationships with Muslim groups) to locate similarities and differences in their reactions to the replacement of the Sultans' courts by the colonial bureaucracy as the dominant political foci. In Priangan, as in Madura and most of Kejawèn (particularly the old mancanegara) the relationship between the Bupati families and the capitals of Yogya, Solo and Batavia, produced less dramatic departures. The Regents bent with the wind when necessary, making the obligatory concessions, and reasserting themselves whenever possible. The resulting tensions were perhaps somewhat stronger in Kejawèn and Madura than in Priangan, perhaps because the Sundanese Regents retained their privileges and liberties longer. Integration between Regencies was less pronounced along the coast and in the extreme east, and the Bupati's fates were more varied, but on the whole few old dynasties survived intact into the twentieth century.

But whatever the outcome, fluctuations in Bupati status are a valuable indicator of shifts in the balance of power. Regional differences in their position can also afford illuminating insights into the nature of local political organization. The ways in which Bupati families legitimized their position, the ancestors they admired and the cultural skills they cultivated exemplify the history and civilization of their areas, while the web of relationships linking them to the central courts, to each other and to their local populations provided a major integrating network in both the traditional and colonial Javanese states.

APPENDIX I  
COLONIAL PERIOD REGENTS

Beginning  
Date of Office

Bandung

1763	Adipati Anggadirdja/Wiranatakusuma	son
1794	Adipati Wiranatakusuma II	son
1829	R.A. Wiranatakusuma III	son
27. 7.1846	Dalem Tumenggung Suria Karta Adiningrat/Wiranatakusuma	
27.10.1874	Kandjeng Dalem Tumenggung Kusumadilaga	younger brother from Sumedang
27. 6.1893	R.A.A. Martanegara	son of 1874
19. 3.1920	R.A.A. Wiranatakusuma	second term
17. 8.1931	R.T. Hassan Soemadipradja	
13. 6.1935	R.A.A. Wiranatakusuma	
5. 6.1945	R. Soeriadipoetra	

Bangil

1825	R.A. Notoadiningrat I	son of Nitiadiningrat I, R. of Pasuruan
25. 6.1854	R.A.A. Soerioadiningrat	son of Nitiadiningrat III
20.12.1872	R.T. Notoadiningrat	
16. 4.1888	R.T. Soendjojoningrat	son
9. 1.1902	R.T. Kromodjojodiningrat	relative
20. 5.1915	R.A. Harsono	

Bangkalan

16. 6.1863	Pangéran Tjakradiningrat X	son of earlier regent
1.11.1885	P. Tjokroadiningrat XI	son of Sultan
3. 9.1905	R.A.A. Soerio Negoro	son
13.11.1918	R.A.A. Tjakraningrat	younger brother
8.1945	R.T.A. Tjakraningrat	son

Banjarnegara

1831	R.T. Dipojudo IV	
7. 8.1846	R.A. Dipodiningrat	son
10. 5.1878	R.T. Atmodipoero/Djojonegoro	
22. 5.1896	R.A. Djojomiseno/Djojonegoro II	son
16.10.1926	R.A.A. Soemitro Kolopaking Poerbonegoro	son

Banyumas

22. 8.1831	R.A. Tjokronegoro I	son of R.A. Tjakrawedana, pre-1831 Regent
8. 8.1865	R.A. Tjokronegoro II	son
14. 3.1879	P.A. Mertodiredjo	
6.11.1913	P.A. Gandasubrata	son
26. 4.1933	R.A.A. Sudjiman Gandasubrata	son

Banyuwangi

4. 4.1832	R.A. Wiradanoeadiningrat	
16.11.1867	R.T. Pringgokoesoemo	relative from Mangkunegaran
31. 1.1881	R.M.T.A. Soegondho	

28. 2.1888	R.T.A. Soeringrono	son of 1832
21. 2.1889	R.T.A. Soeringrono (?)	
9. 5.1895	R.T.A. Koesoemonegoro	
6. 6.1913	R.T.A. Notodiningrat IV	son of R. of Malang
11. 7.1919	R.A.A. Mohamed Notohadisoerjo	
19. 5.1934	R.T. Moertadjab Sosroadiningrat	
10. 3.1939	R.T. Achmad Rastiko	
1. 6.1945	R. Oesman Soemodinoto	

Batang

18. 2.1847	R.T.A. Poespodhiningrat	
6. 5.1866	R.T.A. Poespodhiningrat (?)	
22.10.1870	R.T. Soerodiningrat	
5. 4.1872	R.T. Notodiningrat	
10. 5.1886	R.A.A. Soerioadiningrat	son
26. 5.1913	R.M.A.A. Dhipokoesoemo	brother-in-law, from Wonosobo

Batavia

28. 3.1924	R.A.A. Achmad Djajadiningrat
9. 8.1927	R.T. Achmad
24.10.1936	R.A.A. Hassan Soemadipradja

Blitar

1. 4.1863	R.T.A. Adhinegoro	
3. 5.1869	R.T. Ng. Warso Koesoemo	
12.11.1894	P.A. Sosrohadinegoro	son
18. 1.1918	R.M.A.A. Warsoadiningrat	younger brother
29. 4.1942	R.T. Priambodo	
3. 1.1944	Samadikoen	

Blora

5.12.1857	R.M.A. Tjokronegoro V	
10. 1.1886	R.M.A.A. Tjokronegoro VI	son
30. 6.1913	R.T.A. Said	relative
18.12.1926	R.M.T.A. Tjakraningrat VII	son of 1886
2.12.1939	R.T. Moerjono Djojodikdo	
1943	R. Soedjono	

Bogor (Buitenzorg)

1811	R.A. Soeriadilaga	son of R. of Sumedang
14. 4.1849	R.A. Soeriawinata	son
8. 7.1925	R.A.A. Soerjadjajanegara	

Bojonegoro

19.11.1844	R.A. Tirtonoto	
12.14.1878	R.M.T. Tirtonoto	son, succeeded by R.M.A. Sosrokoesoemo for 8 months
27. 5.1889	R.A.A. Reksokoesoemo	
30.10.1915	R.A.A. Koesoemoadinegoro	son
22. 2.1937	R.T. Achmad Soerioadiningrat	
18.11.1942	R.T. Utomo	

Bondowoso

4. 9.1858	R.T. Wirodhipoero	
28. 4.1879	R.T. Wondokoesoemo	relative
21. 1.1891	R.A.A. Kertosoebroto	
25. 8.1911	R.T.A. Sastroprawiro	
18. 4.1925	R.T. Tirtoadhisewojo	son-in-law
29. 7.1929	R.T. Notodiningrat	son of Notodiningrat III of Malang
25. 1.1935	R.T. Herman Hidajat	
10. 3.1939	R.T. Safioedin o.g. Atmosoedirdjo	
15. 6.1945	Mr. R. Sundoro Budhyarto Martoatmodjo	
5. 8.1945	M. Ranga Soetandoko	

Brebes

14. 5.1850	R.A.A. Penata Joeda	
1. 7.1876	P.A. Tjondronegoro	
3. 9.1880	R.M.A.A. Tjondronegoro	dubious dating 1880/1885?
8. 8.1885	R.M.A.A. Tjondronegoro	
29. 1.1909	R.M.T.A. Martono	brother
30. 8.1920	R.M.T.A. Poernomohadiningrat	son of P.A. Hadiningrat of Demak
8.10.1929	R.T. Sadjiroen	
4. 3.1931	R.T.A. Soetirto Pringgohaditirto	
30. 9.1943	R. Soenarjo	
29. 4.1945	Sarimin Reksodihardjo	

Caringin

21.10.1849	R.T. Koesoemanegara	son
26. 1.1850	R.A. Soerianegara	
1. 3.1873	R.T. Djajanegara	
30. 9.1883	R.A. Koesoemaningrat	
11.12.1898	R.T. Soeraadiningrat (temporary)	
1. 2.1900	Mas Soeria (acting)	patih

Ciamis

1819	Adikoesoemo	
9. 3.1839	R.A. Koesoemaadiningrat	
26.12.1886	R.A. Koesoemasoebrata	son, 18th in line
1. 1.1916	R.A.A. Sastrawinata	
10. 3.1936	R.T.A. Soenarjo	
27. 4.1944	M. Ardiwinangoen	

Cianjur

1813	A.A. Wiratanudatar	
1813-1830	T. Wiradiredja	
1830-1834	R.T. Wiranegara	
1834-1863	R.A. Koesoemaningrat	brother
24. 8.1864	R.A.A. Prawiradiredja	son of 1830
10.12.1912	R.T. Wiranatakusuma	son of 1834
2.12.1920	R.A.A. Soeriadiningrat	
13. 6.1935	R.A.A. Abas Soeria Nata Atmadja	

Cilacap

6. 7.1856	R.T. Tjakrawedana	earlier patih here. Cilacap became Regency in 1855
29. 5.1873	R.T. Tjokrodidjono	son

1875	R.T. Tjakrawedana	brother
17. 1.1882	R.M.A.A. Tjokrowerdojo	son
3. 3.1927	R.M.A.A. Tjokrosiswojo	son

Cirebon

1814-1816	R.T. Natadiningrat R.A. Kartodiningrat	son of R. of Lasem, R.A.A. Joedonegoro, Bustaman line
1839-1856	Kandjeng Kiyahi Soeradiningrat R.T. Bahu Denda	
1. 3.1861	R.A.A. Soeriadiredja	son-in-law of 1839
1. 7.1883	R.A.A. Soeraadiningrat	son of 1839
19. 8.1902	R.A.A. Salmon Salam Soerjadiningrat	son of Bahu Denda
23. 2.1920	R.M.A. Pandji Ariodinoto	brother-in-law
2. 4.1928	R.A.A. Soeriadi	cousin
29. 4.1943	R.T.A. Sewaka	

Demak

18.10.1850	P.A. Tjondronegoro	
10.10.1866	R.M.A.A. Poerboningrat	son
18. 3.1881	P.A. Hadiningrat	brother
28.10.1915	R.T.A. Tjokroamiprodjo	
10. 7.1923	R.A.A. Sosrohadiwidjojo	
31.12.1935	R.A.A. Iskandar Tirtokoesoemo	
3.1942	R.T. Sepangkat Kartanegara	
16. 2.1945	M. Achmad Djojosoedarmo	

Garut

1805-1813	T. Wangsaredja	grandson
1813-1836	T. Adiwidjaja	from Sumedang family
1836-1853	Koesoemadinata	from Sumedang family
10. 9.1853	T. Djajaningrat, R.A. Wiratanudatar VII	son-in-law, Cianjur family
16. 7.1871	R.A.A. Wiratanudatar VIII	son of Koesoemadinata
6. 9.1913	R.A.A. Wiratanudatar IX	
10. 7.1915	R.A.A. Suria Karta Legawa	grandson of H. Mohd. Moesa
2.12.1929	R.A.A. Mohamed Musa Suria Karta Legawa	son
1944	R. Endoeng Soeriapoetra	

Gresik

20. 5.1855	R.A.A. Soeriowinoto	son of R. of Sedayu
19. 1.1903	R.A.A. Soerioadiningrat	son
15. 8.1917	R.A.A. Soeriowinoto	son

Grobogan

20. 7.1864	R.T. Mertoadhinegoro	
9.11.1875	R.A. Joedonegoro	son
14. 1.1902	R.M.A.A. Hardjokoesoemo	son-in-law
17. 3.1909	R.A.A. Soenarto	
8. 7.1933	R.A.A. Soekarman	brother-in-law
1942	R.T. Soegeng	

Indramayu

7.12.1860	R.T. Soeranegara	
4.1869	R.T. Poerboadinegoro	
24.10.1869		

22. 3.1893 R.A.A. Poerboadinegoro  
 7. 7.1917 R.A.A. Sosrowerdojo  
 27. 9.1933 R.A.A. Mohamed Sediono  
 8. 8.1944 Dr. M. Moerdjani

Japara

22.12.1857 R.T.A. Tjitrowikromo brother-in-law  
 29.12.1880 R.M.A.A. Sosroningrat from Tjondronegoro  
 30. 9.1905 R.M.A.A. Koesoemo Oetojo  
 6. 6.1926 R.A.A. Soekahar  
 1942 R.M.T. Soemitro Koesoemo Oetojo son of 1905

Jatinegara (Meester Cornelis)

8. 7.1925 R.T.A. Abdoerrachman  
 20. 9.1934 R.T.A. Koesoemadinata  
 22. 8.1940 R.T. Wiradinata  
 10.10.1944 R. Abas Wilaga Soemantri

Jember

17. 9.1928 R.T. Wirjodinoto (R.A.A. Notohadinegoro?)  
 19. 4.1943 M. Boediardjo  
 24. 5.1944 M. Soedarman

Jombang

1.12.1910 R.A.A. Soeriaadiningrat son of Pangéran of Sedayu  
 5. 4.1930 R.A.A. Sarwadjı alias R.A.A. Setjoadiningrat VIII son

Juwana

9.11.1852 R.A. Mangkoedhipoero/R.M.T. Soerioadhiningrat  
 4. 5.1884 R.T.A. Tjondroadiningrat son

Karanganyar

R.M.A.A. Djojoadiningrat  
 11. 2.1864 R.T. Kartonegoro  
 19. 9.1885 R.T. Kartonegoro son  
 28. 3.1903 R.A.A. Tirtokoesoemo  
 14. 4.1912 R.A.A. Iskandar Tirtokoesoemo son

Kebumèn

30. 6.1849 R.T. Arung Binang V  
 19. 7.1877 R.A. Arung Binang VI  
 4. 3.1909 R.A.A. Arung Binang VII  
 31.12.1935 R.A.A. Arung Binang VIII  
 1943 R. Prawotokoesoemo

Kediri

1830-1858 R.A. Djojodiningrat  
 1. 7.1858 R.T.A. Tedjokusumo son of R. of Sedayu  
 27. 1.1873 R.T.A. Djojokusumo I brother  
 18. 3.1887 R.T.A. Djojokusumo II half-brother

2. 3.1901	R.T.A. Tondoaditjokro	son
6. 8.1914	R.T.A. Koesoemoadinoto	son of R. of Sidoarjo
15.12.1923	R.T.A. Danoediningrat	
18.12.1930	R.T.A. Danoediningrat	son

Kendal

25. 3.1857	R.T. Pandji Reksasapoetra (R.T. Natahamipradja)	son of earlier Regent
25. 8.1891	R.M.A.A. Notonegoro	son
29. 1.1914	R.M.A.A. Notohamidjojo	son
24. 4.1939	R.M.T. Poerboatmodjo Adisoerjo	
29. 4.1942	R.T. Koesoemohoedjo	

Kraksaan

1. 7.1928	R.T. Djododiprodjo	
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Krawang

21.11.1854	R.T.A. Sastraadhiningrat I	fifth Regent in line
30. 7.1863	R.T.A. Sastraadhiningrat II	son
21.10.1886	R.A.A. Sastraadhiningrat III	son
21.10.1911	R.T.A. Gandanegara	half-brother
8. 7.1925	R.A.A. Soeriamihardja	
1943	R. Pandu Suradhiningrat	

Kudus

18.10.1850	?	
15.10.1858	A. Soerio Tjondronegoro	
3. 9.1880	R.T. Tjokroadinegoro	
20. 6.1886	R.A.A. Tjokronegoro	son
28. 7.1924	R.A.A. Hadinoto	
1943	R. Soebianto	

Kuningan

1861	R.T. Bahu Denda	
27. 1.1863	R.T. Soeraadiningrat	brother
3. 4.1866	R.T. Bratadiningrat	brother-in-law
12.11.1887	R.T. Bratadiningrat II	son
10. 4.1903	R.A.A. Brataamidjaja	half-brother
24. 2.1921	R.M.T. Soeriatanoedibrata	grandson of 1863
24. 6.1923	R.A.A. Mohammed Achmad	
1939	R.T. Oemar Said	

Kutoarjo

21. 6.1860	R.T. Pringgoatmodjo	
19.10.1870	P. Poerboatmodjo	son
6.12.1915	R.A.A. Poerboadikoesoemo	son

Lamongan

20. 9.1863	R.T. Kramadjajadirana III	son of R. of Surabaya
24.12.1866	R.T. Kramadjajadirana	son
16. 5.1885	R.A. Djododirono	son
2. 8.1908	R.A.A. Djojoadinegoro	son
16.10.1937	R.T. Pandji Moerid Tjokronegoro	Surabaya family
31.12.1943	R. Tjokrosoedirdjo	

Lebak

3. 7.1813	Pangéran Sanedjaja	
1.11.1837	R.A. Karta Nata Negara	
30. 7.1865	R.T. Prawirakoesoema	
9. 3.1876	R.T. Soeta Angoen Angoen	
23.10.1880	R.A.A. Soeria Nata Negara	
4. 3.1908	R.A.A. Soeriadipoetra	son
16. 3.1925	R.T.A. Gandasapoetra	
25. 1.1939	R.T. Hardiwinangoen	
31. 5.1944	R. Dendakoesoema	

Lumajang

1. 7.1928	R.A.A. Kartodiredjo	
15. 4.1940	R.T. Aboebakar Kartowinoto	son

Madiun

17.10.1861	R.M.T.R.A. Notodhiningrat	son of earlier head Regent
27.10.1869	R.M.A. Sosronegoro	
8. 7.1878	R.M.T. Sosrodhiningrat	son
28. 8.1885	R.M.A. Brotodiningrat	
6.12.1900	R.M.A.R.A. Koesnodhiningrat	
2. 1.1929	R.M.T. Koesmen	son
24. 5.1940	R.M.T.A. Koesnindar	younger brother

Magelang

1810?	R.T. Danoeningrat	
1826	R.A.A. Danoeningrat II	son
4.10.1862	R.T. Danoeningrat III	son
17. 2.1879	R.T. Danoekoesoemo	son
6.12.1908	R.A.A. Danoesoegondo	
11.11.1939	R.T. Said Prawirosastro	
12. 4.1945	R.A.A. Sosrodiprodjo	

Magetan

1851-1852	R.M.A. Kertonegoro	
8. 9.1852	R.M.A.A. Soerodhiningrat	
15. 5.1887	R.M.A. Kerto Adinegoro	son
21.12.1912	R.A.A. Hadiwinoto (earlier Soeriohadinegoro)	son
9. 3.1938	R.T. Soerjo	son-in-law
1943-1945	R.M. Soebagio Tjokrodiprodjo	son-in-law to 1912 and 1938

Majalengka

1819	Kandjeng Kiyahi Soeradiningrat	
1839	R.A. Kartodiningrat	
10. 1.1863	R.A.A. Soeraadiningrat	son of 1819
7. 8.1883	R.M.T. Ali Basah Soeradiradja	son-in-law of 1839
16. 7.1894	R.T. Salmon Salam Soerjadiningrat	half-brother of 1883
19. 8.1902	R.A.A. Sasraningrat	
3. 8.1922	R.M.A.A. Soeriatanoedibrata	
1.12.1944	R.T. Oemar Said	
15. 7.1945	R. Enoch	

Malang

1820-1839	R.T. Notodiningrat I	
1839-1883	R.A.A. Notodiningrat II	son
1883-1898	R.T.A. Notodiningrat III	son
24.11.1898	R.A. Soerioadiningrat	brother-in-law
1.10.1934	R.A.A. Sam	

Mojokerto

30. 3.1864	R.T. Kertokoesoemo	
24.12.1866	R.A. Kramadjajaadinegara III	
15.10.1894	R.A.A. Kramadjajaadinegara	
31. 8.1916	R.A.A. Kramaadinegara	son
12. 1.1935	R.T.A. Reksoamiprodjo	

Nganjuk

25.11.1852	R.T. Pringgodigdo	
3. 9.1866	R.T. Soemowilojo	
10. 4.1878	R.M.A. Sosrokoesoemo	son
2. 3.1901	R.M.A.A. Sosrohadikoesoemo	
30.12.1936	R.T. Prawirowidjojo	
17.12.1945	Mochtar Praboe Mangkoenegara	

Ngawi

23. 1.1837	R.A. Joedodiningrat	
30. 1.1869	R.M.T.A. Koesoemaningrat	son
10. 5.1877	R.M.A. Brotodiningrat	
28. 8.1885	R.M.T. Sosrodhiningrat	
1. 4.1887	R.T. Poerwodiprodjo	
23. 4.1902	R.M.T. Koesoemo Oetojo	
30. 9.1905	P.A. Sosroboesono	from Tjondronegoro family
7.11.1943	R.T.A. Soerjoaditjokro	
15. 6.1945	R.M. Sidarto	

Pacitan

	Kiyahi T. Djogokario I	
	R.T. Djogokario II	son
10.11.1850	R.A. Martonegoro	son
15. 3.1866	R.T. Djogokario III	son
21. 6.1879	R.T. Martoadiwinoto	son
5. 9.1904	R.T. Sosroprawiro	
25.10.1906	R.A.A. Tjokronegoro	
21. 1.1937	R.T. Soerjoaditjokro	
7.11.1943	R. Soekardiman	
30.11.1944	Mr. Soesanto Tirtoprodjo	
15. 6.1945	Soewondo Ranoewidjojo	

Pamekasan

1804	P. Mangkuadiningrat	
1842	P.A. Suriokusumo	grandson
7. 7.1859	P.A. Sosrowinoto	
13. 8.1891	R.A.A. Mangkuadiningrat	son
2. 3.1922	R.A.A. Kertoamiprodjo	
19. 5.1934	R.T.A. Abdul Aziz	
5. 1.1943	R.T.A. Zainalfattah Notoadikusumo	

Panarukan

4. 9.1859	R.T.A. Soerioamidjojo	
6. 3.1872	R.T.A. Soerodipoetro	
1. 4.1885	R.M.T.A. Koesoemodipoetro	son
15.12.1908	R.M.T.A. Poestokopranowo	son
30.10.1925	R.A.A. Soedibiokoesoemo	
15. 6.1945	Mas Soekartono	

Pandeglang

1848	R.A.A. Tjondronegoro	
16. 9.1849	R.A.A. Natadiningrat	
10. 3.1866	R.A. Pandji Gondokoesoemo	
28. 9.1874	R.A. Sutadiningrat	
28. 8.1889	R.T. Soerawinangoen	
1. 2.1900	R.T. Soeraadiningrat	
6.12.1910	Mas Astrawidjaja (acting)	patih
11. 8.1914	R.T.A. Kartaadiningrat	son of 1900
7. 8.1927	R.A.A. Wiriaatmadja	
28. 2.1941	Mr. R.T. Djoemhana Wiriaatmadja	son

Pasuruan

1751	Kiyahi Adipati Nitiadiningrat	
1800	R.A. Nitiadiningrat II	
1809	R.A. Nitiadiningrat III	son
1833	R.A. Nitiadiningrat IV	son
26.10.1887	R.M.A.A. Soegondho	son of Mangkunegoro IV
7. 2.1903	R.M.A.A. Darso Soegondho	son
20.11.1915	R.A.A. Soejono	son-in-law
24. 1.1928	R.M.T. Pandji Darto Soegondho	son of 1887
24. 3.1932	R.T. Kartohadiprodjo o.g. Bawadiman	
1. 1.1935	R.A.A. Harsono (temporary)	
30. 3.1937	R.T. Hoepoedio Siswodiprodjo	

Pati

1812	A.A. Tjondronegoro III	
29. 5.1830	P.A. Tjondroadinegoro	son
11. 7.1895	R.A.A. Tjondroadiningrat	son
10. 3.1904	R.T. Prawirowerdojo	
24. 7.1907	R.A.A. Soewondo	son
10. 3.1936	R.T.A. Milono	
23.12.1944	R.T. Moerjono Djojodikdo	

Pekalongan

16.10.1848	R.T.A. Wiriodhinegoro	
20. 1.1872	R.T.A. Atmodjonegoro	
25. 6.1878	R. Koesoemodinegoro	
27. 3.1890	P.A. Notodirdjo	
20. 3.1924	R.A.A. Soerjo	
10. 9.1945	M. Rawoeh Reksohadiprodjo	

Pemalang

15. 3.1862	R.T. Reksanegara	
21. 6.1879	R.A. Soeroadikoesoemo	
7. 4.1897	R.T.A. Soeraningrat	son

8. 3.1908	R.M.A. Pandji Ariodinoto	
30. 8.1920	R.A.A. Soendoro Soerohadikoesoemo	son of 1879
25. 6.1941	R.T. Rahardjo Soerohadikoesoemo	son

Ponorogo

1830	R.M.A. Wirjodiningrat	
	R.T. Brotowirjo (R.A. Sosroadiningrat)	
	R.A. Martonegoro	
11. 9.1856	R.M. Tjokronegoro	
30. 1.1883	R.M.T. Tjokronegoro	son
25.10.1906	R.T. Sosroprawiro	
19. 3.1907	R.A.A. Tjokroadinegoro	
4. 2.1916	P.A.A. Koesoemo Joedo	
25.10.1927	R.T.A. Sam	
12. 1.1935	R.T.A. Soetikno o.g. Atmowinoto	

Probolinggo

11.12.1836	R.A. Soeroadinegoro	son of R. of Besuki
4. 7.1879	R.T.A. Soerjaningrat	son of R. of Pasuruan
9.12.1888	R.T. Widjojokoesoemo	son of R. of Ambal
11.10.1894	R.T.A. Soeringrono	son of R. of Besuki
6.12.1900	R.M.A.A. Abdoelmoehni	son of R. of Situbondo
8.11.1916	R.A.A. Nitinegoro	
23. 8.1930	R.T. Poedjo	Christian
10. 9.1943	R. Abdoelrahim Pratalykrama	
17.12.1944	M. Soedarmo (M. Notoamidarmo)	

Purbalingga

1831	R.T. Dipokoesoemo II	son of pre-Java War Regent
7. 8.1846	R.T. Dipokoesoemo III	son
4. 9.1868	R.T. Dipokoesoemo IV	brother
1886	R.T. Dipokoesoemo V	son
13. 9.1899	R.A.A. Dhipokoesoemo VI	son of 1868
29.10.1925	R.M.A. Soegondho	

Purwokerto

1831	R.A.A. Mertoredjo II	
1852	R.T. Djojodiredjo	son-in-law
18.11.1860	R.A.A. Mertodiredjo	son of 1831, brother-in-law of predecessor
14. 3.1879	R.T. Tjokrosepoetro	
2.10.1885	R.M.T. Tjokrokoesoemo	
5. 8.1905	R.A.A. Tjokronegoro III	
10. 2.1924	R.T.A. Tjokroadisoerjo	

Purworejo

20. 8.1856	Tjokronegoro I	
21. 7.1876	R.M.A. Tjokronegoro II	
21. 7.1906	R.M.T. Tjokronegoro III	son
27. 4.1917	R.M.T. Tjokronegoro IV	son
8. 9.1920	R.T. Sastrosoedirdjo	
2.10.1923	R.A.A. Soeriadi	
24.10.1928	R.A.A. Hassan Danoeningrat	

Rembang

15. 1.1848	R.A.A. Tjondroadhiningrat	
22. 7.1873	R.T.A. Pratikoningrat	
22. 8.1880	R.P. Kartowinoto	
11. 8.1889	R.A.A. Djojoadingrat	
25. 7.1912	R.M.A.A. Djojoadingrat	son
14.12.1943	R.T. Moerjono Djojodikdo	
23.12.1944	R.M. Soedjono	

Salatiga (abolished 1895)

8.12.1863	R.T. Soerodhiningrat	
18.10.1885	R.T. Soerohadikoesoemo	son

Sampang

5. 4.1864	R.A. Mlojokusumo	
1.11.1885	R.T.A. Kusumodiningrat	brother
9. 2.1895	R.T.A. Tjondronegoro	
8. 5.1901	R.A.A. Satjaadingrat	
18.10.1913	R.T.A. Soeriowinoto (later R.A.A. Tjakraningrat)	
25. 9.1919	R.A. Kertoamiprodjo	
2. 3.1922	R.A.A. Sosrowinoto	son of R. of Pamekasan

Sedayu

1798	R.A. Suroadiningrat	Madura
1810	Baba Sam alias Soeroadinegoro	
1815	R.A. Suroadiningrat II	son of 1798
1816	R.A. Suroadiningrat III	brother
21.12.1854	R.A.A. Suroadiningrat IV	son
5. 3.1894	R.T.A. Suroadiningrat V	

Semarang

13. 7.1861	R.T. Pandji Soerjokoesoemo	
1. 6.1877	R.T. Pandji Reksodirdjo	son-in-law
18. 3.1881	R.M.A.A. Poerboningrat	
15. 9.1883	R.T. Tjokrodipoero	son of R. of Grobogan
14. 4.1897	R.M.A.A. Poerbohadiningrat	son of 1881
2. 7.1927	R.M.A.A. Amin Soejitno	cousin
16.11.1942	R.A.A. Soekarman Martohadinegoro	

Serang

?-1819	Pangéran Moelapar	
3. 7.1819	R.T. Djaja Koesoemaningrat	
5. 7.1838	Mandura Radja Djaja Negara	
16. 9.1849	R.A.A. Tjondronegoro	
2. 7.1874	R.A.B. Gondokoesoemo	
28. 8.1889	R.A. Soetadiningrat	
23. 1.1894	R.T. Djajadiningrat	
4. 7.1901	P.A. Achmad Djajadiningrat	
10.10.1924	R.A.A. Prawirakoesoema	
2. 3.1931	R.T. Abas Soeria Nata Atmadja	
13. 6.1935	R.T.A. Hilman Djajadiningrat	

Sidoarjo

25. 8.1863	R.A.A. Tjokronegoro	
25. 6.1882	R.A. Pandji Tjondronegoro	
5. 2.1907	R.A.A. Tjondronegoro	son
2. 6.1926	R.T.A. Soemodipoetro	
27. 9.1933	R.T.A. Soejadi	

Sukabumi

7. 7.1921	R.A.A. Soerjanatabrata	
31. 5.1933	R.A.A. Soeriadanoeningrat	
29. 4.1942	R.T.Rg. Tirta Soejatna	

Sumedang

1791-1828	T. Soerianegara (Pangéran Kornel)	
1828-1834	R.A. Koesoemojoedo	son
20.10.1834	P. Soeria Koesoema Adinata	son
30.12.1882	P.A. Soeria Atmadja (Pangéran Sempoerna)	son
17. 4.1919	R.A.A. Koesoemadilaga	brother
28. 1.1937	R.T.A. Soerja Koesoemadinata	

Sumenep

1812	Sultan Pakunataningrat (Notokusumo I)	
4.10.1851	Panembahan Notokusumo II	son
1.11.1883	P.A. Pakunataningrat	brother
24. 9.1901	R.A.A. Prataming Koesoemo	son
4. 3.1926	R.T.A. Prabowinoto	son
29. 7.1929	R.A.A. Samadikoen o.g. Prawotoadikoesoemo	

Surabaya

1837	R.T. Kramadjajadirana II	
1859	R.T. Kramadjajadirana III	
20. 9.1863	R.A.A. Tjokronegoro IV	
22. 6.1901	R.T.A. Tjokronegoro V	son
6. 9.1912	R.A.A. Nitiadiningrat	
1. 1.1935	R.A.A. Surjawinata	son of R. of Sedayu
26.11.1937	M.T. Musono	son-in-law

Tasikmalaya

1814-1828	Adipati Wiradedaha	
1828-1835	R.T. Wira Tanoe Baja	brother
1835-1854	Wira Tanoe Baja	son
25. 8.1855	R.A. Wira Adeg Daha	brother
29.11.1875	R.A. Wiraadiningrat	brother
31. 1.1901	R.T. Prawiraadiningrat	son of 1855
23. 8.1908	R.A. Wira Tanoe Ningrat	son
6. 7.1938	R.T. Wiradipoetra	son of 1875
27. 4.1944	R.T.A. Sunarja	brother

Tegal

10. 1.1864	R.T. Pandji Sosrokoesoemo (acting)	
10. 9.1869	P.A.A. Reksonegoro IX	
16. 6.1908	R.M.A.A. Reksonegoro X	
18.12.1929	R.M.T. Soesmono Reksoharsono (Reksonegoro XI)	

20. 2.1937 R.T. Slamet Kartanegara  
 1. 9.1944 Mr. M. Besar  
 29. 4.1945 R. Sunarjo

Temanggung

10. 2.1848 R.A.A. Hollan Soemodilogo  
 11.12.1878 R.T. Hollan Soemodirdjo son  
 27. 5.1889 R.T. Tjokroatmodjo  
 18.12.1902 R.M.A.A. Tjokroadikoesoemo son-in-law  
 27. 3.1923 R.A.A. Tjokrosoetomo  
 31. 5.1944 R. Maktal Dipodirdjo  
 15. 7.1945 R. Soetigwo

Trenggalek

20. 6.1849 R.T. Mangoendiredjo I son  
 18. 8.1880 R.T. Mangoennegoro II relative  
 9. 5.1894 R.T. Widjojokoesoemo  
 17. 6.1909 R.A.A. Poerbonegoro son  
 1933-1934 P.A. Sosrodhiningrat

Tuban

19. 4.1842 R.A. Tjitrosomo  
 11. 8.1879 R.A.A. Tjitrosomo  
 4.1892 R.M.T. Koesoembroto  
 31. 4.1893 R.A.A. Koesoemodikdo son-in-law  
 1. 2.1911 R.T. Pringgwinoto brother  
 12. 5.1920 R.A.A. Koesoemahadiningrat (R.T. Pringgodigdo) nephew  
 21.11.1927 R.M.A.A. Koesoembroto brother of 1893 and 1911  
 1943 R. Soediman Hadiatmodjo

Tulungagung

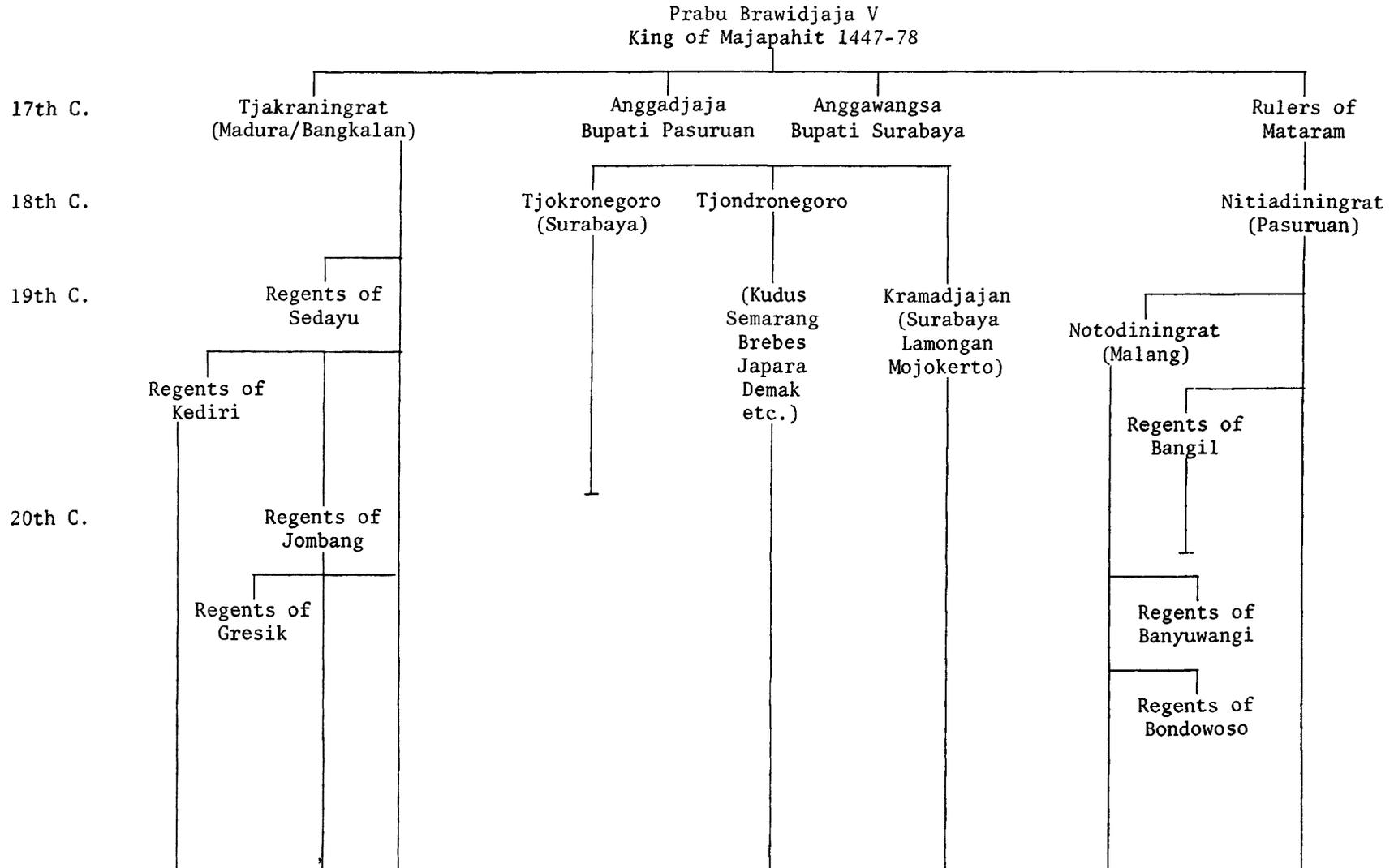
19. 3.1839 (? Djajaningrat)  
 3. 7.1877 R.T. Soemodirdjo brother  
 14. 6.1882 R.M.T. Pringgokoesoemo  
 11.12.1895 R.T. Partowidjojo  
 27. 3.1902 R.T. Tjokrodiredjo son-in-law  
 19. 3.1907 P.A. Sosrohadiningrat  
 1943 R. Djanoe Ismadi

Wonosobo

R.M.A.A. Djojodiningrat  
 11. 2.1864 R.M.A. Tjokroadisurjo  
 17.10.1886 R.M.T.A. Soeriadikoesoema son  
 1. 8.1901 R.M.T.A. Tjokrohadinegoro son  
 26. 8.1920 R.A.A. Sosrodiprodjo

APPENDIX II

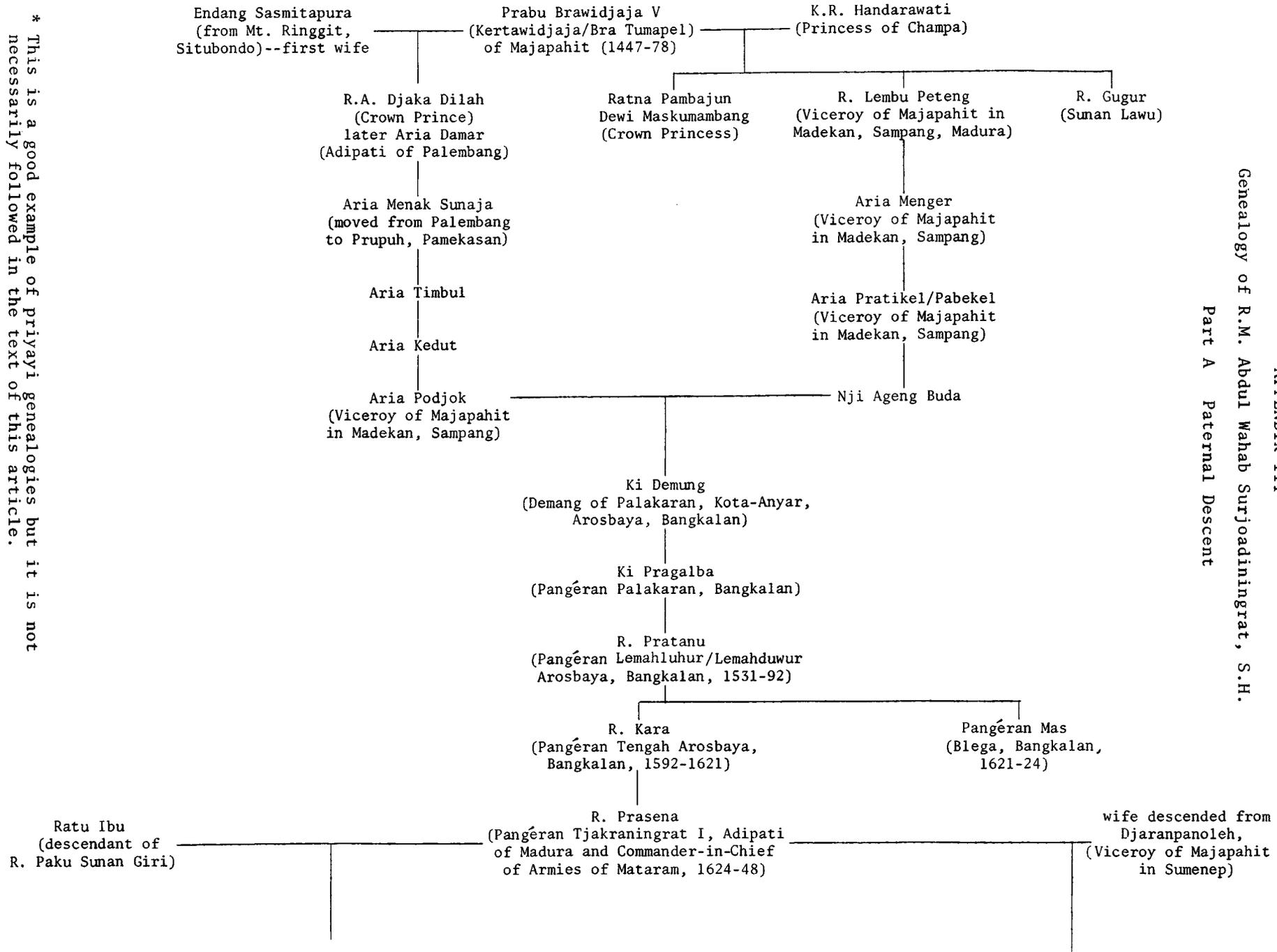
Diagram Showing the Relationship Between Some Major Regent Families of East Java  
(based on genealogies provided by R.M. Abdul Wahab Surjoadingrat, S.H.)



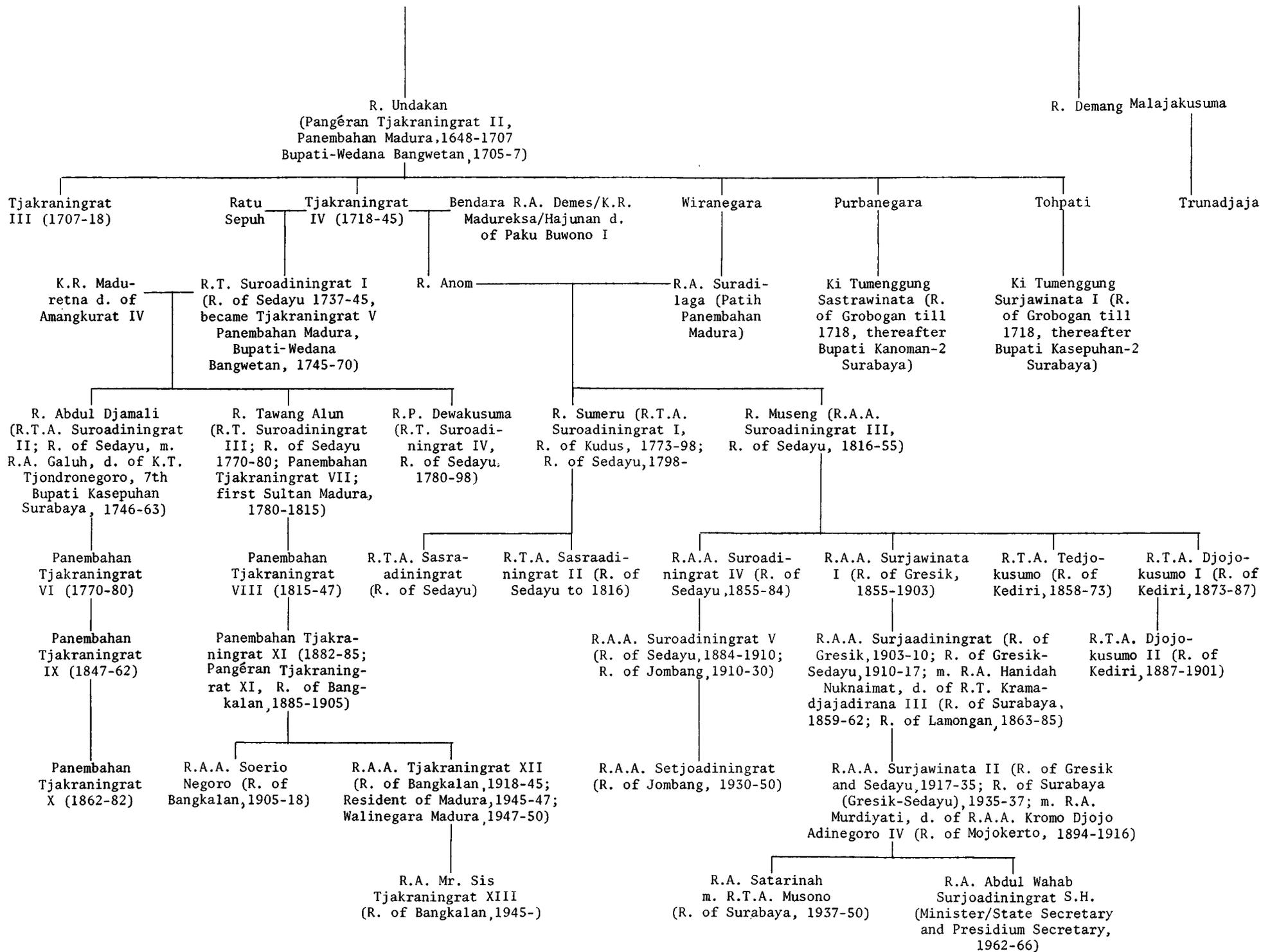
APPENDIX III\*

Genealogy of R.M. Abdul Wahab Surjoadinigrat, S.H.

Part A Paternal Descent



\* This is a good example of priyayi genealogies but it is not necessarily followed in the text of this article.



Part B Maternal Descent

