



Illustration 1. A wedding procession in the valley of Mount Salak, A.Salm, 1865-187.

An early list of villages, village heads, families, tributes and earnings in Priangan, West Java, 1686

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1 Introduction

M. Radin Fernando, "An early list of villages, village heads, families, tributes and earnings in Priangan, West Java, 1686". In: *Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta*, document 11. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2013.

BY M. RADIN FERNANDO

The document introduced here is an early list of people, land under cultivation and its agricultural production, and tax obligations of people in the Priangan region of West Java. It was compiled in 1686 by two VOC officials, Claes Hendriksz. and Jan Carstensz. The list was conducted with an eye to the acquisition of agricultural products and cash crops for the VOC through the mediation of the indigenous nobility, who controlled the local population. The list was also used for other purposes such as the settlement of disputes amongst this local nobility over the control of land and people. It was one such dispute in 1763, which led to the serendipitous preservation of this original document. It was partly published by Hoadley (1994:201-203) and its contents extensively discussed both by Hoadley (1994:32-65) and De Haan (1912:202-4, 316). Both writers attach great importance to the document for the study of the socio-economic and political history of the Priangan highlands before 1800.

The list provides lists of population settlements, the names of the local chiefs, number of families, economic activities of the inhabitants and their monetary and labour service obligations to their chiefs in the seven principal divisions or districts of the Priangan highlands. These were roughly equivalent to what would become the nineteenth-century Priangan regencies or *kabupaten*.

en. The conclusions we can draw from this body of information depends to a large extent on our interpretation of certain key terms, or concepts, which appear in the document. The significance of these terms must be assessed against the background of information available on local social and economic institutions in other contemporary sources.

The basic local unit by which information is given is called the *dorp*. This simply means a village or hamlet in Dutch. But it is perhaps more accurate to describe them as population settlements. Their respective demographic strength is given in numbers of households or *cacah*. The name of each settlement head is given, together with the assessment of tax, which the tax-paying inhabitants owed their overlord. This was computed in either money – or more commonly in agricultural produce equivalent to a certain sum of money – and in labour services. The indigenous rulers of Java kept such records for tax purposes. This tax regime was an exercise in compromise between the local nobility on the one hand and the Javanese rulers on the other. The first were keen to protect their wealth and avoid popular discontent by the imposition of too onerous taxation. The second were bent on extracting as much wealth as possible from the people.

The increasing VOC demands for agricultural produce and labour from the local nobility (or regents) and from the rulers (or sultans) further complicated the negotiation of fiscal obligations in the late seventeenth century. This is one reason for the meticulous VOC record keeping of population counts with information on their respective tax liabilities. The VOC's growing control over the local administration, and its need to deal with land and population disputes amongst the local nobili-



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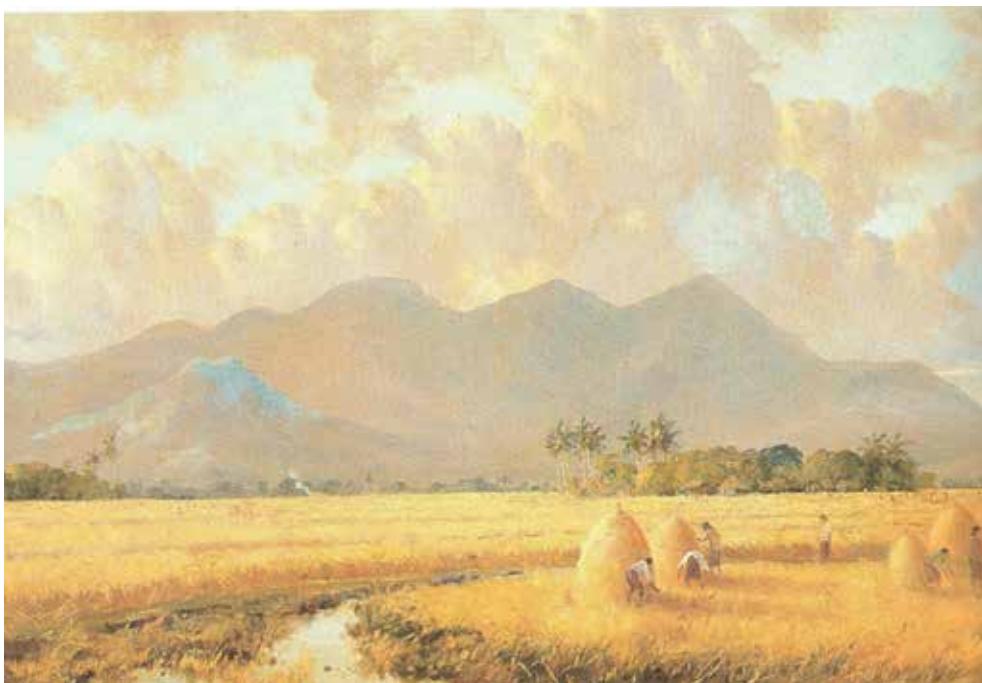


Illustration 2. Paddy in the Priangan, West-Java, Leo Eland, c.1930.

ty was another reason for the presence of this kind of document in the VOC archive. The crux here was the value of such assets as sources of wealth. After 1680, the VOC made contracts with the Priangan regents for the purpose of extracting agricultural products like coffee that could be sold in the world market. This mode of operation would later become known as the “Priangan system” (*Preangerstsel*).

Extrapolating socio-economic conditions from the information given in this and similar documents is a complex process. In the first place, it requires an understanding of a number of underlying political relationships, such as that between the VOC and local power-holders. This in turn had an influence over the type of information gathered. It also requires an understanding of the various terms used by the census takers for the presentation of their data.

For instance, the basic unit of administration was the village. But this was very different from what it would become in the late nineteenth century. In this earlier period, such units were fluid,

both in terms of geographical area and population. Such communities could also quickly disappear due to heavy taxation or natural disasters such as volcanic eruptions and droughts. The second category by which information is presented – the household or *cacah* – presents even greater problems given the nature of indigenous taxation practices of and the different terms used.

The number of households for taxation purposes was given in units called *cacah*. This term evolved as the taxation system itself underwent change over the course of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Originally denoting a plot of land, which could be cultivated by a single household, it developed over time into a term designating a household liable for taxation. The number of households was expressed in *somah* units. But sometimes VOC officials used the two terms interchangeably. The size of the household, whether designated as *cacah* or *somah*, is also a matter of debate. Indeed, both seem to have been larger than the nuclear family units we encounter in similar documents in the nineteenth century.



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ry. Therefore any study of the pre-1800 historical demography and its economic underpinnings in the Priangan highlands requires great care. An understanding of how such key terms changed over time is essential for assessing the individual population counts at each date for which VOC statistics are available.

The document in question gives a picture of a widely scattered population living in settlements spread over an extensive and difficult terrain. Such physical challenges made it difficult for local chiefs to ascertain the true size of population under their respective jurisdictions. It was also a highly mobile population given prevailing farming practices – namely swidden (slash-and-burn) cultivation. Tax evasion stratagems also encouraged mobility. These included the flight of whole villages to escape onerous fiscal impositions. At the same time, the wholesale abduction of village populations by rival local chiefs with an eye to increasing their personal wealth and power further complicated the picture. This was a time when labour was far more valuable than land and the size of population settlements varied. Demography, politics and ecology all played a part here. Careful analysis of data on the size of settlements based on local ecological conditions provides a fascinating picture of population dispersion in the late seventeenth-century Priangan region. The information contained in the document relating to taxes in kind and money depicts an economically diverse society. This was certainly not a simple subsistence peasant economy one might have expected in such a remote region. The local population not only produced commercial crops, but also a number of manufactured goods. The former included sugar, pepper, cotton, casumba (a type of dye), indigo dye, and cardamom. Locally woven ratan mats, metal tools and pots were the most important manufactured products. Both cash crops and manufactures were sent to Cirebon, which at the time was the main trading port

in West Java for exports to other parts of the archipelago. How this economy developed in subsequent decades has yet to be explored.

The document also poses an interesting historical question: namely, whether the population of the Priangan highlands could have developed an even more diverse economy, and enjoyed higher levels of prosperity had they not been forced into an impoverished subsistence economy following the post-1830 introduction of large-scale coffee production.

While one might conclude on the basis of this documentary glimpse of the Priangan region in the late seventeenth century that demographic and economic conditions in the highlands of West Java remained largely unchanged over time, this is not correct. Instead, it is more helpful to study this document in conjunction with similar documents, if such exist, and come to a more detailed picture. In this way the cause of scholarship will be better served and a stronger foundation laid for future generations of researchers.

Bibliographic note

- The best current study of this and similar documents relating to the Priangan lands is C. M. Hoadley, *Towards a Feudal Model of Production. West Java, 1680-1800* (Singapore: ISEAS, 1994). Hoadley's main concern is elucidating what he calls the "feudal" economic and political system of West Java. This opens the possibility of a study focussing specifically on the local economy. For a brief account of the history of the Priangan highlands, see D. G. Stibbe, ed., *Encyclopædie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 3 ('s Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1919), pp. 503-510. F. de Haan's *Priangan. De Preanger-Regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch Bestuur tot 1811*, 4 vols. (Batavia: G. Kolff, 1910-12) is an impressive source of information derived from the VOC archives, in particular the *Daghregisters van*



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Batavia. His detailed commentaries are particularly useful for historians. Information on this particular document can also be found in *Priangan*, vol. 3, pp. 202-4 and 316. The key terms and institutions pertaining to the determination of tax levels by the local rulers are discussed in Soemarsaid Moertono, *State and Statecraft in Old Java. A Study of Later Mataram Period, 16th to 19th Century* (Ithaca; New York, 1974). The socio-economic conditions of the Priangan, and other parts of Java in the pre-1800 period are briefly discussed in D. H. Burger, *De Ontsluiting van Java's Binnenland voor het Wereldverkeer* (Wageningen: Veenman, 1939), pp. 3-54. Meanwhile, J. W. de Klein, *Het Preanger stelsel (1677-1871) en zijn nauwerking* (Delft: Technische Boekhandel, 1931), examines the conditions in Priangan region up to the early 1870s on the basis

of secondary materials. A recent study of the same subject by Jan Breman, *Koloniaal Profijt van Onvrije Arbeid. Het Preanger stelsel van gedwongen koffieteelt op Java, 1720-1870* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), is vitiated by an overly ideological approach to the issue of economic backwardness in the Priangan region, and lacks an impartial and scrupulous examination of the available evidence. A thorough study of socio-economic conditions in the nineteenth and early twentieth century Priangan region still awaits its historian. The existence of an enormous amount of primary source material and useful discussions of the subject can be found in a number of modern studies such as R. E. Elson, *Village Java under the Cultivation System, 1830-1870* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1994).



2 English translation

M. Radin Fernando, "An early list of villages, village heads, families, tributes and earnings in Priangan, West Java, 1686".

FROM: APPENDICES TO THE RESOLUTION BOOKS OF THE SUPREME GOVERNMENT, 1763 [BEGINNING WITH FOL.115]

Roll which will presently reveal the names of the heads of the villages, families, annual contribution [and] means of subsistence of the people in the districts of Gabongh, Cawassin, Soukapoera, Bandongh, Parkamountsiang, Sammadangh and Indramayou, the result of the investigations of Second Mate Claes Hendriksz and Sergeant Jan Carstensz, compiled for the contemplation of the Most Honourable Sirs.

District of Cawassin	Villages and	Head	Families	Annual Tribute and	Earnings
	Gabongh	Soetadjaya	48	court service	fishermen
	Goenoegsarie	Wannasara	4	fruit	cultivation
	Tjerda	Bayasara	10	18 rds cash	candle nuts and kapok
	Tjipantjor	Wanghsananga	4	4 1/2 rds cash	"
	Calimangis	Ang. Sitjacarti	20	court service	swidden rice
	Tjawi	Ang. Sarananga	12	"	wet and swidden rice
	Tjiroop	Jagasara	5	7 rds cash	wet rice
	Tjidongh	Cartawadana	15	court service	"
	Sindangcorta	Wanghsawadana	8	10 rds cash	swidden and wet rice
	Sombackwangi	Tjandrawanghsa	8	12 rds cash	wet rice
	Zombacksihoe	Nallasraya	6	ditto 6	ditto and dry rice
	Garasick	Tanoepraya	6	court service	wet rice
	Garasick Hoeloe	Wargantacka	12	18 rds cash	"
	Tjihaor	Simpar	4	ditto 5 rds	swidden rice
	Palimbangh	Wanghsawaria	6	ditto 2 rds	"
	Pancallan	Braadjajouda	3	court service	wet rice
	Siedaraadja	Tanoewatjana	12	15 rds cash	"
	Zoewoenggaadja	Moggoe	12	fruit	cultivation
	Tjicasal	Astra	4	2 rds cash	wet rice
	Datar	Ang. Astranalla	6	court service	"
	Zoeragongh	Ang. Singajoeda	50	"	"
	Wieranagara	Ang. Sitjamarta	14	20 rds cash	"
	Nagara Herangh	Ang. Sallacor	16	court service	"
	Tjinibee	Ang. Arsfacorti	10	"	wet rice and cotton
	Beleber	Cortabaemi	6	"	swidden rice
	Coetaraedja	Cartanaya	4	3 1/2 rds cash	swidden rice and cotton
	Tjiparaget	Sitra P[...]	12	[...]	wet rice
	[Ojiba?]	Wirantacka	4	[...]	swidden rice
	Tjihoomas	Natawangsa	8	5 rds cash	"
	Waringin	Nalla Praya	4	court service	"



ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Tjihangir	Ang. Tjitaragati	3 "	"
Goenongdjawa	Ang. Raxadjiwa	20 "	"
Segoongh	Cartanaya	10 "	"
Tjiwaroe	Ang. Dorpanaya	30 "	"
Batala	Cortinaya	11 "	"
Tjipacom	Ang. Singadirana	30 "	"
Parrackan	Nampacorti	10 14 rds cash	swidden rice and cotton
Raga Wangsa	Wangsagoena	4 7 rds cash	"
Soebang	Dam. Singadjaya	40 150 rds cash	swidden rice, buffaloes and cattle
Goenongh Poespa	Patrasouta	4 2 rds cash	ditto and cotton
Rantsja	Ang. Zoerapatti	70 200 rds cash	ditto and mats
42 villages		581 families	

District of Cawassin	Villages and	Head	Families	Annual Tribute and	Earnings
[Ca]wassin	Tomm. Soutananga	10	they say they do not pay now, which we believe has been inspired by the regents who instigate this, because in the last century besides	mats and capas	
[..]oendjaja	Wannantacka	5	"	"	
Cra[.]ngdjaya	Anga Souta	8	"	"	
P[.]anghpira	Wangsa Souta	5	"	"	
Tja[.]jalongh	Soetataroena	5	Galou, they each had to pay the Susuhunan 1,000 rds annually as a poll tax	"	
Ro[.]illis	Tjitrantacka	10	"	"	
Pa[.]heran	Pranandita	10	"	"	
P[.]noeran	Anga Widjaya	8	"	"	
Chyoko	Martawadana	9	"	"	
Pangroemassan	Astrawadana	9	"	"	
Tjicasso	Nayawadana	8	"	"	
Tjihantab	Nallagati	7	"	"	
Tjisarva	Prana Singa	8	"	"	
Soenepan	Wierawadana	10	"	"	
Tjipinan	Astradiepa	9	"	"	
Tjihapanang	Satjawangsa	4	pepper and cardamom	"	
Tjipinangh	Naya Corti	4	"	"	
Tjicombangh	Soeta Corti	4	"	"	
Moekalmanjock	Hastramadja	3	"	"	
Jangela	Diepa Nanga	6	"	"	
Keentje	Haddiwanghsa	10	"	"	
Tjibagangh	Wanghsapraya	10	"	"	
Walahir	Wieraprana	10	"	"	
Djalagongh	Wiera Singa	10	"	"	
Zintonghmoom	Jaggasatro	15	"	"	
Tjigombor	Soutaraga	10	"	"	
Tjipasoy	Singadjaya	10	"	"	
Tjidahoe	Nallapatra	10	"	"	
Njoeraga	Prayawanghsa	10	"	"	
Babor	Wierajoeda	12	"	"	
[...]	[...]	[...]		cardamom	



ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Tjipora	Patramangala	10	"
Tjidoeckoe	Tjitramaadja	10	"
Babackan	Soetapatty	10	"
Tjiamis	Jangpatty	8	"
Hohegorongh	Wanghsananga	10	"
Passirnagara	Tjandrawangsa	5	"
Soeckaboem	Wanghsadjaya	10	"
Tjipoeto	Wierananga	13	"
43 villages		398 families	

District of Soukapoera	Villages and	Head	Families	Annual Tribute and	Earnings
Soekapoera	Tomm. Wiradahaha		50	also pay nothing but formerly paid 1,000 per annum	pepper and mats
Souckacarta	Soutadiwangsa		12		"
Patahoenan	Martadihouta		3		"
Tjinjomangh	Wira		5		"
Mandala	Indrajaya		-		"
Djoelangh gadak	Anga Ita		10		"
Paroongh patoy	Boendar		10		"
Tjibareekbeegh	Soetamangala		3		"
Tjiwarak	Martajoeda		7		"
Goenongh madang	Bassaar		10		"
't Sisallagh	Sillapraya		-		cotton and mats
Poegaran	Imbasouta		5		"
Goenongh waroe	Wierapraya		6		"
Tjipinao	Oesoemanagara		-		pepper and mats
Pienangh Lantjar	Cartapraya		15		"
Gontongh Rama	Agus		10		"
Tjiwalangh	Taroenalal		5		"
Garoongh gangh	Santakara		8		"
Badjaran	Soutaprana		10		"
Pagongangh	Carrawanghsa		12		"
Moehara	Singapatti		-		cotton, pepper and mats
Sindanghoerip	Asta Joeda		10		"
Pakoelalay	Imbawatjana		10		"
Lombacksihoe	Astadjiwa		6		"
Taraadjoe	Judawanghsa		-		pepper and mats
Pangroemassan	Astadiepa		10		"
Panjahiran	Dorpa Souta		10		"
Catomas	Naya Dorpa		11		"
Tjihika	Wangsa Braadja		6		"
Parackantiga	Wiratanoe		-		cotton
Tjilimos	Saradieta		10		"
Tjipatjangh	Martacarsa		10		"
Tjidammack	Sitjamangala		-		"
Tjihidongh	Bradja Diwangsa		5		cotton



ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Tjipandack	Martadisouta	5	"
Tjilacki	Wanghsawadana	5	"
Nagara	Cartiwadana	-	"
Tjimora	Tjadrawatjana	10	"
Tjibabaloekan	Rastadjaya	10	"
Zoetji	Wieracoessoema	-	kesumbe dye, weaving, onion, mats
Panamoekan	Soudja	15	"
Tjicalanpaya	Coetji	[...]	"
[...]	[...]	[...]	"
[Codepandack?]	Tanoewatjana	15	"
Tjaringin	Martawidjaya	10	"
Tjiherangh	Tjandra Taroena	20	"
Sahongh Gatan	Dem. Sahong Gatan	-	"
Zawigoenongh	Wiera Marta	30	"
Hantiranga	Hastapraya	20	"
Zawidjoko	Wirasouta	30	"
Bandjaransary	Soutananga	10	"
Tjipootjongh	Nitisara	10	"
Carrangh	Ranga Carrangh	-	"
Lomare	Marta Banghsa	20	"
Sodongh	Cartasouta	20	"
Tjisarowa	Zanatjitra	5	"
Tjibarom	Wannacorti	20	see other side
Zenkongh	Nayabajcsa	10	"
Kenjere	Sarapradara	10	(etc.)
Passinagara	Wannasara	10	"
Tjoecangbatoe	Rastrawidjaja	5	"
[C]awiloulock	Tanoeprana	10	"
[..]ndawa	Bratasouta	10	"
Panjadapan	Nallacarssa	10	"
T[ir]coefa	Pranacorti	10	"
Tjigerentel	Djagapraya	20	"
[..]rawati	Naya Souta	10	"
Gandamanock	Tandasouta	10	"
[H]adjatan	Tandawidjaya	10	"
Tjattihilangh	Paria Djaya	10	"
Tjicabo	Moestapa	10	"
Parongh	Wangsa Joeda	-	cotton
Pamoelihan	Dorpaprana	15	"
[Ho]edjongh	Tanoecorti	30	"
Carakal	Astrahietta	16	"
Garoengangh	Dorpawatjana	13	"
Haranpalay	Prayantacka	10	"
Salacouray	Dorpasanga	10	"
Batoenagara	Milasara	5	"
Coutanagara	Djiwalaxana	10	"
Tjibatou	Tanoetjitra	10	"
Ba[n]terdawa	Sigranaya	10	"



ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Tjiloangh	Djiwanaya	11	"
Tjilawangh	Soutaprana	10	"
Nagarasari	Wangsanagara	10	"
Goudar	Wangsadiprana	7	"
Tjiharoos	Joeda Prahara	10	"
Panembangh	Joeda Mangala	-	kesumba dye, onion and mats
Tjisoudangh	Santajoeda	25	"
Tjicoeray	Wargacorti	20	"
Tjicondangh	Sabdawangsa	20	"
Tjibodas	Bradawatjana	15	"
Pagedingh	Jagga Corsa	20	"
Passirnagara	Wargadiprana	20	"
Tjihidongh	Soutaraja	13	"
Tjipatoy	Wisouta	10	"
Batoe [...]	[...]	[...]	mats and [bees'] wa[x]
[...]	[...]	13	"
Tji[...].jongh	Bangsawatjana	10	"
Parakanlinjus	Kiay Mas	13	"
Dangijangh	Dorpawidjaya	13	"
Tjiwanjal	Joedasaraya	10	"
Tjipongol	Djiwacarssa	11	"
Lanutjatangh	Astrasouta	10	"
Langana	Martadita	7	"
<i>108 villages</i>		<i>1144 families</i>	



ENGLISH TRANSLATION

District of Bandongh	Villages and	Head	Families	Annual Tribute and	Earnings
	Bandongh	Deman Timbangan[.]	40	now nothing but previous 1000 rds	sugar, onion, cattle
	Tjisasawi	Jaggawanghsa	20	"	
	Tjilame	Praya Wanghsa	15	"	
	Passirpogar	Narajoeda	21	"	
	Patoyladjar	Naya Diepa	6	"	
	Tandocknangsi	Djiwamarta	20	"	
	Tjetapen	Patradjaya	15	"	
	Lagadar	Wangsapatti	5	"	
	Pamongh Pock	Sourana	22		kesumba dye and mats
	Tjilladoogh	Tandaprana	18	"	
	Goenongpahingon	Poespanalla	20	"	
	Lemback	Singamarta	5	"	
	Paroengh	Dietawangsa	5	"	
	Tjondock Hajoe	Sara Wiedja	3	"	
	Sangkangdjati	Sarapatti	5	"	
	Canbangh Serangh	Angapatra	4	"	
	Pahinghan	Gatjaprana	8	"	
	Mandoengcoeli	Braadjawatjana	4	"	
	Tjigintoongh	Tirtanaya	5	"	
	Zoerwanghi	Hantalya	6	"	
	Lalaron	Nallawisa	5	"	
	Sallagadangh	Sallakalningh	5	"	
	Maleher	Maadja	10	"	
	Raadja	Tjandracorti	22	"	
	Oedjoongh	Prayadiwangsa	26		sugar and mats
	Passirhipis	Joedamarta	16	"	
	Pantonghnagong	Anganalla	16	"	
	Tjipantjar	Badrawantjana	16	"	
	Soucabaros	Angasouta	21	"	
	Tjitjara	Djayapoesp	5	"	
	Raadja	Raxa Diprana	33	"	
	Sanckandjati	Singapraya	22	"	
	Sahoonghpari	Agradorpa	10	"	
	Sampoora	Imbasara	15	"	
	Salad Jambe	Djangamarta	16	"	
	Panigarren	Wangsa Chitra	20		sugar and cattle
	Bandjarran	Sadra	10	"	
	Tjimoetjangh	Singa Karja	9	"	
	Coorogawock	Margadieta	9	"	
	Tjipatick	Ratnaas[.]	17	"	
	Tjiminjack	Rasim	14	"	
	Tjiopoetri	Sinasar	16	"	
	Tjiganghsangh	Dorpasouta	17	"	



ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Moelakyan	Agrajoeda	33	"
Zigadewa	Pringanalla	7	"
Goenongh Tiga	Patragoena	3	"
Tjiloomboengh	Sammagoena	5	"
Malabar	Sallapraya	5	"
Tjigoenongh	Singantacka	5	"
Tinbangantang	Satjadita	77	sugar, onion and garlic
Sawa	Saradjawa	8	"
Batoenongol	Santagati	5	"
Passir Ramis	Djagapraya	4	"
Tjiparoot	Dietasraya	36	"
Ca[w]assan	Wielacorta	7	"
Kajoodjati	Joedapraya	6	"
Ko[.]eheb	Dorpagoena	13	"
Zombackwangi	Wangkid	40	kesumba dye and mats
Tjicapa	Angadria	10	"
Tjondoecayoe	Wangsapraya	8	"
Pagirangien	Cortanalla	7	"
Moharaadja	Baggus Soeta	7	"
Ma[.]eher	Djoetapraya	6	"
Ha[.]dassa	Poerwadjaya	3	"
Ta[...]	Waroena	7	"
Zenkongh	Soutadjaya	8	"
Tjipondoy	Martacassoema	5	sugar and mats
Thi[.]ame	Nallapraya	4	"
Oedjonghbalook	Wangsadjaya	35	"
Passir	Sarantacka	25	"
Wa[.]s	Singadjaya	15	"
Tji[.]gongh	Praya Ita	7	"
Djo[.]oodjogh	Hastapraya	5	"
Sa[nal]kan	Nallacrama	4	"
Tji[.]llak	Sigravatsjana	19	"
Hinihihangh	Martadiwangsa	20	"
Tjimbengh	Naya Taroena	10	"
77 villages		1056 families	



ENGLISH TRANSLATION

District of Parcamountsiang	Villages and	Head	Families	Annual Tribute and	Earnings
	Paccamountsiang	Tomm. Tanoebaya	30	previous 1000 rds now nothing	kesumba dye, mats and cotton
	Tjicacabon	Mas Patradita	40		"
	Tjibogor	Angadiwanghsa	40		"
	Tjipaadjarran	Sara Ita	40		"
	Tjoecangsappi	Wangsabaya	20		"
	Tjigantang	Tjondoprana	9		"
	Tjigondje	Danoepraya	40		pepper and mats
	Tjilongsi	Wargadjija	7		"
	Soeroepan	Martadiprana	40		"
	Zowipossingh	Arssasouta	40		"
	Sitoegede	Anganatjana	30		"
	Tjipadongh	Martahita	30		"
	Nangorak	Naya Dorpa	30		"
	Tjiwalini	Mascassoema Juda	30		"
	Cocolandack	Hindramangala	30		"
	Tjisalack	Patrasara	30		"
	Manoebaya	Ang. Tjoutjock	20		kesumba dye, wax and cotton
	Zoninangoengh	Tjandrawikara	20		"
	Salacassa	Santasouta	40		"
	Zimus Mangoeng	Patrasara	20		"
	Gorodjoogh	Nalagati	10		"
	Nangrangh	Jaggawatjana	10		"
	Candangwessi	Wangsaprana	10		"
	Tjiringingh	Wargaditta	13		"
	Pietjoeng Coedjangh	Bagus Amal	30		"
	Mancoeboemi	Wangscorti	30		pepper, birds' nest and reeds
	Goenoong Tandjoong	Djiwasara	30		"
	Magongh	Nalladisouta	30		"
	Tjimatjan	Jaya Souta	30		"
	Salahawi	Carmawangsa	20		"
	Tjongtjongh	Dorpasara	39		"
	Tjilongsi	Hardisouta	30		" ₂
	Mandalangoong	Soutamarta	2		"
	Zoendjoock	Nallasraya	1		"
	Tjihanolot	Dorpawangsa	1		"
	35 villages		872 families		



ENGLISH TRANSLATION

District of Sammadangh	Villages and	Head	Families	Annual Tribute and	Earnings
	Sammadangh	Ranga Gompol	25		teak forest, deer
	Tjipelles	Joedacarssa	8		sugar, onion and garlic
	[S]oryan	Mas Hardiwa	28		"
	Tjihandjoewangh Mas	Cortajangala	6		"
	Tsihomas	Santa Corti	5		onion, garlic and horses
	[.]ampangh	Patranangha	5		"
	[M]angela	Djagacorti	3		"
	[.]ahangan	Nayantacka	3		"
	Tjipandjangh	Naya Hastra	3		"
	Tjimanghoe	Prayadiepa	3		"
	[.]ipara	Cortawidjaya	3		"
	Sindanghlaya	Kiay Abdul	3		"
	Tjiboenghkoer	Mas Poespa Taroena	3		"
	Tjihoepi	Hardi Jassa	2		"
	Parinoongal	Hangadisouta	2		"
	Tjiboegal	Cartapraya	2		"
	[T]jigarba	Tjadracrama	2		"
	Tjipoeloes	Masdipamangala	2		"
	[..]aadja	Mas Tjitramanga	2		"
	[..]soorock	Mas Poespamanga	1		"
	[..]pootjongh	Ang. Wiramarta	8		kesumba dye
	[T]jipanawar	Satjanalla	15		"
	[T]jipari	Darpasara	10		"
	[..]loewangsihoe	Wihaara	9		"
	Tjidareendeeng	Wargasouta	4		"
	Tjidjambe	Patrasouta	5		"
	Moera Rempan	Souta	3		"
	[..]lawi	Nastradijiwa	1		"
	Tjondongh	Cartawangsa	4		sugar
	Tjihoodje	Bagus Pagir	4		"
	Tjibahoek	Martadieta	4		"
	[Pa]katjanghan	Praya Taroena	3		"
	Tadjemaya	Wangsawadita	4		"
	Condangdjaga	Raganaya	3		"
	Nagara Tjenangh	Warganalla	3		"
	[..]palegor	Hastrasinga	2		"
	Zombakhjoe	Souta Singa	3		"
	[..]harani	Panghandjoor	4		"
	[..]lang Capal	Patrabaya	5		"
	[...]	Patra [..]t	4		"



ENGLISH TRANSLATION

[..]wasagan	Wargasouta	2	"
[..]enghangh	Wilasouta	5	"
P[.]gha Jamman	Souta	3	"
[..]entoor	Soubawangsa	3	"
Tjihatob	Singasouta	2	"
Tjimamanangi	Soutapraya	2	"
Z[.]ngkongh	Patrawidjaya	5	preserved bananas
[.]oeraha	Tjitrawangsa	4	sugar
[..]doepoegor	Diepasouta	4	"
[..]doesacto	Anganala	2	"
Tjicoebangh	Wangsanalla	2	"
Hawasisit	Raksakria	2	"
Tjigantongh	Nallatirta	2	"
Hawasisit	Raksakria	2	"
Tjigantongh	Nallatirta	2	"
Legock	Dieparaga	1	"
Tjipinangh	Nalladita	20	sugar and rice
Tjiloose	Wangsananga	5	sugar
Hindihihang	Martawangsa	4	"
Pondoy	Arti	3	"
Tjibarom	Astra	2	"
Astana	Corta	2	"
Cadoopoegar	Tanoewangsa	2	"
Sampangtandjoong	Sanga	2	"
Tjantilan	Naya Patra	30	horses, onion and sugar
Bajawak	Wangharingh	8	"
Sadangh	Tandasraya	12	"
Tjicoepangh	Cartanaya	14	"
Pamangpock	Martadisouta	9	"
Sagara	Maadjasouta	6	"
Dajamangoeng	Sarapada	3	"
Coepapandack	Darpanaya	24	"
Sedahoerip	Soutanaya	8	"
Naghontongh	Santamarkta	15	"
Sagaranton	Hastacorty	3	"
Tjipantjingh	Nayasouta	6	"
Cantjil	Sata	2	"
Sipatjongh	Pranatjitra	3	"



ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Passigalis	Astrojaeda	4	"
Wa[lo]jeran	Wangsacorti	6	"
Sactibarangh	Tanoemangala	10	"
Malangbongh	Naagosouta	6	"
Boodjoot	Mas Wastranaya	3	"
Sompil	Praya Souta	6	"
Tembongh	Sewadajaya	2	"
Nangela	Nallacorti	5	"
Samida	Djaganaya	5	"
Coeniwangi	Satjawisouta	10	"
Boeni[...]	Tan[...]	[.]	"
Pang[...]	[...]	[.]	"
Tingar	Tamawangsa	8	"
Salamara	Nayandacka	6	"
Simpson	Wasana	4	"
Poegaran	Mas Wangsawidja	2	"
Tjoepoe	Wannadamar	2	"
Dormaraadja	Angadiepa	2	"
Pamoeroejan	Narrasouta	5	"
Moohara	Cramadiwangsa	3	"
Tipondoy	Singa Souta	1	"
Tjikasik	Lacka Souta	1	"
Tjipawak	Tjitramaadja	3	"
Dormawangi	Pranantacka	8	teak forest, sugar and pepper
Tjadassri	Jaggacarsa	4	ditto
Cawoongloewook	Dakir	5	"
Tjarihoe	Carmawangsa	11	"
Tjibabor	Combangkelor	9	"
Lawihoedjan	Soutamarta	10	"
Ganda	Coedet	6	"
Cadomallick	Soutanalla	9	"
Mandala	Martawangsa	5	"
Lombacksihoe	Pata	1	"
Saackoep	Patrasouta	5	coppersmith
Tjipoonckor	Singhapraya	3	"
Toongtoongh goenoeng	Wangsa Rara	3	"
Passir	Sidjanoor	5	"
Tjimary	Sinalagari	4	"



ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Salahari	Naya Pada	8	"
Nangarangh	Naya Marta	6	"
Lombakpietjong	Astawira	3	"
Sindangharip	Tjandradiwangsa	2	"
Tjimanjal	Astaprana	1	"
Tjicajangh	Patranaya	1	"
Tjicatil	Cawija	20	"
Camantjingh	Tjacranalla	10	"
Tjabalah	Singadalingh	8	"
Tjilintoongh	Souckawangsa	6	"
Tjilippoongh	Wieradisouta	4	"
Ticamoeni	Martadiepa	5	"
Tjimanjala	Nayawatjana	9	"
Tjibona	Nallataroena	3	"
Limus Mangoeng	Maya Corta	3	"
Tjilalah	Mayasouta	1	"
Theleme	Santasouta	5	"
Parraokanbatoog	Astranaya	5	"
Tjitjadas	Ondongh	3	"
Tjiladoogh	Joedaprana	3	"
[...]	[...]	2	"
[...]	[...]	2	"
Tjicoepa	Tanoeprana	1	"
Tjiherangh	Artaprana	1	"
Tjitjadas	Antanalla	4	"
Tjicoeroetoegh	Nakawangsa	3	"
Tjiladoogh	Ranasouta	3	"
Tijjambe	Angapraya	25	onion and kesumba dye
Tjihantja	Mangala	6	"
Soudahihangh	Loomapraya	10	"
Patoynongal	Pranasouta	3	"
Tjileles	Sranaya	5	"
Tjentapoerana	Wierawangsa	6	"
Tjoecangh	Dietamarta	5	"
Passirjongdjingh	Tanoesara	2	"
Ragadiim	Dorpa Souta	5	"
Batoer	Patrasinga	5	"
Zombongh	Tanoeprana	4	"



ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Tjaringin	Tanoedria	4	"
Sanghoodjor	Wangsagati	5	"
Dorma	Tjitranaya	5	"
Tagal Kihilang	Wangsarana	3	"
Tjipadagemeegh	Praya Souta	3	"
Tagal Lawi	Kintol Kallo	5	"
Soeckamandi	Dietaprana	4	"
Tjinimi	Saracorsa	15	"
Tjiharee	Wangskara	4	teak
Tjigroowongh	Jamar	2	"
Tjatjaban	Soebrat	4	"
Tjiladoogh	Imoen	4	"
Tjicadengdongh	Zeela	3	"
Tjiharongh	Kimbangh	7	"
Sinooman	Rangsangh	2	"
Loera	Jaggasara	7	"
Tjibankihoen	Sinangh	6	"
Tjimoentjangh	Nallacarssa	5	"
Tjibatoom	Narssi	5	"
Bolingas	Jaggacarssa	5	"
Gandohangh	Jamtarya	2	"
Tjicaree	Wantarssa	2	"
Talahab	Artasouta	2	"
Talahal	Dorpawangsa	2	"
Tjiroetjak	Indawana	3	"
Waadoo	Wangsdiprana	3	"
Pawanangh	Tjacrawangsa	10	"
<i>181 villages</i>		<i>953 families</i>	



ENGLISH TRANSLATION

District of Indramajou	Villages and	Head	Families	Annual Tribute and Earnings
	[...]offsindag	Ang. Wieraloddra	50	fishing and wet rice
	[T.]chinan	Martapraya	10	"
	Pabeaen	Anganalla	19	"
	Panganjangh	Imbasara	25	"
	Wanasari	Patrawatjana	12	wet rice
	[...]adadel	Saranaya	6	"
	[...]angha	Raxabaya	5	"
	[...]koe	Tjili	5	"
	[...].bo	Trob	4	"
	[Pa]loembon	Zarapatti	12	"
	[Pal]jindangan	Sindoepatty	13	"
	Arahan	Nombaktoea	12	"
	[Bh]anckir	Angasara	6	"
	T[aa]ckagoongh	Nitiwatjana	13	"
	L[ag]jeassi	Mondoongh	15	"
	S[aa]ner	Patragati	3	"
	[...]	Nalogati	15	salt and wet rice
	Padawa	Wangsapraya	6	wet rice
	Locarangh	Wannacorti	10	salt and wet rice
	Patangh	Satjacorti	3	"
	22 villages		284 families	

Cheribon, 6 March 1686 (signed by) Ad. Willemsoon.



3 Colophon

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