

The Transformation of the Javanese Patrimonial-feudalistic Bureaucracy from the Traditional Kingdom to the Dutch Colonial Period

Endah Sri Hartatik Universitas Diponegoro, Indonesia

Abstract

This article aims to analyze the history of the continuity of the Javanese bureaucratic model from the classical period to the Dutch colonial period. The method used is the historical method using secondary historical sources. The results show that the bureaucracy in Indonesia is the product of a long historical experience originating from Javanese culture. It was born from a bureaucracy that was initially a traditional feudal bureaucracy which was later assimilated into a rational, legal western bureaucracy that implemented this bureaucracy for almost a century under "beamtenstaat", state officials. Western bureaucracy does not necessarily eliminate the tradition of feudal-patrimonial bureaucracy but instead synergizes in the form of a feudal colonial bureaucracy.

Keywords

Patrimonial Bureaucrac; Beamtenstaat; Dutch Colonial; Feudalistic; Transformation

INTRODUCTION

The journey and development of the bureaucratic tradition in this country from time to time are indeed fascinating to see because it is a long journey in terms of time but is it the same in other aspects? Many people from the past until now have wanted to become bureaucrats so that their lives can be fulfilled and respected because the job of being a bureaucratic apparatus has become a prestige in Indonesian society. It is evidenced by the considerable public interest when positions are opened in the government, whether at the level of government at the center or the local government. In the pre-reformation period, people believed that they would be financially secure in a future life as bureaucrats and would get respect from the community because they were a group of people who occupied high strata. However, from a financial point of view, group them

according to rank. In the past, being a bureaucrat was determined by lineage. Still, this group does not have to be determined by the origin of the family from whose breed/blood but by intelligence and relationships. This condition encourages ordinary people (*wong cilik*) to dream of becoming bureaucrats without seeing where the blood comes from. The image of being a bureaucrat in Indonesian society from the past until now has never changed because they think they will be able to provide a livelihood for their children and grandchildren even though they are no longer there through a pension fund that is given every month.

Recruitment to become non-*Pamong Praja* government employees can be done by opening opportunities from the required educational background, but for government officials (*Camat*) they must attend semi-military education at the

STPDN civil service school in Bandung and the School of Government Science on the Cilandak campus, Jakarta. For employees in these non-civil service positions, they usually receive education to equalize perceptions in the training of prospective Civil Servants depending on their respective agencies.

In Umar Kayam's article, it is stated that transformation relies on a total transfer process from a new figure, the final stage of a process of change. Transformation is also a long-running and gradual process but can also occur quickly as a turning point (Etzioni & Etzioni, 1967; Kayam, 1989: 4-5). The question that arises is whether the bureaucracy in Indonesia is undergoing this transformation. Pranoto (2008: 3-4), in his writings, said that the holders of the highest bureaucratic positions in Indonesia hold the authority as Weber called there three kinds of authority, namely traditional authority, charismatic authority, and rational-legal authority. Traditional and charismatic authority is held by the holder of the royal government, while the holder of the modern government has rational-legal authority. In its development, the three authorities can be owned, and even with the three, the holders of these authorities will strengthen their position. Bureaucracy is a tool for rulers both at the center and in the regions to exercise power. The bureaucracy at the top level gets support from power, while at the bottom level, it gets it through the necessity of loyalty from the *kawulo*. Meanwhile, Ongkhokham (1983: 78) argues that ideally, the bureaucracy as a means of implementing modern government policies should be very rational and impersonal, without any subjective characteristics. This nature makes the bureaucracy legality and a very effective machine in society.

So strong is the influence of Javanese patrimonial culture that Fachri Ali argued that the bureaucracy of Modern Indonesia

to the New Order was heavily influenced by the Islamic Mataram culture (Ali, 2020). The modern bureaucratic tradition that had been developed by the experienced Dutch fading and returned to a patrimonialism bureaucratic culture (Feith, 1962). This article will explain the weaving of bureaucratic traditions from Javanese patrimonial bureaucracy, and rational colonial bureaucracy, to the strengthening of patrimonial bureaucratic culture during the Dutch colonial period.

RESEARCH METHOD

This article was written using the historical method, mainly based on literature research. The historical method includes four stages, namely: (1) heuristics, (2) criticism, (3) interpretation or explanation, and (4) historiography (Reiner, 1997; Tosh, 2013; Wasino & Hartatik, 2018). Heuristics is the process of tracing historical sources. The search begins with bibliographic reading, after which the location of the references in the National Library, the Dutch KITLV Library in Jakarta, the UNDIP Library, and the UGM Faculty of Cultural Sciences Library are tracked. Source criticism is carried out on the authenticity of the obtained literature. In addition, internal criticism is also carried out to understand the credibility of the information provided in these library sources. The results of source criticism are historical facts, namely statements made by researchers regarding past realities. The facts are then linked so that they have meaning. The process of linking facts to have a related meaning is known as interpretation. The interpretation process also uses social sciences concepts, especially Anthropology and Sociology. This activity is known as an explanation. Diachronic analysis techniques are also used to understand changes over time (Widdersheim, 2018). The last stage in the

historical method is writing or historiography. Writing model based on chronology and themes (Kuntowijoyo, 1993; 2008; Sartono, 1992). Chronology is used to order events based on time, namely the period of the traditional Kingdom, Colonial, and early independence.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Feudalistic Traditional Period Bureaucracy

Onghokham's writings on the history of dignitaries in Indonesia stated that in the Javanese kingdoms, both during the Hindu and Buddhist, and Islamic eras, the king was the highest leader. The king functions as a God King, a Hindu Buddhist conception. However, in the Islamic Mataram dynasty, the position of the god-king is no longer known. With various rationalizations and legitimacy, the king still has magical and sacred characteristics and characteristics with the interpretation of Islam at that time. Although the king is the embodiment of God's will, in practice, the king's orders cannot be obeyed and obeyed by the people. The relationship between the king and the people/*kawulo* requires an apparatus. This group in Javanese society is called the *priyayi*, who is in charge of carrying out the king's wisdom or who governs the people for the king's benefit.

The traditional kingdom between theory and practice or between conception and reality are very different. They do not have an exalted position as well as princes and other officials in the country. Sacred magical titles are highly adjusted to position, high or low, power size, and near and far from the king. So can say that the kingdom's closest princes or high officials hold the most outstanding magical titles compared to the lowest officials. According to this theory, sacred magical power is based on the degree of rank and position. For example, the title of crown prince indicates his position as Mangkubhumi. At the same time, his father

has the title Hamengkubhuwono or Pakubuwono. In that title, if it is described as coming from the words earth and "Buwono", it is a very different position. The names of these titles in the traditional Javanese kingdom reflect the intelligence and specialization of a person; for example, a warlord title his nobility's name is Kusumoyudo (flower war) or Yudonegoro (warlord).

Meanwhile, the royal administration officials used the title Sosronegoro/state writer. Bureaucratic officials at the regional level, for example, have the title Duke, Tumenggung, Kyai, Ngabei, and others. The nobility title comes from and comes from the king. It is what distinguishes it from the modern bureaucracy. Between the king and the state apparatus, there is a personal relationship and something objective, such as law.

In the traditional recruitment of bureaucrats in Java, those trusted and occupying high-ranking officials consist of comrades in war/war companions or personal followers/retainers. The group that became the King's tool were the regional/local rulers who had been subjugated and remained loyal to the King. The King's relatives, for example, children, uncles, nephews, and nephews, usually get positions in the central government because they can be monitored directly and closely. It was done to protect the throne from undermining and rebellion from the princes. In shaping these officials into instruments of the kingdom, delegated power was to them through these sacred magical titles. However, to maintain loyalty and political control over the King's officials, fairy tales and wayang stories are taught that describe the King's faithfulness and obedience and the King's anger towards his subordinates so that those who betray will get harm and disaster. In addition to fairy tales and wayang plays, a form of

political control is carried out at the time of large traditional ceremonies held yearly, such as *Gerebeg Besar*, *Maulud*, and so on.

To maintain the kingdom's stability, the king often concretely detained family members of high-ranking officials and local rulers in the palace. The goal is that members of the royal family/young *priyayi* must receive education at the royal center so that later they can replace their father's position after he is old or dead. Living in the palace for the young *priyayi* is a hidden political hostage so that the regional rulers are obedient and loyal to the king. If there are signs of his father's disobedience, the fate of the young *priyayi* is like an egg on the edge of a horn. Often guaranteed, the nature of the personal relationship between local officials and rulers was through marriage to the royal dynasty. The palace, which has many sons and daughters, is often used as a royal political tool to maintain the continuity of a dynasty. For example, in the 19th century period when the kingdom was still in power, almost all of the interior of Central Java and East Java except the coast, based on reports that people found surprised because the dukes, regents, *tumenggung*, and *ngabei* or *priyayi* who controlled the area had blood ties through their father/mother or marriage. With the princesses of the Mataram palace. Even influential village heads, *perdikan* officials, or *pesantren kyai* have blood relations with the palace center. This alliance through marriage indeed guarantees one's position and is an actual condition for gaining loyalty to the king to maintain a dynasty's continuity.

The *priyayi* in the traditional Javanese kingdom are the direct *kawulo* rajas. Ordinary people/*wong cilik* are not *kawulo* but are obliged to obey and submit to each bureaucratic official appointed and appointed by the king. Therefore, the king's attention was not on the people directly but

on the local officials so that these *priyayi* had full rights over the wealth and energy of their subordinates. This group of local officials primarily emerged from conquests, wars or rebellions carried out by the king over his territory. Violent warfare for the mastery of an area gave birth to the *priyayi* group, who at the same time as a royal bureaucratic group included war leaders; as a consequence, they received a reward from the king in the form of several *cacah* (farming families). These enumerators are obliged to submit to their gods to provide tribute, labor, and military service if there is a war.

Regional officials and traditional royal bureaucrats received salaries, not in the form of cash. Still, they received compensation in the form of *lungguh* which came from the enumeration of land given by the king. The people who become the enumerators are sometimes the object of collections from the *priyayi* because of their right to financial autonomy. The chain of tribute from the *kawulo* to the king, which is decreasing in number, becomes a chronic problem in the traditional kingdom because before it reaches the king, it must go through several royal officials or princes in percent terms. Three factors caused the emergence of this intermediary group, namely, the desire of all officials who wanted a percent of the tribute given by the people to the ruler, they came to the palace officials. Second, bureaucratic officials in the palace environment want prestige and a high socio-political position, as indicated by the large number of retainers, which automatically require a large amount of money. Third, because of the indifference of these bureaucratic officials towards the people and the existing conditions, they made them the object of extortion from messengers from either natives or foreigners (Chinese, Arab) as tribute

collectors and functioned as tools of exploitation (Onghokham, 1983: 78-85).

Kuntowijoyo (1994), in his writings, reveals that in the past, the kingdoms in Indonesia were divided into two categories, namely maritime empires and agrarian kingdoms, each of which had a different bureaucracy. The organizers of these powers differ in terms of their breadth and reach. Because of these differences, plus differences in ecological characteristics and economic resources, the maritime kingdom bureaucracy aims to serve the needs of the trading economy. In contrast, the agrarian kingdom bureaucracy fits the needs of the agricultural economy. In this paper, we use the bureaucracy of the pastoral kingdom as an example because it has the deepest scars on the Indonesian bureaucracy today.

In Java's agro-managerial state/agrarian kingdom until the 20th century, the ownership of economic resources in the form of land and labor came from the ruler/king. Using this patrimonial system, the king regulates the distribution of honor, position, and prosperity of his people. The king did not exercise his power alone. Still, he distributed it to people considered worthy to the king, who was given lunch and were referred to as *sentono*. Those who help the king in the administration of power are called courtiers, and these are the ones who sit as officials of the royal bureaucracy. They functioned as intermediaries between the king and his *kawulo*. The people should pay taxes for the rights of wild land that the king gave to the *sentono dalem*.

This model of the courtier bureaucracy places the relationship between the bureaucrats and the king as a concentric top-down relationship. In the patrimonial kingdom, the position of the bureaucracy is only an extension of the king's power, so the bureaucracy does not serve the people but only the king's interests. The exercise of territorial administration, taxation, courts,

security, and religion is more of a control than a service. They did not care about the people's interests but only functioned to serve the king's and his family's interests. In its development, these courtiers eventually formed a new social class and separated from society. The social position of the courtiers was further strengthened by the various attributes bestowed by the king. They get specific titles, ranks, and ceremonial devices. This description of the lives of *abdi dalem* bureaucrats can be seen in the Mataram kingdom until the 20th century, namely in the Surakarta and Yogyakarta kingdoms, where this culture was imprinted on the value system and knowledge system of the community so that even though there were changes, this culture was still attached (Kuntowijoyo, 1994: 185-187).

Suhartono (1991) mentions that bureaucracy is needed by the royal government, colonial government, and modern government. In Blau's writings, it is stated that bureaucracy is used as an inherent control which is very hierarchical and tiered so as to avoid counter-bureaucracies. With such a model, the government is carried out very carefully, through several tables so as not to escape central control. A strong bureaucracy supported by strict regulations aims to support the traditional and modern central government. The bureaucracy of the Islamic Mataram kingdom was always related to the division of territory, the hierarchy of positions, the land of apanage, and the government apparatus. The territorial division of Mataram's kingdom is divided into four parts: Kutho Goro, Negara Agung (the great state), Manca negara (foreign countries), and Pasisiran. The Mataram government arranged multi-level and various positions to support and manage the area. The royal bureaucracy is divided into two parts, namely Lebet and Jawi

governments. The king is the holder of the highest power in the kingdom and is assisted by four *wedono lebet* under the path of the kingdom. The four *wedono lebet* officials were *wedono gedhong kiwo* and getting *tengen*, who was in charge of fiscal matters and *wedono keparak kiwo* and *keparak tengen* whose duties were to deal with military and judicial affairs (Rouffer, 1931). However, after the Giyanti 1755 agreement, abolished the four officials were. Under the bureaucracy in Kuthogoro are bureaucratic officials in the great state headed by a *wedono jawi*, while the Patih Jawi acts as the coordinator. *Wedono Jawi's* position has eight people whose duties are to promote taxes and recruit workers. Meanwhile, the overseas and Pasisiran areas are governed by a Bupati (Duke) who has autonomy, assisted by low-level officials, while for apanage lands, a demand or *bekel* is appointed (Suhartono, 1991: 2-3).

Sumarsaid Moertono saw a symbiotic relationship between Gusti and Kawulonya through the ground *lungguh*, which they used as a means of obedience between their superiors and subordinates. The relationship between the two gives rise to social and political benefits in which those above protect while those below provide devotion and obedience (*unjuk kabekten*). This relationship is not comparable to the theory because the position of landowners tends to have more power than those who only have labor. *Raja, sentono* and *natapraja* are landholders who will have higher authority than farmers who function as *wong cilik* so the relationship between the two is also known as the relationship between patron and client or the relationship between Kawulo and Gustinya (Suhartono, 1991). In the apanage system, royal land is distributed to the royal family and officials as the right to enjoy the results during their tenure (*hak gadhuh*).

Meanwhile, after they are retired, the rights of the audience are fewer and only in the form of *pangarem-arem* land. The land is returned to the king and referred to as "*Siti gantungan*" sometimes given to relatives or substitute officials. In this system, land plays an important role in determining the position and function of the community compared to other elements. The two community groups that resulted from this system were the *priyayi* as landholders and the *wong cilik* as servants. The behavior and lifestyle of the *priyayi* at that time showed a culture that was full of excitement and the owner and heir of a great and noble culture, while the *wong cilik* as managers of small cultures, lived far from the center of the kingdom, which lived completely plain, open and rude (Kayam, 1989: 29)

Suhartono's (2001) article on traditional bureaucracy states a relatively excellent and symbiotic relationship between feudalism and bureaucracy. Feudalism is like the earth where the growth, birth, and growth of bureaucracy, while bureaucracy is the seed that produces feudalism. Both reinforce each other's position but both influence each other. The strong relationship between the two gave birth to feudal attitudes and behavior, and this style lived because of the prevailing social structure. This structure has been expanded in other fields so that the role of these bureaucrats is exciting to follow.

In subsequent developments, the bureaucracy is used as a tool for the central government rulers to carry out the rules and run the government in the regions from the central government born of power and loyalty (Suwarsono, 2006). The backbone of political power is the hierarchical structure that establishes the relationship between the areas and the center of power. These bureaucratic officials carry out their duties for an extended period, giving birth to an authoritative establishment and aristocracy

because their authority has been recognized for generations (Suhartono, 2001: 57-58).

The bureaucrats already established in the feudal system did not want to be disturbed from their position or role. As the ruling government, they seek to prevent all forms of erosion and the collapse of feudalism. The process of utilizing feudalism has been going on for a very long time, permeating and settling in people's lives so that it can say that feudalism is a cultural heritage that has lived in society for centuries and is a reasonably solid building. The impact is relatively high because the community is difficult to get out of the feudal life environment even though there is a counter-culture.

The Upholding of the Bureaucracy of *Beamtenstaat* in the Colonial Period

Javanese society in the 17th century by Burger is said to have lost its sea trade and left only organizations that were purely agricultural and feudal. Villages at that time could be said to be households that did not recognize currency. Economic life was closed and only met subsistence needs with the pacification politics of Sultan Agung against the coastal rulers, which was designed not to be strong in the economic field because it would make them fight against Mataram. The Princes, Dukes who ruled in the coastal areas of the Mataram kingdom could potentially be court officials who were easy to monitor. After the Dutch Company controlled Mataram in 1677, the king's absolute power became weak. The 1705 agreement required Mataram, which had previously supplied rice to the Company, to be obliged to provide agricultural products to the Company. Burger's writing also reveals that feudal forms control all social or social life above the village, but almost all of it is governed by the Indonesian people. The mastery is in

aspects of culture and state administration, military organization, and economic life.

After 1800, western influence penetrated deeper into the social life of the Javanese people, first among the feudal lords. Its impact is the fading of feudal power, especially the structure of society, namely the abolition of feudalism and renewal. The basic form of the effort to influence feudalism was establishing a European civil service that ensured that the people had legal certainty and individual freedom and property. Placed the despotic nobles were under the Civil Service Corps. The colonial government used the new civil service to break the absolute power of the nobility and crack down on abuses of power to protect the villagers. Simplified The greatness of the heads was that hundreds of people followed the regents at the end of the 18th century as their accompaniments to measure high social dignity, which the Daendels government simplified. Even in the next twenty years, the Bupati's power regarding the number of his retinue was only one-tenth of what it was before. In 1820 the Dutch East Indies government issued Staatsblad no 22, and in 1823 published Staatblad no 13, which regulates ranks, titles, umbrellas, signs of greatness, and the procession of regents and several low-ranking officials. The colonial government abolished the handover of pancen from the people to the chiefs in 1885. This condition was undoubtedly very detrimental to the feudal officials who had enjoyed the feudal life for years on the one hand. Still, on the other hand, the people got little freedom from their feudal obligations (Burger, 2007). 1983: 54-78).

After Indonesia was controlled by the Dutch East Indies government, the colonial government automatically placed itself at the top of the hierarchy in the bureaucratic system and placed the royal bureaucrats under it. Since then, the indirect rule system

has been in effect. This system is intended by the government to take advantage of the existing structure to maintain its position. The participation of the royal bureaucrats was used to make it easier to govern the Indonesian people. In practice, the Dutch colonial government ran its government in a compromising manner so that there was an ambivalence between legal-rational and traditional (Kahin, 2003). The purpose of implementing this system is that the government seeks security and profit in running its government. This dualistic system in the colonial bureaucracy in Indonesia made the bureaucracy more solid in order to force subordinates to remain submissive and obedient to the top of the bureaucracy. The top of this bureaucracy, which was once the king, was later replaced by the Europeans. As the ruling government, the royal bureaucratic officials try to maintain their position by preventing the erosion and collapse of the feudal system in Indonesia.

In his writings, Suhartono said that although the colonial bureaucracy came later, when viewed from the system's perspective, it was far completer and more sophisticated when compared to the royal bureaucracy. In contrast to the traditional bureaucracy, which attaches importance to ascriptions for community members, the colonial bureaucracy leads to an achievement motive that leads to professionalism (Suhartono, 2001: 58-59).

In line with Suhartono, Kuntowijoyo (1994), in an article, also agrees with Suhartono that the aim of the Dutch colonial system of government in Indonesia was economic and political exploitation. Political exploitation was carried out with the help of the traditional bureaucrats that existed before by using a dualistic government system, namely the royal and colonial bureaucracy. Anderson calls it corrupt politics (Anderson, 1990). The

colonial government appointed its officials in some areas. Some were wholly in the hands of the colonial government. There were also dual governments with colonial government officials, but there were also traditional bureaucrats. In general, those who occupy the ranks of the colonial bureaucracy get a salary due to the work they receive. Over time, the wages of these traditional government employees are no longer in the form of crooked land but in the form of money received every month. Because the bureaucracy is an extension of the colonial power to carry out government goals, the function of this bureaucracy is powerful. Those in the colonial bureaucracy are included in the *ambtenaar priyayi* strata, meaning they are *priyayi* who have power, not just salaried people because they have a strong position in society.

In the 19th century, colonial power had reached its lowest level. The concept of the state and power has not changed much because the colonial government still used a patrimonial system such as ownership and control of land, labor, and social surplus (Wiradi, 1984). The sustainability of the concept of state and power also affects the position of the *priyayi* as the power organizer. In this concept, it is as if they are not part of the general public but are part of state power. In the colonial bureaucratic recruitment system, bureaucratic officials were not only appointed as members of the team member corps automatically due to genealogical factors but based on rational criteria. They became *priyayi* not because of the king's generosity (*abdi dalem*) but because of rational-legal principles. At first, the *priyayi* occupied the place as a functional class. Still, later they developed into a status because they had their rights and were different from society. Likewise, for the *priyayi* who are not hereditary, they have the opportunity to preserve their social position. Eventually, their *priyayi* also

declines, although they are different from the courtiers.

The tendency of the *priyayi* to become a status is supported by a distinctive lifestyle that gradually grows and develops in the life of the *priyayi*. They have a lifestyle that is no longer conservative and classic but tends to emphasize progress and novelty. Their relationship with the Dutch caused this condition, so they adopted many western lifestyles but still adapted to the eastern culture. Western cognition and ethics dominate their culture and aesthetics. For example, they prefer to wear Dutch suits rather than *beskap*, but social ethics and politeness still use eastern ethics. When viewed from the perspective of *priyayi* history itself, they tend to position themselves as part of the colonial power, just like the courtiers who consider themselves part of the patrimonial rulers. Therefore, Indonesia does not have a bureaucratic tradition identifying itself as a social service (Kuntowijoyo, 1994: 184-190).

Sutherland & Sunarto (1983) identified the colonial bureaucrats from the indigenous people as indigenous civil servants in Java with a more impressive designation, namely *Pangreh praja*. But for their colonial government, this was nothing more than an *inlandsch bestuur* or an indigenous government lower than the local government. The native officials were a ruling class that was both feared and admired but functioned now as vassal representatives of a foreign power. They played a role in eliminating the differences between the dominant European caste and its economic and political interests that ruled the direction of development and rural peasant society. In addition, they also functioned as a link with the independent Javanese kingdoms in the past and the new demands and possibilities of the late 19th and 20th centuries. As a civil government during the 19th and 20th centuries, the

pangreh praja had expanded widely from an untidy local network into a single hierarchy carefully arranged by rank. This condition is transitioning from a patrimonial bureaucracy to a rational bureaucracy, which is carried out through a series of reasonable reforms in recruitment, training, promotion procedures, and functional specialization (Maliki, 2003).

The Dutch colonial government was a bureaucracy, and officials generally had a monopoly on decision-making, but they were isolated into the detachment of the Olympic model. The Dutch government in Java has always been an active interventionist political force both as a tool of support for the colonial regime and as a collection of different interest groups that have always maintained their privileged position. These *pangreh praja* acted as heirs to local rulers from the pre-colonial period and also functioned as representatives of the colonial government, but not exclusively. They did not stand alone but were a combination of the two. The colonial relationship was unequal political cooperation, essentially implied by the long-term employment relationship of *Europe-Binnenlands Bestuur* (BB), domestic government, and *pangreh praja*. The connection does not occur between subordinates and superiors but is a continuous bargaining power relationship between the two elites with different cultural backgrounds. These groups have secure interests, recognized traditions, wisdom, values, perceptions, and prejudices. It is not only the colonial regime and the functions of the civil service bureaucracy that must be considered but also the cultural and intellectual foundations of BB and *pangreh praja*.

In the 19th century, due to intensified economic activity, relations with Europeans intensified. This situation encourages westernization in cities that are starting to

grow and develop, so there are many changes in the lifestyle of officials, attitudes, and professional interests. Standardization and reform of the bureaucracy became an urgent problem and reached their peak with the issuance of regulations. The Dutch colonial government at this time had begun to show a new full footing. The constitution of the kingdom of the Netherlands in 1848 had carried out a thorough examination of the State Council on how the king was administered over the colonized country. As a form, the *Regerings Reglement* or Government Regulations were issued in 1854. The government regulations that specifically discuss the position of the *pangreh praja* are formulated in articles 67 and 69, the essence of which is that as far as conditions permit, the indigenous population should be left under the leader's supervision. Their leaders, appointed and recognized by the government, are subject to higher management which will be determined by general or special regulations from the Governor-General. The reaction that emerged from the issuance of the PP was the words *eigen hoofden*, which contained many meanings but remained unshakable because the sense of the leader himself was a natural indigenous leader as aristocrats who came from the indigenous race, high *priyayi* who were kept as *volkshoofden*. In particular, the regents were from the well-known *volkshoofden*. The good name and charisma inherited from their ancestors' traits guarantee the population's loyalty. At the same time, the daily world of government, if necessary, can be handed over to lower but capable officials, namely the *patih* and *wedana*. Article 69 of the PP even states that the government can give the position of regent to qualified, diligent, honest, and loyal people. Even this position is recommended to be inherited by the heir from the son or family of the regent as long as they meet the criteria mentioned above.

The lower officials, from the *patih* to the assistant *wedana* were still prominent figures in the local community, and Batavia tried to prevent the BB from breaking their prestige. According to the Dutch people, the problem of dress style and respect for them is only a gift because he is an official. Thus, they are expected to remain obedient and still have a distinctive role as aristocrats. Since the 19th century, it is said that the relationship between Batavia and the Netherlands, between regional and central government, between the *pangreh praja* and BB, and between the *priyayi* and the people changed. The driving factor for the emergence of these changes was the activities of the Dutch. The government served as the link linking Indonesia to world markets and the restless political developments in the Netherlands. At this time, the local government, with Dutch and native officials, tried to translate the demands and expectations of Batavia to the people. It is because the position of the regent is in the network link controlled directly from the center. Many of the BB officials were Indo-Europeans, although native Dutch were preferred as representatives of European civilization. To fill the positions of small government employees, apart from receiving from the mestizo group, they also came from capable natives, especially at the turn of the 20th century. Both European and indigenous corps met the demands of the times. They improved the quality of their staff before entering into *ambtenaars* and received job training and reorganization in the body BB. To meet the needs and quality of its officer, the government opened an institution that trains young workers who are projected to occupy positions in BB in 1832. In this education, lessons are given about the knowledge of the Javanese people, their history, and customs. In the next ten years, there was a formal school that provided a

two-year course on the people of the Dutch East Indies (Indology) at the Technical College in Delf.

Pangreh praja in this century is also trapped in a situation that is quite changing. The new instructions which were the duties of certain ranks of the government were issued, for example, for Bupati and *wedana* in 1867, assistant *wedana* in 1874, and for *wedana* again in 1886 of the many regulations concerning indigenous officials, the essence of which was their traditional rights since the end of the century, has been revoked. For example, in 1867, their title rights to land were revoked by the Dutch colonial government. Meanwhile, the right to demand labor was limited in 1872 and even then, abolished in 1882. The overall tightening of the administrative network resulted in reduced freedom of officials to ask for voluntary contributions from the people. In fact, the impact changed the shape of the relationship between the *priyayi* and the people in the countryside. It is depicted at that time that warlords in Java who lived off the tributes of their people became paid Malay clerks, agricultural observers, and colonial policemen.

Western education for indigenous officials was indeed important (Ari Wibowo, 2011; Utami & Rahayui, 2017). Western education brought them into preparation for new bureaucratic styles as well as efforts to move them closer to Batavia. In 1854 the government provided funds for the education of Javanese officials, but the impact was minimal. In an effort to increase the insight and knowledge of these indigenous officials, the government also organized *hoofdenscholen* (Schools of Leaders) on the island of Java, respectively, in Bandung, Magelang, and Probolinggo. This School is especially useful for the future regent because most of the students attending the school are the sons of the regent, and it is assumed that they will

replace their parents in the future. In the early 20th century, the three schools underwent a reorganization under the new name OSVIA (*Opleidingsscholen voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren*) or School of education for indigenous officials.

In 1874 the *pangreh praja* structure was reorganized and tightened as part of the colonial reform plans of the liberal-spirited Minister for Colonial Affairs I.D (*Fransen van de Putte*). He increased control at the lower levels concerning the people by dividing the district into sub-districts, each consisting of approximately 15 villages. He was under the supervision of an assistant *wedana* (*Camat*). In addition, a *patih* position has been appointed to assist the regent in ensuring greater efficiency at the district level. The hierarchy of officials and the sizes of the units are standardized. The resulting intra-district structure remained the same until the colonial rule, although higher levels were reorganized (Sutherland & Sunarto, 1983: 25-54)

The government is divided into two typologies: the European government (*Europesche Bestuur*) and the Indigenous Government (*Indlandsche Bestuur*). In the European Region, the European government is led by a resident assisted by a lower European official, namely an assistant resident. Residents have power in the area at the residential level (residency), and assistant residents have the ability at the *afdeeling* (section) level. Each *afdeeling* is divided into one or several districts controlled by an indigenous ruler named the regent.

The Bupati is the prominent ruler who governs the government at the local level. He overcame local officials under him, namely the *Wedana*, who led the district administration in succession. The *Camat* instructs the sub-district administration, and the *Lurah* instructs the village administration. Dutch nationals are also

placed in series at the lower level: assistant residents at the district and sub-district levels and controllers in charge of supervision at the district level (Wiradi, 1984; Hartatik & Wasino, 2021).

CONCLUSION

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that there has been a change in the pattern of bureaucracy in Java. The legal-rationalistic Western bureaucratic model has replaced the feudalistic patrimonial bureaucracy. However, the changes did not eliminate the traditional bureaucratic culture that had been institutionalized before Dutch colonialism. The form of the Western bureaucracy only appears on the surface. However, the practices of conventional bureaucratic traditions are still running, not only at the level of the bureaucracy where the Javanese rule but also in the area where the Europeans rule.

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