Paguyuban Pasundan: 
A Sundanese Revival (1913–1918)*

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This article analyzes the reviving awareness of the Sundanese, one of the ethnic groups in Indonesia, towards their identity.

After experiencing a long period of decline since the fall of the Sunda Kingdom (1579), in the middle of the 19th century they revived to form and show their identity and improve their welfare. The revival resulted from renewed awareness of language and literature (since 1850), and then (since 1913) encompassed social and cultural fields, and finally (since 1918) the field of state politics. This article describes the second-stage revival which was marked by the formation of a modern organization (at that time) which was called Paguyuban Pasundan.

Due to the awareness and pioneering spirit of several students of the STOVIA (medical school for indigenous people), who were ethnically Sundanese, Paguyuban Pasundan attempted to activate and unite all Sundanese, especially the youth, in order not to be left behind in the social milieu and active social life among all ethnic groups in Indonesia. By using methods which were completely new at that time, such as organized activities, education, magazine publication, science and knowledge, they attempted to achieve progress so as to keep up to date and relevant. The result of these efforts brought some ray of hope.

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List of Abbreviations

HBS Hogere Burger School (Dutch High School) 
KWS Kweekschool (Teachers' School) 

Keywords: ethnic group, organization, culture, education, progress 
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NIAS  Nederlandsch-Indische Artsen School (Medical School for Indigenous People)
OSVIA  Opleiding School voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren (School for Indigenous Civil Service Candidates)
STOVIA  School tot Opleiding voor Inlandsche Artsen (Medical School for Indigenous People)
TBG  Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Magazine of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences)
VBC  Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Supplement of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences)
VKI  Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde (Supplement of the Royal Institute for Linguistics and Anthropology)
VOC  Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (The Dutch East-Indies Company)

1. Introduction

Paguyuban Pasundan (original spelling: Pagoejoeban Pasoendan) was an ethnic-based organization in Indonesia established in the early 20th century, which still exists today. The organization was founded by ethnic Sundanese who resided in Batavia, the capital of the Dutch East Indies. The Sundanese are one of numerous ethnic groups across the Indonesian Archipelago, and bear distinct cultural features referred to as the Sundanese culture. This group of people has long occupied a region known as Tanah Sunda (Sundaland) which is located in the western part of the island of Java (see map: Appendix 3). In number, the Sundanese rank second among the ethnic populations in Indonesia.1)

In the early 20th century, Batavia was multicultural as it had multiethnic populations. There were Sundanese, Javanese, Betawi, Malay, Balinese, Achenese, Minang, Batak, Bugis, Menadonese, and Ambonese, as well as foreigners (European, Chinese, Arab, Indian, Japanese).2) Prior to being the seat of Dutch occupation, Batavia was the

1) According to the 1930 census (which still made distinctions between ethnicities), there were 8,594,834 people of Sundanese descent among the total population of Indonesia which numbered 59,138,067. Of that number, 8,275,140 lived in Tanah Sunda (West Java); while 370,111 resided in other parts of Java and Madura, and 178,924 on other islands. Other ethnicities with large populations are the Javanese (27,808,623), Madurese (4,305,862), Minang (1,988,648), Bugis (1,533,035), Batak (1,207,514), Balinese (1,111,659), and Betawi (980,863). See Volkstelling 1930, vol.1, 1933; vol. 8, 1936 and Ekadjati 1995, pp.31–33.

2) The multi-ethnicity of the Batavian population had been recorded since 1673 in the Dagch Register (Daily Register) of the VOC. Classified by ethnicity, the populations of Jakarta and its vicinity in 1893 (according to Encyclopédie van Nederlandsch-Indie) and 1930 (according to the census) are as follows. In 1893 the indigenous population numbered 72,241 while foreigners 38,428. In 1938 the indigenous population numbered 1,443,517 while foreigners 182,581. In 1893 the indigenous population comprised of the Sundanese, Javanese, Malay, Bugis, Makassar, Mandar, Timor, Bali, Sumbawa, and Ambonese ethnicities; whereas in 1930 it consisted of the Betawi,
main port of the Sunda Kingdom (until 1527) known as Kalapa. Later, it became the port of the Banten Sultanate (until 1619) known as Jayakarta. The Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) and the Netherlands Indies government, which had turned into the seat of government since 1619, enforced a policy in population administration in an effort to boost activities of the port and trade. By the beginning of the 20th century, Batavia had become completely multi-ethnic and multicultural.3)

In the early 20th century, Indonesia witnessed a rise in consciousness among its indigenous communities. This involved, especially, educated people who were concerned with their economic, social and welfare conditions, which were very different to those of the Dutch colonial rulers. Such consciousness emerged as a result of their expanding knowledge and horizons due to education which, then, ironically affected the colonial policy. This group of educated people, through various ways, also desired to improve conditions by promoting the living conditions of their respective communities.

Following in the footsteps of the European social groups in an effort to promote their respective interests, the educated of the indigenous communities decided to establish organizations to attain collective strength amongst themselves. D.K. Ardiwinata, a founder and board member of the Paguyuban Pasundan, expressed his views on the situation in 1914 as follows: “Doepi tarekah-tarekah anoe biasa dilalampahkeun pikeun ngadjoeengdjoeng bangsana, babakoena nga etta ngadamel pagojeoeban, ngadamel sarikat dagang, saren sarikat-sarikat anoe sanes, ..., di tanah Hindia ogi parantos nembean abdi-abdi mararotah bade noelad adat di nagara-nagara noe sanes tea, babakoena ngagdegkeun pagojeoeban saren sarikat dagang”.4) It was a totally novel form of social organization for the indigenous people of the time.

There were four binding factors that determined the formation of such social organizations, namely ethnicity, economic interest, religious background, and political perspective. Ethnicity was associated with language, culture, and place of origin

3) Sundanese, Javanese, Malay, Minangkabau, Batak, Madura, ethnicities of North Sulawesi (Mentawai, etc.), ethnic groups of the Moluccas (Ambonese, etc.), those of South Sumatra (Palembang, Lampung, etc.), and other various ethnicities. In 1930, the majority of the population of Jakarta and its vicinity comprised of the Betawi (778,953), Sundanese (494,457), and Javanese (142,563). Meanwhile, the population of foreign ethnicities comprised of the European, Chinese, Arab, Indian and Japanese (Castles 1967, p.157 and Surjomiardjo 1976, pp.27–35). Prior to the 19th century, the Dutch always referred to the whole population of the island of Java as the Javanese, including the inhabitants of Tanah Sunda. Here, the Japanese are regarded in one category with the Europeans, not as a foreign Oriental.

4) Ardiwinata 10, 1 November 1914, p.2. It translates as: “A common way by which they promote the interests of their nation is to establish organizations, trade unions, and other unions, ..., in the Indies also the (indigenous) community has also begun to move in the footsteps of other nations, mainly in the establishment of organizations and unions.”
because the formation of ethnicity in Indonesia had undergone a long process. Economic interest involved various economic actors, such as farmers and traders. Religious backgrounds bound people of the same faith. Finally, political perspective was associated with ideas and desire to participate in the administration of the state, ideology, and the notion of Indonesian national unity (nationalism of the Indies). Thus, in early 20th century, Indonesia numerous organizations established by indigenous peoples appeared, such as Budi Utomo, Rukun Minahasa, Paguyuban Pasundan, Kaum Betawi, Ambonch Studiefonds based on ethnicity; Serikat Dagang Islam based on economic interest; Sarekat Islam, Muhammadiyah, Perserikatan Kaum Kristen based on religious background; Indische Partij, Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereeniging based on political views. In addition, there were also organizations with multiple criteria, that is, the organizations were based on two or more of the afore mentioned factors, such as Sarekat Sumatera and Sarekat Ambon, both based on ethnicity and political views, Sarekat Islam based on religious background and political views, Pakemelan Politik Katolik Jawi based on political views, religious background and ethnicity. Since the establishment of the Volksraad, the people’s representative body, by the colonial government in 1918, gradually the organizations formed by the indigenous population began to take an interest in political endeavours, starting with demanding participation in government and evolved, in the end, to attaining independence.

Among the organizations mentioned above, Budi Utomo (original spelling: Boedi Oetomo) was most closely related to the Sundanese people and the Paguyuban Pasundan, both individually and institutionally, because being Budi Utomo and Paguyuban Pasundan were both established on the same conceptual grounds, namely ethnicity, language, culture, and region that, on the one hand, was inhabited by different peoples but overlapped in scope and meaning on the other. Geographically, the locations of the homelands of the Sundanese and Javanese were adjacent to each other, occupying the same island known as Java situated in the geological environment called the Greater Sunda Islands. In Tānah Sunda, there was a diaspora of communities bearing traits of Javanese ethnicity, language, and culture; and on the other hand, to the west of Central Java lived social groups bearing the features of Sundanese ethnicity, language, and culture. Institutionally, the constitution or statute of Budi Utomo viewed the whole of the island of Java as the scope for its activities. However, individually, there were two conflicting ideas about the matter. On the one hand, there was the opinion that ethnicity, language, and culture all over Java were essentially the same; on the other, there was also the conviction that the Sundanese and Javanese cultures had always been different.

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5) For discussions pertaining to such classifications of the national movements, further see Blumberger 1931; Kahin 1952; Kartodirdjo et. al., V 1975; and Suharto 2002.

6) Padjadjaran 18, 20 Djoel 1918, p.2 and Kaoem Moeda 122, 1 Djoeli 1918. Even unto the recent past, Javanese claims of particular groups still identify the Javanese with the whole of Java, and even associate the Javanese with the whole archipelago.
In the formative years of Budi Utomo, many Sundanese individuals became members of this organization because its membership covered the whole of Java and Madura. However, because in its development (since the students of STOVIA disaffiliated themselves from the board of Budi Utomo, 1909) Budi Utomo tended to emphasize Javanese ethnicity, language, and culture, many Sundanese members became dissatisfied and resigned their membership. Furthermore, following the establishment of Paguyuban Pasundan (1913) many Sundanese joined the organization. Thus, there emerged accusations from non-Sundanese individuals that the Sundanese sought to separate themselves from (Setiakoesoemah 1958, p.7), were against, and wished to destroy Budi Utomo being selfish and concerned only with Sundanese interests (Padjadjaran 10 August 1918, p.1). An interesting instance in this conflict is the case of R. Otto Iskandar di Nata. He was of Sundanese ethnic background, and went to school (teachers’ school) and worked in Javanese areas (Purworejo, Banjarnegara, Pekalongan), and even married a Javanese woman. He later (1929–1942) became a leader and main figure of Paguyuban Pasundan, but had previously been a member and branch committee member of Budi Utomo in Banjarnegara, Bandung, and Pekalongan, and was vehemently involved in the dispute between the board members of Budi Utomo and those of Paguyuban Pasundan (Silwoangi 4 October 1921 and 7 November 1922). Nevertheless, in facing a common enemy, namely Dutch colonial rule, both organizations worked together in such forums as Commissie Radicale Concentratie (in Bandung since 8 December 1918), Permufakatan Perhimpunan-perhimpunan Politik Indonesia (Federation of Political Associations of Indonesia) in Bandung since 1927, and Gabungan Politik Indonesia (Indonesian Political Alliance) in Jakarta since 21 May 1939.7)

2. Jati Kasih ku Junti8)

The fall of the Hindu Kingdom of Sunda (1579) gradually resulted in the extermination of the Sundanese identity as an ideology9) in all aspects of Sundanese life. The Sundanese ideology, which had evolved for approximately 9 centuries in the reign of the Kingdom of Sunda (from the early 8th century to late 16th century) in the form of Sundanese script, language, ethics, traditional law, social institutions, beliefs, and so on, was slowly eroded and marginalized by the arrival of foreign ideologies. First (since late 15th century) came Islamic influence from the northern coast (Cirebon,

7) Ekadjati et.al. 1978/1979 and Suharto 2002. For in-depth study of Budi Utomo, see Nagazumi 1972 and Surjomihardjo 1973. In 1938, the birth of Budi Utomo (20 Mei 1908) was assigned as the commencement of a national revival by the Partai Indonesia Raya (Greater Indonesia Party/Parindra), the political party formed following the fusion of various national movement organizations, including Budi Utomo. Since 1950, the event has been commemorated in Indonesia as the National Revival Day, see Abdullah 2001, pp.24–41).

8) This traditional saying translates as: "Natives taken over by newcomers."

9) Here, the term "ideology" refers to the system of values and the ideal cultural type adhered to by a particular social group.
Banten), then (since early 17th century) Javanese (Mataram) hegemony and culture penetrating from the hinterlands of the east, and finally (since mid-17th century) the force of Dutch trade, military, and diplomacy taking over all of Tanah Sunda.

The coming of Islamic influence and the advent of Javanese culture into Tanah Sunda present an interesting phenomenon. The two foreign influences entered Tanah Sunda successively and even, in certain points in history, simultaneously. As far as the introduction of Islam and the coming of Muslims are concerned, the Sundanese rulers and community had welcomed them with open arms, in which case such tolerance included the conversion of the Sundanese people into Islam. Therefore, whenever a member of the royal family embraced Islam, he was still well-received in the Sundanese court and was allowed to remain in the domain of the Sunda kingdom.10) Neither was it a problem when a relative of the monarch took a Muslim wife, and some of the children also embraced Islam and were brought up in the court.11) A portion of the population, which had immigrated from the east (meaning of Javanese origin) of the port city of Cimanuk (present-day Indramayu), as witnessed by the Portuguese Tome Pires in 1513, had adhered to the Islamic religion; while the rest including the ruler still adhered to the old religion (Cortesao 1944, p.173). Nevertheless, when such matters of religious faith were piggy-backed by political endeavours, conflict emerged, as in such instances in Rajagaluh (1525), Banten (1526), Kalapa (1527), and Pakuan Pajajaran (1579), because then it would involve the considerations concerning the safety and security of the state.12) In the process of Islamisation, there were mutual efforts to approach each other between the Sundanese rulers and people on the one hand, and the leaders and missionaries of Islam on the other. Sunan Gunung Jati, as a main figure in the spread of Islam and the establishment of Islamic rule in Tanah Sunda, claimed to be a descendant of Sundanese kings. Islamic teachings in general were viewed to be congruent and parallel with the belief system and ethics already held by the Sundanese people. The concept of Batara Tuneggal (the Sundanese belief in one deity), for example, was deemed compatible with the monotheistic Islamic creed of Al-lahu Ahad (the One Supreme God). The ethics expressed in Sanghiyang Siksa13) in prin-

10) The Sundanese tradition recognises several primary figures in the spread and teaching of the Islamic religion whose footsteps are revered to this day, such as Shaikh Quro of Karawang; Shaikh Datuk Kahpi, Shaikh Nurjati, and Sunan Gunung Jati of Cirebon; and Hasanudin of Banten. Also, Haji Purwa (literally the first person to have performed the hajj pilgrimage to Mecca) was a member of the Kawai court who embraced Islam during his commercial journey to India and later resided in Cirebon Girang. See Hageman 1867; Ekadjati 1975; and Danasasmita et al. 1983/1984.

11) In the Sundanese tradition, the one referred to as the King of Sunda is Prabu Siliwangi who married Nyi Subanglarang, a student of Shaikh Quro, begetting Raden Walangsungsang and Nyi Larasantang, both of whom were Muslims but brought up in the court of the Kingdom of Sunda, and later pioneered the Islamisation of Cirebon. See Brandes 1911; Ekadjati 1978; and Wildan, 2001.

12) The conflict occurred due to the hegemonic contest for territory and the existence of the state in which the process of Islamisation and Javanisation overlapped, see Djajadiningrat 1913 and Graaf & T.H. Pigeaud 1972.
ciple fit and were similar to the Islamic idea of *ihsan*, which pertains to the virtuous speech, attitude, and deeds of human beings as individuals and as a social collective. Henceforth, the process of Islamisation occurred at the grassroots and in a democratic manner using approaches which had a positive impact on the promotion of the welfare of the Sundanese community. Finally, Islam was well-received by the whole of the Sundanese people and served as a fundamental element and main motif in Sundanese culture, except for a small group associated with the community in Kanekes (the Baduy people in the hinterlands of Banten).\(^{14}\)

The entry of Javanese culture into the *Tanah Sunda* and Sundanese society occurred over two periods of time from two directions and in two manners. *The first* was through trade, agricultural activities, and migration in the northern coast in simultaneity with Islamisation from late 15\(^{th}\) century to the mid 16\(^{th}\) century. This process ran smoothly and peacefully. Javanese culture introduced in this period continued to live to the present with gradual and periodical adaptations and development in accordance with local conditions and traditions.\(^{15}\) *The second* was Javanese culture bearing feudal characteristics brought in from the hinterlands by the soldiers and aristocracy (*priyayi*) of Mataram through their military expeditions as well as political and cultural hegemony from the second quarter of the 17\(^{th}\) century to the mid-19\(^{th}\) century. This form of Javanese culture originated from the Javanese aristocracy and was introduced accordingly by the Sundanese aristocracy (*menak*). Because this form of Javanese culture was advantageous to the Sundanese aristocracy in their efforts to maintain and augment their position and status, this type of culture was nourished and absorbed in the *kabupaten* (regency) courts, and used as the guideline in government administration. Meanwhile, the VOC when taking over the authority of Mataram in *Tanah Sunda*, deliberately allowed the influences of Javanese culture to flourish in *Tanah Sunda*, for it was advantageous for them in their endeavour to exploit the region.

In certain aspects, the foreign cultural influences became so powerful that the Sundanese script, for example, was driven out to the isolated highlands (*Kabuyutan* or holy lands of Gunung Larang Srimanganti on the slopes of Mount Cikuray, South Garut) and finally (18\(^{th}\) century) became extinct (Pleyte 1914, p.371; Atja 1970, pp.20–

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13) The oral and written tradition became the guide for the general Sundanese society in the era of the Kingdom of Sunda, part of which has been preserved in writing in the form of two manuscripts in Old Sundanese script and language entitled *Sanghyang Sikakandang Kareisan* and *Amanat Galunggung*; see Atja and Saleh Danasamsita 1981; 1981a.

14) For detailed studies of the Kanekes (Baduy) community; see Geise OFM 1952; Danasamsita and Anis Djatisunda 1986; Garna 1987; and Ekadjati 1995.

15) In 1930, the majority of the populations of Cirebon and Banten were of Javanese ethnic background, numbering 975,838 and 196,320 respectively; see Ekadjati 2002. Due to the large number and the domicile in the open coastal areas potential for high mobility, culturally the people of Javanese ethnicity in both of these areas prevail to the present day, although the cultural features have differed greatly from those of the Javanese culture of Yogyakarta, Central Java, and East Java; and the people no longer call themselves Javanese but rather Banten and Cirebon peoples.
22). The role of Sundanese script was replaced by the Cacarakan script adapted from the Javanese (Carakan) script, the Pegon script borrowed from Arabic script, and the Roman alphabet taken from European culture. The position and role of the Sundanese language were also denigrated to serve as merely the colloquial language among commoners, while the linguistic function in administration, government, writing, and religion was replaced by the Javanese language. Furthermore, the system of levels of language employed in the Javanese courts, was also introduced to Sundanese aristocracy complete with its decorum which disseminated through the European educational system, which in turn fortified the feudalistic attitudes in Sundanese society. In a less significant number, migration also occurred in the context of the introduction of the wet farming system (paddy fields) to communities in the Sundanese hinterlands, on which occasion inhabitants of Indramayu, Cirebon and Tegal (Central Java) were brought into the marshy areas of the Bandung highlands to start the setting up and cultivation of paddy fields in the 19th century.16)

When gradually Tanah Sunda came under the control of the VOC and the Dutch Indies colonial government (1677–1942), it is fair to say that the Sundanese people had no opportunity to develop themselves freely in the various aspects of their lives because their time and energy had to be exerted for the purposes of serving their colonial ruler. The people had to work all day in pepper, coffee, and indigo plantations; and also later in sugarcane, tea, rubber, quinine, and plantations of other commercial crops as well as then taking those crops to storage places in the ports (sea and river); and finally processing them in factories to be sold as export commodities. In addition to that they also served the local aristocracy (the bupati as well as other menaks) by contributing both their labour and property. The elite were assigned as foremen to supervise the work done by the people, and then they could even become employees of the colonial government. The disconcerting lives of the people of Tanah Sunda in the first half of the 19th century are dramatically and symbolically portrayed in Multatuli’s celebrated novel Max Havelaar. The day-long work was in accordance with dry farming traditionally performed by the Sundanese people for a long time. That is probably the main reason for the lack of physical rebellion by the people of the Sundanese hinterlands, especially the region of Priangan, against the colonial government, unlike the coastal populations of places like Banten and Cirebon, who were more familiar with the wet farming system and frequently launched armed resistance against the colonial government.17)

16) Holle 1864, p.495; Kern 1898, p.8; Ardiwinata 5, 1 Djoeni 1914, pp.6–7. The system of levels of language is unggah-ungguh basa in Javanese and undak-usuk basa in Sundanese. Inland Sundanese people are accustomed to dry farming. In 1930, the Javanese population in Priangan was 102,733, while the Sundanese 3,273,296; see Ekadijati, 2002. The Javanese residing in Priangan have culturally been integrated since early 20th century, and their socio-cultural characteristics have assimilated with those of the Sundanese, and by the mid-20th century their socio-cultural characteristics had fully blended into the Sundanese.

3. A Spark of Hope: Revival

3.1. Language and Literature

Through language and literature the Sundanese identity reemerged at the end of the 19th century with the enforcement of Dutch Indies colonial government policy to initiate Western-model schools for native children and the creation of peace and order (rust en orde) in society. The policy was a follow up of a transformation of policy associated with the management of colonial lands, namely from the forced cultivation system (Preanger Stelsel or Priangan System and Cultuur Stelsel or Cultivation System) to the liberal system (Preanger Reorganisatie or Priangan Reorganization) which paved the way for private capital owners to start businesses such as plantations, industries, trade, and shipping. In the context of implementing the policy, the Dutch colonial government opened schools for the indigenous population in order to provide skilled, cheap, loyal labourers for the colonial government as well as for private businesses. In these schools, local languages, including Sundanese, were used as the language of instruction and taught in primary schools, and in secondary schools. In addition, there were efforts to write and publish books in the local languages (including Sundanese) for textbooks and reading material for both schoolchildren and the general public. It was also the time when printing technology began to be used, pioneered by the government-owned press (Land's Drukkerij) allowing the publication of numerous copies in one edition. Previously, reading materials were handwritten, and therefore there was only one copy of each text written (on Sundanese manuscripts, see: Ekadjati et al. 1988; Ekadjati 1996; Ekadjati and Undang A. Darsa 1999).

With the encouragement of K.F. Holle, a Dutchman who took great interest in the Sundanese culture and people, and pioneered by R.H. Muhamad Musa, the Hoofdpanghulu (the chief religious leader) of the Regency of Limbangan (present-day Garut Regency), who also became a literary writer and author, the writing and publication of books in Sundanese was initiated, in the form of literary works, teaching materials for schools, and discussions on various topics as reading material for schoolchildren and the general public. Land's Drukkerij and the Commissie voor de Inlandsche School- en Volkslectuur (1908), which later became Balai Poestaka (1917) played an important role in the publication of books in Sundanese. Since then, books in Sundanese, in which the public took great interest, appeared in school libraries, public libraries, book stores, and in circulation among the public. Sundanese writers also emerged such as R. Adiwijaya, R. Kartawinata, R. Burhan Kartadireja, M. Kartadimaja, R. Rangga Danukusumah, R. Suriadiraja, R. Ayu Lasminingrat, and D.K. Ardiwinata. Sundanese

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// Priangan, there was only one rebellion led by Haji Prawatasari in the early 18th century, while in Banten rebellions occurred continuously until the end of the colonial era; see Haan 1912; Ekadjati et al. 1982/1983.

18) For a study of the Priangan System and Priangan Reorganization; see Klein 1931; Meertens 1987.
text books were initially written by the Dutch, then in collaboration by the Dutch and Sundanese, and finally by the Sundanese themselves. Until early 20th century, Sundanese writing can be classified into three categories, namely (1) those derived from Sundanese oral traditions, (2) translations or adaptations of literature in other languages (Javanese, Malay, Dutch), and (3) original works.\footnote{Examples of these books are: Soendanesch Spelboekje (Sundanese Reader) by G.J. Grashuis (1866), Soengkeman: Boekoe Batjaan (Dedication: a Reader) collectively by W. Keizer and Moehammad Rais (1914), Elmoening Basa (Language Learning) by D.K. Ardiwinata (1916) Sundanese language text books; Mangle: Roepa-roepa Tjarita reudjeung Tjinto Pikeun Sakola Soenda (Anthology: Various Stories and Samples for Sundanese Schools) by W. van Gelder (1890), Tjarita Erman (The Story of Erman) translated from the Dutch by R. Ajoie Lasmingrat (1875), and Baroeang ka Noe Ngarora (Poison to the Young) original work by D.K. Ardiwinata (1914) as literary works.}

As a result, since early 20th century, the Sundanese youth have turned their interest in reading materials and cultural life from the language and culture of the Javanese to those of the Sundanese. In the past, reading materials in Javanese script and language representing Javanese culture were considered a sign of high education and civilization in the Sundanese social environment (Ardiwinata, 5, 1, 1 Djoeni 1914, pp.6–7).

3.2. The Socio-cultural Organization

3.2.1. Establishment

A more comprehensive revival of identity under the initiative of the Sundanese people themselves was brought about through the establishment of an association or organization, in this case the Paguyuban Pasundan. The birth date of Paguyuban Pasundan had become a problematic issue in the circle of the organization itself, the Sundanese public, and historians, which caused changes in opinion. In three of the books commemorating the anniversary of Paguyuban Pasundan published before the war (prior to 1942),\footnote{The three books referred to here were published in commemoration of the 15th, 20th, and 25th anniversaries of Paguyuban Pasundan entitled Herdenking Pagojeboen Paseoendan, Pangemoet- ngemoet kana Ngadegna Pagojeboen Paseoendan Doea Poeoech Taeon, and Gedenkboek Paseoendan 25 Tahoen respectively issued in 1931, 1935, and 1939. In the commemorative book of the 20th anniversary it is mentioned by the Hoofdbestuur (Central Board) that the organization was established in 1914 and the statute validated by the government in 1915. However, 1935 was the commemoration of the 25th anniversary meaning that the Central Board viewed the establishment of the organization to be 1915, that is the time when the organization was recognised as a legal body with the validation of the statute by the government.} there is no clear mention of the exact date of the founding of this organization except a mere reference to the year 1915. Apparently, then it was not a significant issue. What matters was the function of the commemoration as a means to encourage the dynamics and promotion of the organization. Only later, following Indonesian independence did determination of the date come to be regarded as something important and meaningful.\footnote{Perhaps the change in viewpoint was prompted by the stipulation on the establishment of Budi Utomo on 20 May 1908 as the National Revival Day nationally celebrated each year since 1950.} According to Memed Erawan, initially the anniversary of Paguyuban Pasundan was observed on 9 December taken from the date of the decree of the Governor-General of the Dutch Indies, recognising and validat-
ing the establishment of the organization as a legal body (Decree number 46 dated 9 December 1914). However, during the term R.S. Suradiraja served as President of Paguyuban Pasundan (1952–1968), the anniversary of Paguyuban Pasundan was recognised and set to be on 22 September 1914. The date supposedly was derived from the moment the organization was found by several Sundanese students at STOVIA on their campus. The change was deemed important and necessary in accordance with the shift in their views (that anything originating from the colonial ruler was thought to be negative and anything out of the initiative of Indonesian themselves was positive) and the historical development (the transformation from colonial rule to independence). By referring to that moment, the nationalist spirit and features became characteristic of the organization, due to the belief that its establishment was based on the initiative of the Indonesian (or rather Sundanese) people themselves rather than by decree of the colonial ruler. Since then, the anniversary of Paguyuban Pasundan was observed and celebrated on 22nd September; and even various popular and academic writings cited the date as the anniversary.  

However, it turns out, the event referred to was different in each of the written documents, including those written by the board members of the organization.

An investigation into contemporaneous documents finds that neither dates (22 September 1914 and 9 December 1914) indicate the establishment of Paguyuban Pasundan, because prior to both dates the organization had already existed, and had

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22) In his explanation as a committee member of Paguyuban Pasundan, in the event of Sarasehan Titimangsa Gumelaruna Paguyuban Pasundan (Workshop on the time of the Paguyuban Pasundan birth) in Bandung on 20 July 2002.


24) This is reflected in books by two board members of Paguyuban Pasundan published almost simultaneously (1990 and 1991). Soeryawan (1990, p.19) states that the dating refers to the event when a number of Sundanese people met in the home of D.K. Ardiwinata, while Erawan (1991, p.5) states that the dating is the event when several Sundanese STOVIA students met in the premises of their campus which was also the birth place of Budi Utomo. In fact, their status was not that of college students (student) but rather pupils (lerling) because STOVIA was not an institution of tertiary education but that of secondary education. Only since the 1920s was it upgraded to provide university education under the name Geneskundige Hogeschool (Medical College) although its graduates had always been referred to as doctors such as Dr. Cipto Mangunkusumo, Dr. Sutomo, and Dr. Junjunan Setiakusumah.

25) This means documents written and published by the historical actors themselves making the documents primary sources. The document referred to here is the monthly Sundanese-language magazine called Papes Nonoman (Elaborations for the Youth) published by the Paguyuban Pasundan board in Jakarta in the period between 1914 and 1918. There are illuminations that
even had activities with members spread across several places in *Tanah Sunda*. It seems that the date 22 September 1914 is based on a letter sent by the board of the organization to the Netherlands Indies government requesting the validation of the organization as a legal body, whereas 9 December 1914 is based on the date of the issuance of the decree of the Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies recognizing and validating Paguyuban Pasundan as a legal body. If so, when was the organization actually founded?

Actually, the magazine *Papaes Nonoman* as a historical document has answered the question. The problem was that this periodical was either forgotten or no longer in the possession of either the board or ordinary members, while those who had been founders and board members of the organization in its formative years had dispersed to various places and were busy with their own activities. The existence of this magazine was only discovered by historians in the early 1990s.

In *Papaes Nonoman* information pertaining to the establishment of Paguyuban Pasundan is given in the article entitled "*Propaganda pikeun pakoempoelan Pasoendan*" (Propaganda for the Pasundan association) written by D.K. Ardiwinata published on 1 November 1914; and an article entitled "*Verslag Pagoejoeban Pasoendan Taoen 1915*" (1915 Annual Report of Paguyuban Pasundan) written by Wirasapoetra published on 30 April 1916. D.K. Ardiwinata plainly explains in the article that: "*Doepi ajeuna di oerang parantos ngadeg hidji pagoejoeban anoe kening disebat ageng oge sareng anoe gadoeh alpoekahna estoe oerang Soenda, nya eta moerid-moerid sakola doctor, loeloegoena: Dajat Hidayat, Djongdjoenant, Asikin, Koesoema Soedjana sareng Iskandar." Thus, when the article was written (around October 1914), according to Ardiwinata, Paguyuban Pasundan had already been established, and was even already more than a year old, by and on the initiative of Sundanese students of the medical school mentioning five founders. The medical school referred to here is the STOVIA, which gave medical

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26) See *Papaes Nonoman*, 1, 31 January 1915 and 3, 31 March 1915.
27) The historians referred to here are Suharto, who made the discovery in the context of his research for his master’s thesis in the early 1990s, and later myself (2001). To my knowledge, what remains of this magazine in Indonesia is but one bound collection kept in the National Library in Jakarta. This collection originated from the possession of Dr. Husein Jayadiningrat, who was once the President of Yayasan Kebudayaan Indonesia (Indonesian Cultural Foundation), which managed the library from the 1950s to the early 1960s as apparent from the address, postage, and stamp on a number of the copies of this magazine.
28) This translates as: "Today among us a fairly large association has been established and those who have made the initiative were Sundanese people themselves, namely the students of the Doctors’ School [STOVIA] pioneered by: Dayat Hidayat, Jungjunan, Asikin, Kusuma Sujana, and Iskandar." See Ardiwinata 10, 1 November 1914, p.2. At the time D.K. Ardiwinata was serving as President of Paguyuban Pasundan (22 February 1914 to 24 April 1916) and also the Temporary Editor (*Voorloopig Redacteur*) of this magazine.

30) Here, it is quite clear that Paguyuban Pasundan was established on 20 July 1913 as the result of a meeting of a number of Sundanese people (students of HBS, KWS, and STOYIA; teachers; women; and others, who lived in Jakarta and Bogor) held in the home of Ardiwinata on Paseban gangway, Weltevreden (now in Salemba, Central Jakarta) Jakarta.

That Paguyuban Pasundan was founded in July on the initiative of the students of STOYIA led by Dayat Hidayat and supported by D.K. Ardiwinata and the elder Sundanese public figures who resided in Jakarta was admitted by Dr. Junjunan Setiakusumah, one of the initiators and founders of Paguyuban Pasundan, who was at the time a student in STOYIA, in his memoirs written in 1958. He says: “Bulan Juli 1914 kami klepek Sunda di STOYIA bersama memikirkan nasib orang Sunda. Kami bersepakat untuk mendirikan perkumpulan chusus diisi orang Sunda atau orang jang metjintai tanah Sunda, ... Untuk ini semua sdr. Hidayat, sekarang sudah mendingadi Prof. Dr. Hidayat, berunding dengan kesepuhan Daeng Ardiwinata di Paseban, Weltevreden. Setelah mendapat persesuaian, pada hari Minggu bulan Juli didirikan perkumpulan ... dan diberi nama Paguyuban Pasundan, artinja paguyuban orang2 Sunda, jang ada di Tanah Sunda.”

29) Their brief biographies and that of D.K. Ardiwinata are provided in the adjoining appendix.

30) Wirasapoetra 1916, p.4. This translates as: “On 20 July 1913 he [Dayat Hidayat] held a meeting in the home of D.K. Ardiwinata. At the time many people came, such as HBS, KWS, and STOVIA students; several women from Bogor; teachers; and many others. In the meeting Dayat Hidayat expressed his views about the answer to the question of why he wished to form an association. ... After the reasons were understood by all those who attended, immediately there was the agreement to establish an association. To everyone’s approval, the association was named Pasundan. On the same day the temporary statute (constitution) was drafted and the board members elected.” HBS (Hogere Burger School) was a secondary school in which the instruction was in Dutch which catered to the children of the Dutch and the native elite. KWS (Kweekschool) was the teachers’ school.

31) Setiakoesoeha 1958, p.6. This translates as: “In July 1914, we, the Sundanese klepek of STOYIA, came together to consider the fate of the Sundanese people. We agreed to establish a special association for the Sundanese or for those who love Tanah Sunda, ... For all these purposes, Hidayat, now Prof. Dr. Hidayat, consulted the elder Daeng Ardiwinata at Paseban [meaning Paseban gangway, the home of D.K. Ardiwinata], Weltevreden. After modification, on Sunday in the month of July the association was established ... and was named Paguyuban Pasundan, meaning the association for the Sundanese people, who are of Tanah Sunda.” According to him, klepek was the term referring to STOYIA students, derived from the French: eleve. There is a mistake as to the year, which should be 1913 not 1914. It is highly possible that the year mentioned in the commemorative book of the 20th anniversary refers to his statement who was at the
In the "Verslag Taen 1915" it is also stated that in the meeting, in addition to the agreement to found an association, it was also agreed that the organization was formed on that same day, including naming it, electing board members, forming the executive board, drawing up the constitution or statute, and designing the working agenda. The association was given the name _Pasoendan_. The board consisted of 8 people, namely D.K. Ardiwinata (Adviser or Adviser), Mas Dayat Hidayat (President), R. Junjunan (Secretary), R. Kusuma Sujana (Penningmeester or Treasurer), M. Iskandar, Karta di Wiria, Sastrahudaya, and Abubakar (committee members). The draft of the statute approved as the temporary statute for the organization in the meeting on 20 July 1913 was written by D.K. Ardiwinata, and was later revised in the board meeting on October 1913, and finally corrected by Dr. Husein Jayadiningrat, a young intellectual (27 years of age) originally from Banten having just recently (3 May 1913) received a doctorate degree with a dissertation entitled on the history of Banten from the _Rijksuniversiteit Leiden_ (University of Leiden, the Netherlands) and working in the colonial government, before the draft was proposed to and approved by the government.

### 3.2.2. Objectives and Motivation

Discussions and writings by Sundanese people since 1950s concerning the background and grounds for the establishment of Paguyuban Pasundan had always associated the organization with the existence of Budi Utomo, saying that Paguyuban Pasundan was established as the reaction to the establishment of Budi Utomo and was a declaration of dissatisfaction by the Sundanese community to the Javanese-centric attitudes and activities of Budi Utomo. Nevertheless, investigations of primary documents around the birth of Paguyuban Pasundan finds that there is no information or

32) The name was proposed by Dayat Hidayat in the meeting on 20 July 1913. _Pasoendan_ (original spelling: _Pasoendan_), literally means the land of the Sundanese because the affixes _pe_- and _-an_ in Sundanese grammar gives the meaning of place. For more than a year in written documents the name _Pasundan_ was always preceded by the Sundanese terms _pakepelan_ or _pagojoeban_ alternatively and the Dutch _de vereniging_, all of which are similar in meaning, that is association or organization. Finally, without any formal decision, the word _pagojoeban_ was integrated into name of the organization which became until now Paguyuban Pasundan.

33) The board is also described as such by Dr. Junjunan Setiakusumah (original spelling: Dr. Djendojoenan Setiakoesoehmah), although he does not mention the names of the committee members (Setiakoesoehmah 1940, p.17). The Board of Paguyuban Pasundan after the 1920s regarded and recognised the structure and personnel of the first board of Paguyuban Pasundan as stated in the statute validated by the government with D.K. Ardiwinata as President. In 1940, D.K. Ardiwinata also put forward the same (Ardiwinata 1940, p.2). During the term of the leadership of Ardiwinata came the appointment of R.A.A. Ahmad Jayadiningrat, the Regent of Serang, as the Honorary Chairman _Eere Voorzitter_ and C.M. Pleyte, an official in the Office of Archaic Studies _Oudheidkundige Dienst_ who took a great interest in and was a writer of Sundanese culture, as Patron _Beschener_ of the organization. The structure, personnel, and length of term of the board of Paguyuban Pasundan since its establishment (1913) to 1918 are attached herewith as Appendix 2.
statement of such tone. Dayat Hidayat, as an initiator and leader of the 20 July 1913 meeting stated bluntly that the reason for the emergence of the need to form an organization is that he saw the disconcerting condition of the Sundanese people at the time lagging behind the advancements achieved by the Javanese and the Malays, and even more behind the European/Dutch, both in education and in the opportunity to obtain employment and hold offices, due to the Sundanese mentality and level of education resulting in lacking apparent adequate creativity, motivation, diligence, courage, and work ethics. It was to promote these virtues among the Sundanese people that Paguyuban Pasundan was founded.

Such views and ideas did not appear instantaneously among them, but rather through a long continuous process. As mentioned above, the initiators of Paguyuban Pasundan were the STOVIA students of Sundanese ethnicity, who originated from various places in Tanah Sunda, were between 20 and 25 years of age, and had been educated in STOVIA for several years. As students, they lived in school dormitories and socialised with other students from different regional, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds.

34) Such was the view of the Sundanese people in the 1950s, which seems to have been influenced by the social and political situation of the time, when a number of Sundanese people pioneered by Front Pemuda Sunda (Sundanese Youth Front) launched a campaign against the domination of the Javanese in the government of the Republic of Indonesia. On this issue, see: Rosidi 2001, pp.177–226, Sumarsono 1993, pp.269–279) and Sumantri 2002, pp.417–432.

35) The text is as follows: “Doepi noe djadi loeloeoe jnaeta wirehing ngemoetkeun bangsa Soenda katjida pisan katilarna tina bab kamadjengan koe bangsa sanes, soemawonent koe bangsa Djawa mah, noe ti kapoengkoerna ogi parantos tebih pisan nilarna ka oerang Soenda, dalah koe oerang Malajoe noe teu ajar sakoemaha lamina ngoedagna kana kamadjengan, ajeuna oerang Soenda parantos kenging disebatkeun kaseleke, tawinina moerid di sakola Doktor danten teu oerang Soenda moeng aja 10, doepi oerang Malajoe mah soemawonten oerang Djawa mah parantos pirang-pirang. Njakioe deui di sakola-sakola sanes oerang Djawa sareng oerang Malajoe henteu kawsun seueurna koe oerang Soenda. Anoe ka nagri Walanda mah oerang Soenda kenging keneh dibilang, doepi oerang Malajoe sok soemawonten noe kiat majar ongkosma, dalah noe henteu ogi teki paripao dibelaan koel2, merloekuen ka nagri Walanda koe soe hoax njiar kapiteran. Mengghal koe emoetan, oepami oerang Soenda tijijingen bae, daek-daek ka pajoena hajang njepeng padamelan oge hese, kakawonkeun koe bangsa sanes. Boektina ajeuna parantos sababaraha hidji oerang Djawa sareng oerang Malajoe noe njepeng damel di tanah Paseondan, doepi oerang Soenda mah meh teu aja bae noe tiasa djengen di nagara deungeun” (Wirasapoetra 1916, p.4), which translates as: “What is important is to remind [you] how lagging the Sundanese nation is behind the advancement of others, especially the Javanese, who have since long ago left the Sundanese behind, and even the Malays who have only recently pursued advancement. Now, the Sundanese are, so to speak, choking. This is indicated by the number of Sundanese students in the doctors’ school [STOVIA] which is only 10, while the Malays, and even more the Javanese, are there in great numbers. Such is also the case in other schools where the Javanese and the Malays outnumber the Sundanese. The number of Sundanese who have gone to school in the Netherlands can still be easily counted, while the Malays, especially those who can pay the cost, and even those who cannot, are willing to, as the saying goes, work as slaves, so as to be able to pursue knowledge in the Netherlands. In my opinion, the Sundanese are stagnant, and in the future they will find difficulties in getting jobs, defeated by other nations. It is evident now that many Javanese and Malays have obtained employment in the land of Pasundan, while the Sundanese cannot hold office abroad [outside Tanah Sunda].”

36) According to Verslaag Pageojeoban Paseondan Taen 1915, they numbered 10 people, but to the memory of Dr Junjunan the number was only 8. They were of course of about the same age,
As individuals who came from the same cultural background, the Sundanese STO-VIA students often gathered in their free time. On Saturday nights, for example, they would gather around the vicinity of the dormitory eating peanuts and *gado-gado Betawi* (Betawi’s vegetable salad), conversing in Sundanese, telling jokes, and so on, especially after they had returned from their respective homes. While opening the things they brought back from home, they would share stories about each of their hometowns, the arts, travelling experiences, the condition of the nation, movements of other Asian nations, and the progress made by Europeans, especially the Dutch. They also enjoy taking turns reading Sundanese books, listening to and watching performances of Sundanese arts, and some of them even had mastered a number of art forms such as dance and *tembang Cianjur* (a musical genre from Cianjur). In addition, they also visited and talked to Sundanese elders, such as D.K. Ardiwinata, Hamdia, Idris, Somaharja, and Winataputra, most of whom were teachers. Ardiwinata, for example, who was a former teacher, a writer, and the Sundanese editor for the *Volkstrectuur* (the government-owned publisher) was regarded as an elder and therefore his opinions and statements were often heard. Moreover, they also visited C.M. Pleyte, a Dutchman who was considered to respect the Sundanese. A piece of advice that Pleyte gave and was remembered was: “Baroedak, ieu pamaksoedan teroes djalankeun sing tjoetjoed. Sing nyaah kana basa sorangan djeung kabinangkitanana. Koedoe ngaah ka lemah tjai. Sing awares kana panga-jak batoer, bisi oerang Soenda leungit ti doenja.”  

Their horizons broadened as they read magazines and newspapers in Dutch provided by the school, which at the time often told of national movements (*volksbeweging*) in various Asian countries (Setiakoesoemah 1958, p.5). The movements were inspired by the victory of Japan (Asians) in the war against Russia (Europeans) in 1905, as suggested by Dr. Junjunan Setiakusumah (1940, p.16). “Saanggeusna perang Roeslan djeung Djepang nepi ka oenggoelna Djepang, di sabara ha tempat timboel objagna rahajat, babakoena noe ajza dina bawahan pangeroei oerang Eropa. ... ieu kadjadian sigana patali rendjeung atawa kahoeangkoei koel pangangken oerang Eropa ka oerang Djepang, ngaeta hak2na di doenja disaroeakeun djeung oerang Eropa.”

Several of them were witness to the establishment and activities of Budi Utomo in their school, but they were not interested in joining the organization, especially after the board was dominated by old Javanese aristocrats. Most probably, D.K. Ardiwinata had told them more about Budi Utomo, for he had been a member and even a branch officer in Bandung representing the Sundanese. He had an unpleasant experience in

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37) Ardiwinata 1940, p.2; Setiakoesoemah 1940, p.16. This translates as: “Children, this intention [to form an association] must continue until it is realised. Love [your] own language and culture. [You] must love your homeland. Beware of persuasion, do not let the Sundanese vanish from the earth.”

38) This translates as: “Following the war between Russia and Japan, in which Japan won, in various countries emerged popular movements, especially in those countries under European domination. ... this occurrence seems to be related to or motivated by the Europeans’ acknowledgement of the rights of the Japanese, which they deemed equal with that of the Europeans.”
Budi Utomo due to conflict among the members.\textsuperscript{39} Similarly, the ideas and activities of Sarekat Islam and the Indische Partij concerning national unity and promoting the self-respect and welfare of the people have entered and inspired their hearts. They also wished to do the same. In such discussions, it seems, the views and descriptions of the conditions of the Sundanese people began to take form and the idea about the importance of uniting the Sundanese people in an organization started to emerge. Gradually, there grew the consciousness and love for the Sundanese people, homeland, language, and culture as their heritage. They felt the need to have their own organization. They felt the need for being united, especially on the part of those who originated from distant places such as Priangan and Cirebon. They believed that there was a need for Sundanese unity and that it must be realised by the Sundanese people themselves (Ardiwinata 1940, p.2; Setiakoesoemah 1940, p.16).

In July 1913 the Sundanese students of STOVIA, who often together discussed the condition of the Sundanese people, agreed to establish an association for the Sundanese people and for those who loved Tanah Sunda. The intention was to unite the Sundanese people; love their land, language, culture, and people; and pursue advancement (Setiakoesoemah 1940, p.17; Setiakoesoemah 1958, p.16). One day on a school day (in July 1913 before the 20th) when there were no lessons, in one of the rooms in the premises of STOVIA Mas Dayat Hidayat invited his fellow students for a meeting which resulted in the agreement to establish an organization for the Sundanese people. In the meeting there were mentioned the names of three people expected to become the president of the organization to be, namely D.K. Ardiwinata, R. Iskandar Brata, and R. Emung Purawinata. Those individuals were their respected seniors who had had employment. Finally, they chose D.K. Ardiwinata, the one they respected the most. After they had contacted Ardiwinata who agreed to the idea, the meeting was held on 20 July 1913.\textsuperscript{40}

On the grounds and motivations afore mentioned, the organizations aimed to advance the Sundanese so as to improve their welfare by participating in government efforts to promote knowledge and the livelihood of the people as well as bettering their behaviour and actions through information and expanding their thoughts so as to improve creativity and work ethics which would in turn upgrade their prosperity. Dr. Junjunan Setiakusumah, as a founder and first secretary of the organization still remembered the aims of the organization as they were initially discussed, namely to (1) revere the Sundanese culture and language, (2) promote science derived from the Dutch, (3) advance the dignity and knowledge of the Sundanese people, and (4) refrain from participating in government.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{39} The Bandung Branch of Budi Utomo split into two factions: one Javanese and the other Sundanese. The Sundanese faction under the leadership of D.K. Ardiwinata, a language teacher, stopped their activities when their leader moved to Jakarta to become the Sundanese editor for Volksleeruur (1911–1917).

\textsuperscript{40} Suharto 2002, pp.46–47; see also Ardiwinata 1940, p.2; Setiakoesoemah 1940, p.17; Amin 1984, p.16.
In the formulation, basically the founders, board, and members of Paguyuban Pasundan intended to promote the quality of life of the Sundanese people, which covered knowledge, culture, work ethics, and welfare. It is also apparent that there was a consciousness in their ethnic identity as a social group. The objectives were to be achieved through various ways, namely: (1) the publication of a magazine, (2) the promotion and development of the Sundanese language, (3) the revival of interest in the history of the Sundanese and in the knowledge of life in Tanah Sunda, (4) the dissemination of useful written material, (5) the organising of lectures and libraries, (6) the promotion of mastery of the Dutch language, and (7) the provision of assistance and information. All of the above represented a new model for the indigenous population of the time.

3.2.3. Views and Activities

3.2.3.1. Views

It has been stated above that *Papae Nonoman* was the media (*Orgaan*) of the Paguyuban Pasundan. Through this publication all ideas, views, expectations, persuasions, and information of the board and members of Paguyuban Pasundan was disseminated to the Sundanese community. In its premier publication, the Directors of the magazine state that the aim of the publication of this magazine was “*bade njariaskeun roepi-roepi elmoe anoe mangpaat pikeun njiar kahiroepan, njiar kasalapet sareng nolak pabalaieun anoe toemerap kana djasad sareng njawa, ...*”. Thus, the keywords here are useful science for the physical and spiritual interests of the people. This is strengthened by the explanation by the editor, who was also the President of Paguyuban Pasundan eight months later, that the magazine was aimed at the educated of the Sundanese community or those who pursue advancement and (Sundanese) women who worked towards progress. Therefore, the contents focussed on science and scientific discussions (*Papae Nonoman*, 9, 1 October 1914, p.1). It is true that overall since its first issue (1 February 1914) until the changing of its name to *Sora Pasoendan* (mid-1918) and finally *Pasoendan* (since early 1919), the magazine contained articles of

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41) *Papae Nonoman* 10, 1 November 1914; 1, 31 January 1915; and 3, 31 March 1915; Setiakoesoemah 1940, p.17 and 1958, p.6.

42) *Papae Nonoman* 1, 31 January 1915 and 3, 31 March 1915; see also Herdenking Pagoeoeban Pasoendan 15 Tahoem 1931, pp.28–29.

43) *Papae Nonoman* 1, 1 February 1914, p.1. This translates as: "to discuss various useful science in order to work towards welfare and salvation and hinder hazards to the bodies and lives."

44) *Papae Nonoman* 9, 1 October 1914, p.1. Academic and scientific issues here refer to those prevailing in the Western tradition which emphasise rational, systematic, and objective features, being introduced at the time to the indigenous populations through the formal education system though the level of their understanding was minimal considering that they had only undergone secondary education at best. Then, there were four printed publications in the Sundanese language, each with its own vision and mission. They were *Tjahaja Pasoendan* (The Shining of Pasundan, since October 1912) with the mission to advance the livelihood of the common people, *Panoenngtoen Kamadjoen* (Guide to Progress, since March 1913) aimed at fulfilling the interests of teachers, *Pwoelang Kagoeroen* (Guidance for Teachers) aimed at primary-school teachers in rural areas, and *Papae Nonoman*. 
which almost all were discussions of one academic discipline or an other and of social
problems, such as language, literature, history, social studies, women issues, child care,
beliefs, health, agriculture, animal husbandry, local traditions, experience, education,
and matters of the organization; only few were literary works. In that context, all
the writers also had been or were still students of formal schooling such as STOVIA,
KWS, OSVIA (School for Civil Service Candidates), Rechtsschool (School of Law).45)
Although they were new writers, except for D.K. Ardiwinata, Dr. Husein Jayadinin-
grat, and C.M. Pleyte, it was apparent that their written work characterised their ob-
jective and rational thinking, in which the expression was systematic, expository and
argumentative, and in prose. Those features were new for the Sundanese, for before
(mid-19th century and before) the features of Sundanese writing were mythological and
legendary, most of which were in the form of narrative verse and poetry.46) Obviously,
the new characteristics of writing were the result of Western education which they ex-
perienced. As stated in their constitution, they were loyal to the government and they
trusted the good will of the government in the advancement of the native population
by providing schools and publishing books, and they even regarded the Dutch as their
first teachers. In addition, they chose the way of evolution in the effort to better their
people, not that of revolution as envisioned by leftists.

One year later (1915) Papaes Nonoman had been distributed not only in Tanah
Sunda but also to other areas in Java as well as outside Java. This widespread distri-
bution was in line with the growth of the membership of Paguyuban Pasundan, such
as the establishment of branches in Semarang (Central Java) and Palembang (South
Sumatera). Furthermore, the readership also included not only the young members
of Paguyuban Pasundan but also the menak (aristocracy), ulama (Islamic religious
leaders), common people, and the middle-class. It was also recorded that government
officials both of the menak (native) and the Dutch became members, subscribers, and
donators of Paguyuban Pasundan and its magazine although directly it was of no
advantage for them. Paguyuban Pasundan was in fact not established for the upper
class (hoogen stand) but rather for the lower (lagen) and middle (midden) classes (Papaes
Nonoman 1, 31 January 1915, p.4). However, there was the obligation for the learned
to educate the common people (somah) (Papaes Nonoman, 7, 31 July 1917, p.8).

45) True, the management of the magazine (the Directors) encouraged the youth (nonoman) who
were still in school and the graduates, especially teachers, to support the magazine by contrib-
uting their writing. The Directors hoped that the magazine would serve as their place to have
(intellectual) festivities, their stage for performance (medan pamidangan) in order to welcome
the change of times, as the expression of their love for their people for the advancement of the
Sundanese; see Papaes Nonoman, 1, 1 February 1914, p.1). The invitation was so well-received
that in only 17 months (December 1914—April 1916) 158 articles, 17 of which were by women,
were collected (Papaes Nonoman 4, April 1916). It was a pleasant surprise, as stated by the Edi-
tors: “Sapoeloeh tauen katoekang mah oerang teu ngimpi2 atjan, somawona boga sangka jen istri Pasu-
endoan bakal sakieu pimajoehunana” (Ten years ago we would not have even dreamed, let alone
expected, that the women (members of Paguyuban) Pasundan could have advanced so far), see
Papaes Nonoman, 1, 31 January 1915, p.3.
In the first meeting that led to the establishment of Paguyuban Pasundan (20 July 1913) Dayat Hidayat as the initiator of the meeting presented his views pertaining to the condition of the Sundanese of the time who lagged behind the Javanese and the Malays, and even more behind the Dutch. The views presented served as the reason and motivation for how important it was to form an association for the Sundanese as the vehicle by which they might catch up. It turns out that such a view was repeatedly expressed by the board, members, and the general Sundanese public in *Papaes Nonoman*. A writer named Atma, for example, stated that at the time (1914) the Sundanese was a social group that lagged behind others. Atma proposed three criteria in assessing the advancement of a social group, namely (1) education, (2) employment, and (3) the role that the group plays outside their homeland. Education itself was assessed through: (1) the number of Sundanese people having received an education, (2) the number of Sundanese people in the process of getting an education, and (3) the number and variety of schools available in *Tanah Sunda*. The answers for the first and second questions were negative, while that for the third was positive. The criteria for employment and roles outside their homeland were assessed through the quality and number of Sundanese people filling the available employment, especially as public officials, and the number of them playing significant roles outside *Tanah Sunda*. In his opinion, the answer to the question pertaining to the two criteria were negative (*Papaes Nonoman*, 1, 1 February 1914, pp.6–7). Several other writers put forward other indicators of the backwardness of the Sundanese, one of which was their level of civilisation. In this context, the Sundanese were often described as being stupid, earthy, timid, and disrespectful of women. Writers under the pseudonyms Microscoop and Loupe (*Papaes Nonoman*, 3, 31 March 1914, pp.5–6) sought to determine the reasons for Sundanese backwardness compared to the background for the progress of Americans, Europeans, and the Japanese. It was stated that the reason was laziness due to being pampered by natural abundance. The opinion there was that the Sundanese had been asleep keeping them from seeing the advancement of others and how much they had been left behind. Thus, the writers advised the Sundanese to wake from their sleep and hasten in facing the progress occurring before them: move on their own initiative and follow in the footsteps of those who had gone forward! In addition, the writers also advised the Sundanese to equip themselves with (1) love for their own nation (*nationaliteitsgevoel*) and (2) love for their own homeland (*vaderlandsstiefde*).

Apparently, there were discussions about how the Sundanese might catch up with the progress occurring among other nations and in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). In this context, two opinions emerged, namely (1) completely take the example of and follow in the footsteps of the Europeans and (2) take the example of and follow in the footsteps of the Japanese, who also progressed but maintained their own cultural heritage. Initially, the board had chosen to emulate the knowledge (*kapinteran*) and courage (*wawanan*) of the nations of the West, without leaving behind the qualities of their own culture. In this context, *Papaes Nonoman* on the one hand often touched
and published discussions on knowledge derived from and stories experienced by the West. The Dutch language was deemed as the key to the advancement of natives, so its mastery was encouraged and facilitated. On the other hand, the magazine also included discussions about the conditions and situations of the Sundanese society and culture of the time. For example, there were a series of articles about practical issues pertaining to health written by STOVIAS students such as Dayat Hidayat and Kusuma Sujana. The articles were based on books by health experts from the West. However, there were also articles about various aspects concerning traditional sayings, language, and history of the Sundanese. Concerning this matter, D.K. Ardiwinata states “elmoes noe lalehoer mah geus aja pirang2 dina boekoe basa Walanda, tapi loeang2 anoe sok kapang-gih saporopoe mah di oerang njaeta pikeun obor keur njaangan jalan tintjakeun” (advanced knowledge are abundantly available in Dutch books, while lessons commonly found in everyday life are useful to light the way for our steps forward) (Papaes Nonoman 2, 1 March 1914).

However, since 1917 there had been a shift in such a view due to the emergence of distrust towards the Dutch East Indies government in whether it was genuine in its will to promote the education of the native population. The reason was that the growth in the number of schools at the time was not comparable to the growing desire of the native population to obtain an education in schools. There was an idea to integrate the school for the natives with the Japanese schools, the reason being (1) sababna oerang geus tiloe ratoes taoen dibawah parentah koe bangsa Walanda teu atjan dibere onderwejs anoe sampoerna (because we have been under the rule of the Dutch for three hundred years but we have not been given adequate education), (2) moerah ongkostna (the cost is low), and (3) soesoeganan leuwih mangpaat tibatan bangsa Walanda (perhaps the benefit would be greater than what we have received from the Dutch) (Papaes Nonoman, 8, 31 August 1917, p.5), although the idea was never realised.

In order to improve the situation and condition of the Sundanese people of the time, it was deemed necessary to recognise the ills of society. Therefore, there were writings discussing the evils existing in Sundanese society at the time, such as the mim pitu, deception, day-dreaming, and ways to overcome them. Mim pitu was the term used to refer to a set of seven (pitu) words which start with the letter m (mim according to Arabic script), namely madat (the consumption of opium), madon (prostitution), maen (gambling), maling (theft), minum (intoxication), mangani (gluttony), and mada (murder) all pertaining to corrupt behaviour one must avoid. Deception, it is said, is the utterance of words or speech contradictory to reality, differing from one’s own conscience and intention. People who lie or deceive, out of guilt, try to hide deviant (salingkuh) deeds, habits, and forced situations. Lying is a very terrible deed because it is founded on ill intentions and seeks to manipulate others. It is suggested that parents and teachers should teach children not to lie. Daydreaming is also deemed an activity common to the Sundanese, which must be eliminated because it is an extremely bad quality (sipat anoe awon teu kinten), useless, a waste of time, and it leads to laziness.
The way to overcome it, it is stated, is to do many activities to avoid being idle. One way is to read newspapers and books.\(^{47}\)

There are several socio-cultural terms that appear interestingly in pairs often discussed by the writers and readers of *Papaes Nonoman*. The most interesting of these pairs are backwardness and progress, people of old times (*kaum kuna*) and those of the new (*kaum muda*), and reading for women (*aosan istani*) and that for men (*aosan pamaget*). The first pair is the result of their studies of the disconcerting situation and condition of the Sundanese in the past and those of the time, and of their hopes for the situation and condition of the Sundanese they would like to create in the future. The second pair pertains to the views, attitudes, and behaviour of the Sundanese in the past resulting in the backwardness in various aspects of life (of the *kaum kuna*), and the emergence of a new spirit pursuing progress in accordance with the changing times. Backwardness and *kaum kuna* are characterised by such expressions as *bodo* (ignorant), idle, degraded women, forced marriages, uneducated, manipulated by loan sharks, and so on; whereas progress and *kaum muda* are characterised by such expressions as intelligent, educated, independent women, equality among men and women, diligence and creativity in work, well-read (in books and newspapers), and the mastery of foreign languages (Dutch especially). The third pair refers to one important classification of discussions in *Papaes Nonoman*, namely the provision of reading materials for women and those for men although all readers regardless of gender of course could read the whole magazine. Such a classification was made to provide equal opportunity for men and women alike to write, read, and present their respective views.

What is interesting here is that the articles on the life of Sundanese women were written by women themselves as well as men. In general, the articles discuss the worrying position and condition of Sundanese women due to maltreatment of by parents, husbands, or other members of society, providing suggestions, encouragement, and hopes to improve the situation. In this context, all members of society, especially parents, husbands, and women themselves, it is suggested, are obliged to improve the quality of life of women; and some even promote equal rights and status of women and men.\(^{48}\)

### 3.2.3.2. Activities

So great were the interest and expectations of the founders of Paguyuban Pasundan that on the day of its establishment (20 July 1913), they have discussed, drafted, and approved the work agenda. The short-term agenda was that the board was to launch propaganda (1) in Batavia (Jaktara) and (2) during the long holiday in the Islamic month of Ramadan (from the end of September to the beginning of October 1913) in the various cities in *Tanah Sunda* (Wirasapoetra 1916, p.4) so as to introduce

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\(^{47}\) *Papaes Nonoman* 3, 31 March 1914, p.8; 4, 1 May 1914, p.6; and 6, 4 July 1914, p.5.

\(^{48}\) Among others *Papaes Nonoman* 10, 1 November 1914, p.11, 1 December 1914, p.8; 11, November 1915; and 2, 29 February 1916, pp.1–2.
the organization to the Sundanese community and to invite them to join the organization. This program was actually realised so that by the beginning of Ramadan (the end of September 1913) the membership grew to 60 people and after Ramadan (December 1913) it further grew to 300. Such increase in membership was due to the effort of four members of the board who went to 7 cities in Tanah Sunda (Serang, Bogor, Purwakarta, Cirebon, Bandung, Tasikmalaya, and Cianjur). In this case, Dayat Hidayat went to the Banten area; Junjunan and Kusuma Sujana to Bogor, Purwakarta and the area of Priangan. The Sundanese people of these cities in general welcomed the establishment of the organization. Since then, gradually more and more Sundanese people joined the organization although compared to the overall Sundanese population (seven million) the number was far from being adequate.49

Other activities conducted by Paguyuban Pasundan until 1918 consisted of (1) the publication of the Sundanese-language monthly magazine Papaes Nonoman published since February 1914, the writers of which were the board members, ordinary members, non-member Sundanese individuals, and non-Sudanese individuals; (2) Dutch-language courses in Jakarta, Bogor, Pandeglang, Bandung and other cities attended by members of the organization and other members of the indigenous community with native and Dutch instructors (in Jakarta it was speciality named Pasoendawati); (3) the organising of meetings, discussions, and lectures on various topics related to language, literature, culture, and the problems faced by the Sundanese people and the native population in general, (4) the provision of a facility for meetings of members (Clubhuis) in Jakarta named Societeit Pasoendawati,50 (5) the organising of board meetings (bestuur vergadering) and member meetings (algemeene vergadering) both on the central and branch levels in various places in Tanah Sunda (Jakarta, Bogor, Bandung, Serang, Pandeglang, Purwakarta, Cirebon, Tasikmalaya, Sukabumi, Cianjur, etc.), and (6) the organising of collaborative activities with other organizations in dealing with mutual problems such as the demand for the defense of the Indies which involved the participation of the native people (Indie Werbaar), the Commission for the Revision of the Fundamental State System of Dutch East Indies Government (Commissie ter herziening der grondslagen van Nederlandsch-Indie Staatkundige Inrichting), and the Alliance of Radical Forces (Radicale Concentratie).

In the beginning of this paper, it was mentioned that since 1918 the organizations of the indigenous people had begun to direct their attention and activities to the political arena in anticipation of the establishment of the Volksraad (Parliament). Paguyuban Pasundan also, with a proposal from the membership,51 changed, or rather modi-

49) Wirasapora 1916, p.4; Setiakoesoemah 1940, p.17; Setiakoesoemah 1958, p.7; and Suharto 2002, pp.63–67. By 1915 five branches of Paguyuban Pasundan had been established in the cities of Jakarta, Bogor, Cianjur, Bandung, and Tasikmalaya; in 1916 the membership was recorded to reach 790 people, consisting of 680 men and 110 women; and in 1919 Paguyuban Pasundan had 14 branches, several chapters of which had total memberships of 1450.

50) It was C.M. Pelyte as Patron who suggested the idea of a meeting place and the name for it. Pasoendawati (present-day spelling: Pasundawati) means the Sundanese women.
fried, its nature and activities to include participation in politics. For that purpose, 4 articles (articles 2, 6, 13, and 20) of their statute were changed to conform with the new status and needs of the organization, the most important of which was the modification of article 2 related to the aims of the organization by deleting the words which denoted the non-participation in religion-related affairs and activities in violation of the prevailing laws. This changing of organization status was validated by government decree number 72 dated 13 June 1919 (Suharto 2002, pp.51–52).

4. Conclusion

Following the fall of the Kingdom of Sunda (1579), there was a decline in the lives of the Sundanese in their course of history. Since then, various external pressures befall them both physically and culturally. Therefore, the previously established Sundanese culture underwent continuous oscillations causing its form and content to constantly change. So great were these external pressures that several established elements of Sundanese culture (language, script, literature, religion) were marginalised and later replaced in form and function by elements of new cultures.

The birth of Paguyuban Pasundan (1913) preceded by the return of the functioning of the Sundanese language and literature (since mid-19th century) seemed to serve as a landmark in the revival of the existence and role of the Sundanese among themselves as well as amid the multi-ethnic and multicultural society of the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). Since then, there has been a realisation among the Sundanese of their existence and role in the context of the plural Indonesia society.

Similar to Budi Utomo, the Javanese organization, the establishment of Paguyuban Pasundan was initiated by students of STOVIA residing in Jakarta. However, unlike Budi Utomo, which was founded by only STOVIA students in a meeting (20 May 1908) in premises at their school, Paguyuban Pasundan was founded in the home of a Sundanese elder (D.K. Ardiwinata) who resided in Jakarta attended by several student groups (STOVIA, HBS, KWS) and members of the Sundanese community in Jakarta and Bogor, including both men and women. The board and membership of Paguyuban Pasundan, which included young people (students) and middle-aged individuals (employees) as well as the middle-class public, characterised the moderate attitudes, views, and activities of the organization and chose the way of evolution in the

51) One suggestion was from one under the pseudonym of Soendanesech Bloed (Sundanese Blood) in his writing entitled "Aoseun Sarerea: Politiek djeung Propaganda" (A Reader for All: Politics and Propaganda) published in Papaes Nonoman, 4, April 1918. In the article it is said among others: "Ieuh, oerang Soenda! ... oerang miloe kana hal politiek teh, ... lain pisan kahadean oerang, tapi ... kawadjiban oerang, ... panoehoean pribados ka sadaja lid Paoendan ..., njaeta soepados Paoendan didamel paoejoeban make tanda politieke; ..." (O, Sundanese people! ... we participate in political activities, ... not for our pleasure, but ... [because of] our obligation, ... my request to all members of [Paguyuban] Pasundan ... is that [Paguyuban] Pasundan becomes a political organization; ...).
effort to realise the advancement they dreamed of. Only after the domination of the board by middle-aged individuals and the tendency of the national movement toward politics (1918) did young people (students) disengage themselves from involvement in the board and activities of Paguyuban Pasundan and formed their own organization (1918) named Sekar Rukun (original spelling: Sekar Roekoen), which would later (in 1928) represent Sundanese youth in the Indonesian Youth Congress, which itself gave birth to the Youth Oath (Sumpah Pemuda), the first statement of Indonesian youth regarding the nation, homeland, and national language of Indonesia.\(^{52}\)

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\(^{52}\) See their magazine, which named Sekar Rockoen (1920s) and Ekdjati (1992).


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Magazines and Newspapers:
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Padjadjaran, 1918.
Papaes Nonom, 1914–1918.
Sekar Roeko, 1920’s.
Siliwangi, 1921–1922.
Brief Biographies of the Founders of Paguyuban Pasundan

1 Daeng Kanduruan Ardiwinata was born in Bandung in 1866 to a Bugis father and Sundanese mother. His was educated at the Kweekschool (Teachers’ School) in Bandung (1881–1884) and became a teacher in Bandung (1886–1911 and 1917–1922). He was also the Sundanese editor for the government-subsidised publication Commissie voor de Inlandsche School- en Volksleer (Committee for Indigenous Schoolbooks and Popular Reading Books) which later (since 1917) became Balai Poestaka in Jakarta (1911–1917), a member of Budi Utomo, and President of the Bandung Branch of Budi Utomo representing the Sundanese community. He gave counsel to the STOVIA students and other members of the Sundanese community in Jakarta, providing his own home as the meeting place which facilitated the establishment of Paguyuban Pasundan, conceived the temporary statute of Paguyuban Pasundan, served as the first Adviser for this organization (1913–1914), gave the name and served as the editor and writer for the magazine Papaes Nonoman, served as the second President of Paguyuban Pasundan (1914–1916), and became the honorary member of this organization since 24 April 1916.

2 Mas Dayat Hidayat was born in 1890, became a student at STOVIA, and emerged as a leader among the Sundanese students there. He was the one who most often consulted with D.K. Ardiwinata and C.M. Pleyte. He initiated the discussions and meetings which led to the establishment of Paguyuban Pasundan, and served as the first President (1913–1914), the first Vice President (1914–1915), and contributed to the naming of the organization. He served as the editor and writer for Papaes Nonoman, a physician, teacher at the medical school for natives in Surabaya (NIAS), and a professor at the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta (1958).

3 Raden Junjunan Setiakusumah was born in Ciawi (Tasikmalaya) on 1 August 1888. He was a student at STOVIA, an Indische Partij activist, a propagandist and founder of the Jakarta branch of Sarekat Islam, a participant in the discussion and meeting which gave birth to Paguyuban Pasundan, the this organization is first Secretary (1913–1914), a member of the editorial board and writer of Papaes Nonoman, a committee member of Paguyuban Pasundan (1914–1916), the third Vice-President of this organization (1916–1918), a physician since 1918 in several places in Java and Sumatera, a member of the Regency Council (Regentschapraad) in Sumedang and Serang (1925–1928), a doctor in the Juliana (now Hasan Sadikin) Hospital in Bandung (1928–1938), a member of the West Java Provincial Council (Provinciaalraad) (1930–1940), President of the Bandung branch of Paguyuban Pasundan, and President of the 20th Paguyuban Pasundan Congress on 18–20 April, 1935. He also took part in the revolution for independence; and became a member of the Parliament of Pasundan State (Negara Pasundan) (1948–1950), President of the social organization Daya Sunda (1953–1954), Chairman of the Bandung Regency branch of the Indonesian National Party (Partai Nasional Indonesia, PNI) (1953–1956), and Chairman of the Bandung branch of the Indonesia Red Cross.

4 Raden Kusuma Sujana was born in 1892. He was a student at STOVIA, a participant in the discussion and meeting which led to the establishment of Paguyuban Pasundan, the first and second Treasurer (1913–1916), a committee member (1916–1918), and then (1918–1920) the President of this organization. He also served as a physician in Sumatera (since 1920). He lived in Jakarta as a retired physician (1950s).

5 Raden Jenal Asikin Wijayakusumah was born in Manonjaya (Tasikmalaya) on 7 June 1889. He was a student at STOVIA, a participant in the discussion and meeting which gave birth to Paguyuban Pasaun-
dan, an editorial member and writer of *Papaes Nonoman*, and a physician (1915). He received a doctorate from the *Rijksuniversiteit Leiden* (the Netherlands) and became a lecturer and later professor at the *Geneeskunde Hogeschool* (Medical College) which later became the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Indonesia. He was a lover and writer of Sundanese history, and wrote among others papers in Dutch on the establishment of the Regency of Karawang (published in *TBG*, 77, 1937: 177–205), the Kingdom of Sumedanglarang after the fall of the Kingdom of Sunda (*Penjoeloeh*, 7–8, 1934: 169–212) and in Sundanese on the history of Sumedang (*Voalsamanak Soenda*, 1937: 158–171; 1961) and the Kingdom of Sumedanglarang.

6 **Mas Iskandar** was a STOVIA student, a participant in the discussion and meeting which led to the establishment of Paguyuban Pasundan, a committee member of this organization for three periods (1913–1918), and the Treasurer of Paguyuban Pasundan (1915).
«Appendix 2»

Board of Paguyuban Pasundan

First Term (20 July 1913 – 22 February 1914)
Adviser (Adviseur) : Daeng Kanduruan Ardiwinata
President : Mas Dayat Hidayat
Secretary (Secretaris) : Raden Junjunan
Treasurer (Penningmeester) : Raden Kusuma Sujana
Committee Members : Mas Iskandar
Karta di Wiria
Sastrahudaya
Abubakar

Second Term (22 February 1914 – 24 April 1916)
President : Daeng Kanduruan Ardiwinata
Vice-President : Mas Dayat Hidayat / Wirasaputra
Secretary I : Raden Iskandar Brata
Secretary II : Raden Emung Purawinata
Treasurer : Raden Kusuma Sujana / Mas Iskandar / Subita
Committee Members : Raden Junjunan
Mas Iskandar / Raden Kusuma Sujana
Karta di Wiria
Sastrahudaya
Abubakar
Adiwangsa
Sastraprawira
Wirasaputra/Wargaadireja

Third Term (24 April 1916 – June 1918)
President : Wirasaputra
Vice-President : Raden Junjunan
Secretary I : Raden Iskandar Brata
Secretary II : Raden Emung Purawinata
Treasurer : Subita
Committee Members : Raden Kusuma Sujana
Mas Iskandar
Sastraprawira / Wiradinata / Karnadireja
Wargaadireja / Moh. Sanusi

Fourth Term (June 1918 – April 1920)
President : Raden Kusuma Sujana
Vice-President : Jayadireja
Secretary I : Sutisna Senjaya
Secretary II : Prawira Amijaya
Treasurer : Suraatmaja
Committee Members : Atmadinata / Sastrahudaya
Darna Kusuma / Padmadinata
Nataprawira
Sadikin
K. Karnadjaya
Surakusumah
Appendix 3

Map of West Java / Tanah Sunda

MAP OF WEST JAVA or TANAH SUNDA